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IN MEMORIAM

Basile KRIVOCHÉINE (*)
(1900-1985)

Mgr l'archevêque Basile Krivochéine est décédé à Léningrad dans la nuit du 21 au 22 septembre 1985, pris d'un malaise en célébrant la Liturgie dans l'église même où il avait été baptisé il y a 85 ans. Invité par le Patriarcat de Moscou à l'occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de son ordination épiscopale, il était retourné aux sources vives de son existence ; il y trouva l'accomplissement qu'il attendait de tous ses vœux. Ainsi s'acheva la vie mouvementée d'un patriote ardent, d'un moine illustre de la Sainte Montagne de l'Athos, d'un évêque remarquable, et d'un grand savant.

Vsevolod Aleksandrovič Krivošein naquit à Saint-Pétersbourg le 30 juin (ancien style = 13 juillet) 1900 dans une famille aristocratique, dans laquelle le service de l'État, aussi bien que l'érudition et la science étaient de tradition. Son père était ministre de l'agriculture dans le gouvernement du tsar ; son oncle était un spécialiste éminent des filigranes des papiers de fabrication russe. Dès son jeune âge, Vsevolod Aleksandrovič parla l'allemand avec la gouvernante attachée au service de la famille. S'étant signalé à ses maîtres comme particulièrement doué, il entama de brillantes études aux facultés d'histoire et de philologie de sa ville natale et de Moscou, études qu'il ne devait terminer qu'en 1924-1925 à la Sorbonne.

La Révolution d'Octobre en effet, et les événements qui s'en suivirent, l'amenèrent en Crimée, d'où il devait quitter sa patrie en 1920 dans les rangs de l'Armée Blanche.

En novembre 1925, Vsevolod Aleksandrovič se présenta au Monastère de Saint-Pantéleimon, le monastère russe du Mont Athos, qui à cette époque comptait encore 500 moines. Il y fit sa profession monacale le 5 mars 1927, prenant à ce moment le nom de Vasilij-Basile.

Peu d'événements jalonnent les 22 ans pendant lesquels le moine Basile a séjourné à la Sainte Montagne ; l'ascèse, la prière, le travail, bientôt aussi

(*) Hommage prononcé à la réunion de la Société Belge d'Études byzantines, le 10 octobre 1985.

l'étude l'occupent entièrement. Désigné comme bibliothécaire, il étudia les Pères grecs et la théologie byzantine. Les rayons bien fournis de la bibliothèque de Saint-Pantéleimon, le milieu spirituel dans lequel il vivait, et sans doute des préférences personnelles l'amenèrent à approfondir l'histoire de la théologie mystique et, déjà en 1936, les premiers résultats de ses recherches surprirent le monde savant européen. En 1937, il fut élu membre du Conseil de son monastère, qu'il représenta en outre pendant plusieurs années à la Sainte Communauté, le gouvernement central du Mont Athos à Karyès ; témoignage évident de l'estime et de la confiance dont l'honorèrent ses confrères.

Suite à certaines circonstances politiques, et à son grand regret, le moine Basile dut quitter la Sainte Montagne en 1947. En 1949 il se fixa à Oxford, y trouvant tout de suite un milieu spirituel et scientifique extrêmement propice. Tout en gardant le statut monacal, et en continuant à mener la vie d'ascèse et de prière de ses confrères russes au Mont Athos, il poursuivit – surtout à la Bibliothèque Bodléienne – ses recherches patristiques et théologiques. En même temps il collabora activement à la dernière phase de la rédaction du grand dictionnaire du grec patristique de Lampe.

À la demande de l'épiscopat russe, il fut ordonné prêtre à Oxford, le 22 mai 1951, par Mgr Irénée Georgič, évêque de Dalmatie. Basile Krivošein, désormais le hiéromoine Basile, reçut la charge pastorale de la paroisse orthodoxe pluriethnique d'Oxford, ce qui ne l'empêcha pas, les années suivantes, de faire de nombreux voyages à l'étranger. L'étude des manuscrits de son auteur préféré, Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, nécessita de multiples séjours à Paris, Rome et Venise, Athènes, Patmos et Istanbul, Munich et Moscou. Il prit une part active aux congrès byzantins de Thessalonique (1953) et de Munich (1958). Dans sa patrie d'adoption il joua un rôle important aux congrès patristiques d'Oxford (1951, 1955, 1959) ; il fut présent aux rencontres œcuméniques comme les «Conférences de St Alban et de St Serge», et il devint membre du comité officiel pour le dialogue anglican-orthodoxe. La promotion du dialogue œcuménique avait été d'ailleurs, dès les années trente, le but avoué de ses recherches et de ses publications.

Le 14 juin 1959, le hiéromoine Basile reçut à Londres l'ordination épiscopale des mains de l'archevêque Nicolas de Clichy, exarque du Patriarche de Moscou en Europe Occidentale, et de l'évêque Antoine de Serguiévo, en présence de Mgr C. Carpenter, évêque anglican d'Oxford. Un an plus tard, le 31 mai 1960, le Synode du Patriarcat de Moscou le nomma à Bruxelles ; le 21 juillet de la même année il fut promu Archevêque de

Bruxelles et de Belgique. Pour le moine, «plus enclin à l'obéissance qu'à l'initiative», comme il aimait à répéter, et pour le savant qui avait déjà eu du mal à harmoniser ses recherches avec sa vie monacale et qui risquait maintenant d'être submergé par des tâches pastorales et administratives, ce fut un défi sérieux. Mais c'étaient pourtant ses qualités de moine et de savant qui devaient faire de lui un grand serviteur de l'Église ; de l'un il avait le détachement ainsi qu'une liberté de pensée et de parole peu commune, de l'autre le sens de la critique rigoureuse et de la méthode, des deux son amour passionné pour la Vérité.

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'insister sur les liens d'amitié qu'il entretenait avec les patriarches d'Istanbul et de Moscou, qu'il visita souvent. Pour ses collègues évêques il était le conseiller religieusement écouté, l'incarnation même de valeurs spirituelles séculaires, sage d'une sagesse qui de ce monde – dont elle n'était pas – avait tout vu. Il représenta son patriarcat aux Conférences Panorthodoxes de Rhodes en 1961, 1963 et 1964, de Belgrade en 1966 et de Genève en 1968, chaque fois comme membre de la commission dogmatique. L'Académie théologique de Léningrad, à laquelle il léguera plus tard sa bibliothèque, lui avait décerné en 1964 le doctorat *honoris causa* en théologie. En 1971 il participa au Concile de Moscou, qui devait désigner le métropolite Pimen au siège patriarcal de Moscou.

Mgr Basile ne craignait pas d'élever publiquement la voix contre la mesquinerie et l'étroitesse d'esprit, même si elles étaient le fait de représentants de sa propre Église, ni contre les atteintes aux droits fondamentaux de l'homme, même si celles-ci étaient à déplorer dans son pays natal.

Apatride depuis longtemps, il avait adopté la nationalité belge depuis une dizaine d'années. Il se plaisait dans notre pays. Très tôt il était devenu membre, puis membre du Conseil de notre Société d'études byzantines. Ses recherches profitèrent des contacts qu'il sut nouer ici, et il eut la joie de les voir aboutir dans des publications, hautement appréciées par le monde scientifique.

Tout en gardant le contact avec l'Église anglicane, comme membre de la commission mixte anglicane-orthodoxe, Mgr Basile élargit ses contacts œcuméniques. Il se lia d'amitié avec des savants d'origine catholique comme – pour ne nommer que ceux-ci – le Père Jean Darrouzès ou le Cardinal Jean Daniélou, avec lequel il se sentait une affinité particulière. Il devint membre du Comité national belge pour l'Œcuménisme et celui-ci profita avec reconnaissance des idées et de l'expérience, de l'exemple aussi du moine-évêque qui avait si souvent représenté son Église au Conseil Mondial des Églises. Quand le Pape de Rome, lors d'une réunion solennelle à Malines le

18 mai 1985, embrassait le vieux moine de l'Athos, chef de l'Église russe en Belgique, ce n'était pas un geste gratuit. Mgr Basile eut encore la joie, quelques mois avant sa mort, de voir aboutir de longues et multiples démarches, quand le parlement belge vota la reconnaissance légale de l'Église orthodoxe dans notre pays.

Mgr Basile n'avait rien de l'onction pieuse ou de la solennité sévère qui rendent insipides pas mal de gens d'Église. Il détestait pompe et honneurs ; il avait gardé la simplicité du moine de l'Athos. Son langage était franc, direct, et souvent plein d'humour. Une grande expérience de l'âme humaine et une faculté peu commune d'écouter la pensée de son interlocuteur, lui inspiraient une compréhension profonde, mêlée parfois d'une douce ironie. Il vivait pauvrement dans deux chambres, remplies de papiers et de livres. Il priait comme un moine et tenait à réciter l'office avec ses familiers et ses collaborateurs.

À nos yeux, Mgr Basile était avant tout le savant érudit, le spécialiste de la théologie byzantine, l'encyclopédie vivante d'un monde spirituel, qui, pour nous, était un domaine de l'histoire difficile à pénétrer et à comprendre dans toute son ampleur, mais qui pour lui était l'actualité vécue de tous les jours.

Les recherches du Père Basile débutèrent vers les années 1932-1933 à la bibliothèque de Saint-Pantéleimon au Mont Athos. Il s'était choisi un théologien byzantin que le monde athonite chérissait particulièrement, Grégoire Palamas. En 1936, il publia à Prague, centre intellectuel par excellence de l'émigration russe, le résultat de ses travaux, dans le huitième volume du «Seminarium Kondakovianum» : *La doctrine ascétique et théologique de saint Grégoire Palamas.* L'étude fit une forte impression ; elle fut traduite en anglais et en allemand, et l'observateur contemporain constata avec étonnement aussi bien l'ampleur de l'information que le moine Basile avait su mettre à profit que la profondeur et la pertinence de son analyse. Dès ce moment le monde scientifique savait qu'on disposait au Mont Athos d'un spécialiste de la théologie mystique byzantine dont le niveau était comparable à celui d'un Vladimir Lossky ou d'un Irénée Hausherr ou, plus tard, d'un Jean Gouillard. Quant à Grégoire Palamas, il devra attendre jusqu'à la fin des années cinquante, avant de trouver dans l'*Introduction* de Jean Meyendorff, un traitement aussi lucide et compétent.

Henri Grégoire, qui avait du flair pour dénicher les talents et se les attacher, demanda tout de suite au Père Basile d'écrire pour *Byzantion* le compte rendu du livre que l'historien anglais R. M. Dawkins venait de consacrer au Mont Athos. Il est intéressant de relire, dans le volume 14 de

1939, ce compte rendu savoureux et érudit qui nous fait entrevoir quelque peu la personnalité scientifique et humaine de son auteur.

Une deuxième phase des travaux scientifiques du hiéromoine Basile se rattache à son séjour à Oxford ; c'est une époque entièrement consacrée à la préparation d'une édition intégrale des *Catéchèses de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien.* On ne sait au juste à quel moment Basile Krivochéine a commencé à étudier ce grand spirituel de l'époque de Basile II le Macédonien. Pour celui qui a lu les deux, il est bien naturel que le savant remonte de Grégoire Palamas à Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Pour celui qui a connu le Père Basile, il est évident en outre qu'il s'est reconnu dans la désinvolture, l'indépendance d'esprit, et l'ardeur mystique de ce *πτωχὸς φιλάδελφος*, ce «pauvre rempli d'amour fraternel», comme Syméon s'était appelé lui-même. On devinera enfin qu'un cheminement spirituel propre l'a mis sur la voie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, et que l'évolution logique de ses recherches théologiques n'a fait que suivre la succession vécue des «âges de la vie spirituelle» (P. Evdokimov). À la fin de sa vie (*Dans la Lumière du Christ,* p. 5) il se contentera de qualifier les écrits de Syméon, par rapport à ceux de Palamas, comme «plus faciles à lire, mais plus difficiles à assimiler».

Pendant sa période d'Oxford, le hiéromoine Basile fait paraître la plupart de ses articles dans l'organe officiel de l'Église russe en Occident, le *Vestnik* ou Messager de l'Exarchat du Patriarchat Russe en Europe Occidentale, fondé en 1950. Il y fait rapport sur les grands congrès patristiques d'Oxford, et il y publie des études sur l'histoire de la spiritualité byzantine et athonite. C'est dans cette revue également que paraît en 1953 sa première étude sur les *Catéchèses de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien.*

Il semble bien qu'à Oxford Joan M. Hussey ait particulièrement encouragé Basile Krivochéine à préparer l'édition critique des *Catéchèses,* et, à un certain moment, on a eu l'impression qu'ils s'attèleraient ensemble à cette tâche.

En 1954, le hiéromoine Basile fit paraître dans les *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* de Rome un rapport magistral, démêlant la tradition manuscrite très compliquée des *Catéchèses* ; quatre ans plus tard, dans une contribution au Congrès byzantin de Munich, le rôle de Nicétas Stéthatos dans l'histoire du texte des *Catéchèses* faisait l'objet d'un examen approfondi. Entretemps Basile Krivochéine publia dans plusieurs revues (le *Vestnik* de Paris, *The Christian East* de Londres, *Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς* de Thessalonique, les *Ostkirchliche Studien* de Würzburg) des études sur les points cruciaux de la doctrine et de la spiritualité de son auteur. Tout était prêt pour l'édition des *Catéchèses,* que le monde savant attendait avec curiosité et impatience. Dans

son «Bulletin de spiritualité et de théologie byzantines» (*REB*, 13, 1955, pp. 165-166), le Père A. Wenger avait exprimé cette attente par ces mots : «Le P. Basile a sur d'autres éditeurs éventuels de Syméon l'avantage de vivre de la tradition spirituelle du grand mystique byzantin et de comprendre pour ainsi dire de l'intérieur ce courant mystique».

Mais la période paisible et fructueuse d'Oxford touchait à sa fin, celle de l'épiscopat commençait. C'est à Bruxelles que Mgr Basile a vécu l'aboutissement de ses travaux sur Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Peu de temps après son arrivée en Belgique, l'impression des *Catéchèses* débuta ; la rédaction des «Sources Chrétiennes» y ajouta la traduction française qu'elle devait à la compétence et au dévouement du Père Joseph Paramelle. Les trois volumes des *Catéchèses* parurent entre 1963 et 1965. Dans les années suivantes, la collection des «Sources Chrétiennes» continua sur sa lancée et fit paraître également les *Traités théologiques et éthiques* et les *Hymnes* de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, dus les uns au Père Jean Darrouzès, les autres à Johannes Koder. Grâce à l'impulsion de Mgr Basile, l'œuvre à peu près complète de Syméon était devenue accessible en édition critique en moins de dix ans.

Les tâches pastorales et administratives ne laissaient plus beaucoup de loisirs à Mgr Basile. Fidèlement il continuait sa collaboration au *Vestnik* de l'Exarchat russe, avec des articles sur la patristique, la spiritualité et la liturgie byzantines. À remarquer aussi l'insistance avec laquelle il fit connaître aux lecteurs de la revue les éditions et les études que Jean Meyendorff consacrait à Grégoire Palamas, ou le livre fondamental d'Irénée Hausherr *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison*, ou encore l'édition des *Homélies* de Macaire d'Égypte par E. Klostermann et H. Berthold.

Ce n'est qu'au début des années soixante-dix que Mgr Basile conçut le projet de consacrer une grande monographie à Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Dans deux articles il déblaya le terrain, en examinant les problèmes les plus ardus de la théologie mystique byzantine : *«Essence créée» et «essence divine» dans la théologie spirituelle de St Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, paru dans les «Studia Patristica» de 1975, et *Simplicity of the divine Nature and Distinctions in God according to St. Gregory of Nyssa*, paru dans le «St. Vladimirs Theological Quaterly» de 1977.

En 1980 enfin l'œuvre finale de Mgr Basile Krivochéine parut en édition simultanée française et russe, l'une aux Éditions de Chevetogne comme premier volume de la collection «Témoins de l'Église indivise», l'autre aux éditions parisiennes de l'«YMCA-Press» : *Dans la lumière du Christ. Saint Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Vie – Spiritualité – Doctrine.* En cinq

chapitres, Mgr Basile trace le portrait, et fait connaître la spiritualité, l'expérience mystique et la doctrine de son auteur, lui cédant la parole autant qu'il peut. Le chapitre central traite de «la connaissance de Dieu» et peut être considéré comme le plus fondamental.

Dans la lumière du Christ est pour ainsi dire le testament scientifique et spirituel de Basile Krivochéine. C'est l'aboutissement de cinquante ans de recherches, mais aussi de cinquante ans d'une quête incessante et passionnée vers ce qui pour lui était «Vérité» et «Lumière». Ce qui frappe en effet dans la vie de cet homme dont nous honorons aujourd'hui la mémoire, c'est l'unité fondamentale et jamais troublée de ce qu'il a vécu et de ce qu'il a écrit. Jamais il n'a cultivé la science comme un «art pour l'art» ; jamais il n'a connu la dichotomie entre vie et savoir. À maints endroits de son livre final, on reconnaît sous les traits de Syméon ceux de l'auteur lui-même, demeuré pendant toute sa vie «le pauvre, rempli d'amour fraternel, *πτωχὸς φιλάδελφος*».

E. VOORDECKERS.

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28. «Essence créée» et «Essence divine» dans la théologie spirituelle de St Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. In : *Studia Patristica*, XIII, 2 (Texte und Untersuchungen, 116). Berlin, 1975, pp. 210-226.
29. Quelques particularités liturgiques chez les Grecs et chez les Russes et leur signification. In : *Liturgie de l'Église particulière et liturgie de l'Église universelle*. Rome, 1976, pp. 211-229.
30. Simplicity of the divine Nature and the Distinctions in God, according

to St. Gregory of Nyssa. In : *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 21 (1977), pp. 76-104.

31.a. Dans la lumière du Christ. Saint Syméon le Nouveau Théologien 949-1022. Vie-Spiritualité-Doctrine. (Coll. Témoins de l'Église indivise, 1). Chevetogne, 1980, 426 pp.

31.b. Prepodobnyj Simeon Novyj Bogoslov 949-1022. Paris, YMCA-Press, 1980, 357 pp.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF IMPERIAL PANEGYRIC IN MICHAEL PSELLUS THE TENSION BETWEEN HISTORY AND RHETORIC

In several passages of the sixth book of the *Chronographia*, Michael Psellus seems to be setting forth his theories about how to compose an imperial panegyric. However his remarks are isolated and often difficult to understand. His panegyrics on the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus provide a means of checking Psellus' theory against his practice. My purpose in this paper is to examine four of these speeches and to compare them with the theoretical discussions in the sixth book of the *Chronographia*, which also contains the history of the reign of Constantine. The results will say something about Psellus' literary and rhetorical techniques, and will also indicate some of the problems involved in using both the history and the speeches as historical documents.

Near the beginning of book six, Psellus interrupts the narrative to explain how he came to write his history ([1]). He had been urged by many important people to make a record of his times, but had refused, owing to a conflict of loyalties – that owed to Constantine on the one hand, and that to the requirements of historical accuracy on the other ([2]). He would have preferred to write only encomia (*οἱ κρείττονες λόγοι*) on that emperor ([3]), but knew that the writing of history requires strict impartiality ([4]). This leads him to reflect upon the nature of princes and their actions, and to conclude that an emperor's life is

(1) *Chronographia*, 6.22-28. The section forms, in effect, a prologue to the entire work. All citations are from the edition of E. RENAULD, *Michel Psellos. Chronographie ou Histoire d'un Siècle de Byzance (976-1077)* (Paris, Budé, 1967). All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

(2) 6.23 and 25.

(3) 6.24.6 ff.

(4) 6.26.

full of actions both good and bad, and that what some find to praise, others choose to blame ([5]). Psellus ends his 'prologue' by begging the soul of the dead emperor for indulgence, assuring him that all his actions will be revealed, both the good and "those which proceed from the opposite character" ([6]).

In the course of the discussion, Psellus is led to defend the integrity of his panegyrics on Constantine :

> I did not falsify the praise, but I proceeded in a way which escaped everyone's notice (*ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔλαθον οὕτω ποιῶν*). Most people, since the deeds of emperors are confused and woven of good and bad, do not know how to blame properly nor how to praise rightly, but the proximity of opposites deceives them. But I forbear to blame, except in fictions, and when composing praises (*i.e.*, panegyrics), I am not wont to gather in everything from everywhere, but I neglect the worse, choose the better, and fit this together into its natural order, paste it together and weave my praise through the one best quality ([7]).

Later in the book, he makes the same point, though somewhat differently :

> The writer of encomia, renouncing his subject's bad side, weaves his praise of him from the more noble side. Even if the bad predominates, an orator needs [only] one topic containing a sufficiently praiseworthy deed. Sometimes, by managing the bad in a sophistical manner (*σοφιστικῶς*), he may even force it into an occasion for praise ([8]).

Here Psellus contradicts the earlier assertion that by sorting out the good from the bad, he was composing his panegyrics on a unique and private principle. The implication in the present passage is that *any* panegyrist ought to follow this procedure.

It seems likely that the second statement represents what Psellus actually thought and did, and that in fact he had no secret method of composing panegyrics. For one thing, in the first passage, he was in the act of defending the praise contained in his panegyrics on Constantine. It was important, therefore, to protect the honesty of the

(5) 6.27.

(6) 6.28. See also Michael J. KYRIAKIS, "Medieval European Society As Seen in Two Eleventh-Century Texts of Michael Psellos", *Byzantine Studies / Études Byzantines*, 4, Pt. 2 (1977), 179-80.

(7) 6.25.9 ff.

(8) 6.161.6-12.

praise against criticism, and this consideration, I believe, leads Psellus to surround his methods of composition with a certain mystery. The second passage occurs in a section of the history where Psellus seems to be about to launch into a praise of the emperor. In chapter 163, he compares him to the great generals of history, finds him wanting in *ἀνδρεία*, but emphasizes his good points, and seems about to start on a discussion of these. Therefore, he is not concerned to protect himself on his former panegyrics, as he had before, since the reader feels as if he is about to hear a panegyric. Although these expectations are not fulfilled in what follows (chapter 163 to the end), still it is more likely that Psellus is telling the truth here than in the previous passage where there was an ulterior motive. This view receives confirmation from one of Psellus' letters ([9]). His correspondent had asked if anyone was above or below an encomia. In his reply, Psellus offers this advice :

> For the encomiast, if I may say what is generally known, is wont to gather his praise from the virtuous occasions ([10]).

In this case too, Psellus is giving an unbiased reply which is uninfluenced by any special interests.

Significant also is the contention that the orator needs only one good action to produce a panegyric, or, if no good action can be found, he may put a good face on a bad one ([11]). The implication of these two passages is not only that a thoroughly depraved emperor may find praise, but also that the possibility always exists for the encomiast to transform faults into merits. However, before pursuing this point, if will be approprate to examine the panegyrics.

In general, Psellus' speeches follow the formula found in late Classical and early Medieval handbooks on rhetoric, of which Menander Rhetor's *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* is an example ([12]). The for-

(9) # 204 in Konstantinos N. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη. Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi* (Paris, 1876 ; rpt. Hildesheim : Olms, 1972), V, 497-99.

(10) SATHAS, p. 497.

(11) In this connection, Psellus' remarks at 6.27.24 ff. are worth citing : "If they (sc. emperors) show tenderness, they are immediately censured for it ; if they give in to their human compassion, they are called ignorant ; if they are roused to interest in something, it is meddling ; if moved to self-defense, they are outspoken, choleric and irritable".

(12) In Leonhard VON SPENGEL, *Rhetores Graeci* (Leipzig, 1853), III, 368-77 on *ὁ βασιλικὸς λόγος*. This is not to say that Psellus necessarily used the work. I take Menander only as a representative of the tradition.

mula calls for a proomimium with "unbelievably boundless glorifications", Homeric invocations, and expressions of despair by the orator that he can never adequately praise the emperor. Then follows a chronological 'background' section treating the personal history of the emperor – his family, upbringing and so forth. After that comes an account of his military exploits, in which the speaker must emphasize the appropriate virtue, *ἀνδρεία* – "which especially makes a prince known" ([13]). While courage is the virtue proper to war, the other three – justice, temperance, wisdom – are to be woven into the next section, which handles peacetime successes. In the final comparison (*τελειοτάτη σύγκρισις*), the speaker reviews the records of previous emperors, not in order to degrade them, but so that he may finally award the palm to the present emperor. At the end comes the epilogue containing general praise and prayers for a long reign ([14]).

The four panegyrics on the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus show that Psellus followed the standard receipe for preparing an imperial panegyric ([15]). All four have extravagant introductory material. Sathas 1 begins *ὦ βασιλεῦ ἥλιε* and proceeds to allegorize the sun metaphor. But KD 2 goes one better (rhetorically speaking) :

> *Ὦ βασιλεῦ ... οὔτε γὰρ ἥλιος σὺ ... ἀλλὰ*
> *παντὸς τοῦ φαινομένου κρείττων καὶ*
> *ὑψηλότερος.*

The same speech contains an invocation

> not to Apollo, leader of the Muses, nor to Hermes, in charge of words, nor to the Muses from Helicon, ... but (to) the Word (14.6 ff.).

Psellus rarely goes into much background detail, once excusing himself by saying that the audience knows it all anyway – *οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς ἀγνοοῦσαν ἀκοὴν φθέγγομαι* (SATHAS, 2, p. 130.23). This same speech, however, is notable for beginning with a long history of the

(13) MENANDER, 372.30.

(14) I have abstracted only the main headings (*κεφάλαια*) of Menander in order to give the reader an idea of the structure of an imperial panegyric.

(15) Two of the panegyrics are in Sathas (cites above, note 9), V, 106-17 ; 117-41. The other two are in *Michael Pselli Scripta Minora, I : Orationes et Dissertationes*, ed. E. KURTZ ex schedis relictis in lucem emisit F. DREXL (Milan, Vita & Pensiero, 1936), pp. 6-11 ; 12-32. For convenience, I shall refer to them as SATHAS, 1 and 2 ; and KD 1 and 2.

emperors since Romanus II and being, in that sense, almost entirely background. Since, as mentioned before, Constantine was not a distinguished general, military triumphs become triumphs of diplomacy, especially over Egypt, Persia and Babylon ([16]). In KD 2, Psellus tactfully mentions the emperor's policy toward the Patzinaks as follows :

> O your deep wisdom ! O deep mind and powerful purpose ! You thought it a disgrace for the Roman troops to fight with such men ... and instead you made them "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (18.19 ff.).

Constantine offered more occasions for praise at home – he has alleviated drought and famine, built fortifications, distributed honors, healed the sick, patronized learning ([17]). There is always a final comparison, though not necessarily with a man. In Sathas 1, which begins *ὦ βασιλεῦ ἥλιε*, the final comparison is to the sun, while in KD 2, Psellus compares Constantine to *οὐρανός* and *νοῦς*. In short, although Psellus uses the traditional elements of the imperial panegyric, he makes very free use of them.

Occasionally Psellus claims to be abandoning the conventions of the genre altogether, as in the opening of KD 1 :

> The others, most divine Emperor, by seeming to praise you according to the rules of the craft (*τεχνικῶς*), only turn out to do an unskillful thing (*ἄτεχνόν τι*) ... But I gladly transgress the rules of the craft (*τοὺς τῆς τέχνης ἑκὼν παραβαίνω κάνονας*) ... and I will appear more skillful (*τεχνικώτερος*) than they ([18]).

Again in KD 2, after introductory material, he continues :

> Now, if I could philosophize perfectly, I would neglect the earthly rules for encomia (*τοὺς κάτω νόμους τῶν ἐγκωμίων*) ; ... but since I must speak to the ears of many, I proceed to this kind of encomium ([19]).

(16) KD 2.16.28 ff. ; SATHAS, 1.112.17 ff.
(17) Drought : SATHAS, 1.113.5 ff. ; KD 2.26.10 ff.
Famine : KD 1.9.15 ff.
Fortifications : SATHAS 1.112.10 ; KD 2.25-26.
Honors : KD 2.20.4.
Healing : SATHAS, 1.115.14 ff. , KD 2.27.11 ff.
Patronage : SATHAS, 1.108.25 ff.
(18) KD 1. *init.*
(19) KD 2.13.18 ff.

Finally, near the end of KD 2, he introduces the final comparison by affecting to disregard it :

> But let no one demand of me a comparison according to the rules (*τεχνικὴν σύγκρισιν*) ... Be therefore incomparable (*ἀσύγκριτος*), O Emperor, and may you always be above craft (*ὑπὲρ τέχνην*) ([20]).

Psellus is here using the rhetorical device of *praeteritio*, in which the orator professes to 'pass by' certain topics, but in so doing, actually handles them. That is to say, Psellus, who was thoroughly versed in rhetoric, only seems to be taking great liberties with the tradition. Actually, this claim is just a different way or rendering that tradition its due.

Psellus develops certain devices mentioned by Menander and uses them often. A common structural device is the *ἀγών* metaphor. Menander (368.10 ff.) uses the image as an example of what an orator may say in a prooimium. "(You may say that) you have placed yourself in a contest (*ἀγών*) not easily won with words". Psellus uses this image, a cliche by the 11th century, to begin and end one speech. The whole of KD 2 is built upon the premise that Psellus has entered an *ἀγών* with the virtues of Constantine, and must defeat them by means of words :

> The *ἀγών* which I have now entered, as you see, is the most terrifying and amazing that ever has been (12.13 ff.).

Psellus likens the court to judges at a fight and confesses :

> And I stand opposite you, the antagonist, and strip off my garments, already pale and girding myself and trembling as if at some far-away Heracles ... And before winning you have already won and are crowned. Such is my *ἀγών* (12.22 ff.).

Paradoxically, however, Psellus rejoices in his defeat, since it will mean that Constantine has won. At the end of the speech, he appeals to the audience for a decision, and is delighted to hear that he has, in fact, lost. In Sathas 1, it is not Psellus, but philosophy and the arts of law and rhetoric, now personified, who are pictured as standing exhausted and beaten even before their encounter with Constantine ([21]). After introducing the personification of rhetoric as a

(20) KD 1.10.28 ff.
(21) SATHAS, 2.106.23 ff.

contestant, he then makes it deliver the background material (107.5 ff.), thus effecting a transition from the prooimium to the next section.

Menander mentions that, in the prooimium, the speaker may express perplexity about where to begin the praise ([22]). This device, called *ἀπορία*, was common in panegyrics and oratory generally, and Psellus uses it constantly, not just in his prooimia, but throughout the panegyrics. Specifically, he claims to despair of being able to praise Constantine adequately and uses his despair to make transitions. There are several examples in KD 2 :

> You see, O Prince, what you have done to a man of philosophy ? My wits are wandering as I contemplate you ... But I come back to my senses and lead the spectator ... but where ? And I hold my tongue. Now again I ask – where ? And lo, I am in confusion ... (28.5 ff.).

After repeating the rhetorical question several more times, Psellus finally leads the spectator to the tomb of the Empress Zoe, and thus to a different subject. A new paragraph, however, brings new despair :

> But what has happened to me ? For as I started up the steep slope of your virtues, I found no firm step ... (29.19 ff.)

which leads him to the virtues of Constantine. Following these, Psellus laments that he has promised to soar, but is still on the ground. This *ἀπορία* forms a transition to the final comparison, itself introduced by another *ἀπορία* :

> With whom shall I compare you ? With whom (shall I compare) such a one and above comparison (*ὑπὲρ σύγκρισιν*) ? (31.8 ff.).

In the same way, Psellus gets to the final comparison in Sathas 1 :

> But what shall I do, how shall I hold myself in check, how restrain my thoughts ? As soon as I touched but the shadow of your praise, my senses are altered, and I know not what to say ; I am possessed ... But since I cannot hide the divine inspiration, I come back to myself, so that I may view you even against a rival ... (115.29 ff.).

That rival turns out to be the sun, and Psellus, now back in his right mind, has brought on the final comparison.

(22) MENANDER, 369.16 : *λοιπὸν ὡς διαποροῦντος τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅθεν χρὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκωμίων ποιήσασθαι.*

After measuring Psellus' performance against his theories, there is another interesting comparison to be made. Various incidents appear in both the *Chronographia* and in the panegyrics. Now Psellus is aware of the generic difference between history and panegyric, and claims to be committed to historical accuracy in writing the *Chronographia.* On the other hand, he is well aware that an encomiast must not admit blame into his speeches. The question presents itself – are there any incidents which are praised in a panegyric and censured in the history ? As it turns out there indeed are such incidents, but they do not mean that Psellus is hypocritical. There are other factors to be considered.

Near the end of Sathas 2, Psellus describes the revolt of someone who, thought unnamed, can only be Maniaces ([23]). He secures Italian aid, sails to Bulgaria, proclaims an end to tribute paid to Rome, and subdues the western army. Loyal forces make ready under the direction of a general

> Not Aelius, nor Perseus, nor Brutus, fierce men and strong, but a certain Gerenian Nestor or crafty Odysseus, who used their intellect for a sword, mind for a shield, and for a buckler, the preparations of well-laid plans. (138.29 ff.).

The account of this same man (Stephanus) in the *Chronographia* is somewhat different. Constantine, being no general, had to appoint one to deal with Maniaces. But he was afraid that whoever he chose might, if successful, lead a revolt even more dangerous than the first.

> The man appointed, therefore, was not a distinguished soldier, but a loyal servant of the emperor, a eunuch in fact, and a person who inspired no respect in anyone. (6.83.9 ff., Sewter's translation, slightly altered).

There seem to be two different pictures of the same man. In the panegyric, he is renowned for his wisdom, while in the *Chronographia,* he is a eunuch, a tool of Constantine, an unprepossessing figure. And yet, on inspection, none of the details are necessarily inconsistent. A man may be a eunuch and crafty at the same time ; what is more, unprepossessing, and loyal as well. But surely the impression one forms of the man is favorable in one case, and unfavorable in the other.

(23) SATHAS, 2.138-9.

To explain the discrepancy, we must remember not only the different requirements of different genres, but also the circumstances under which each work was composed. The panegyric must have been delivered in Constantine's reign, perhaps 1043. The revolt of Maniaces in 1043, which is the main event of the speech, had just occurred, and is the latest *terminus post quem*. On the other hand, Psellus cannot yet have been admitted to court, since he ends the speech with a highly untraditional appeal for personal patronage, as well as for literature in general ([24]). Another indication of an early date is the fact that Psellus does not mention any military or peacetime action of the emperor beyond the Maniaces affair. The conclusion is that Constantine had not long been on the throne. Furthermore, the form that Psellus gives to the speech is unique – it is prefaced by a long history of the Empire since Romanus II. It seems likely that this would have been appropriate soon after Constantine's accession. It could even have been Psellus' maiden speech, one that he hoped would bring him the recognition which he boldly demands at the end of it ([25]).

The *Chronographia*, on the other and, was written around 1063, when Constantine had been dead eight years, and Psellus an important figure for twenty. His viewpoint, therefore, will have been quite different from that of a young man of twenty-five, hungry for preferment at court. In the course of time, he may have changed his mind about many things, including Stephanus. Or he may have entirely forgotten how he first felt about him. In 1043, he may actually have looked with envy and admiration upon a man for whom, twenty years later, he had only mild contempt. Thus there is nothing here to indicate that Psellus is counterfeiting his feelings in the panegyric.

The next example also involves a question of judgement. In a passage of KD 2, Psellus praises the emperor for moderation. More specifically, Constantine is said to adhere to an Aristotelian mean.

> I have not said how you make bravery out of courage and fear and hold the mean (*μεσότης*) ... and that you practice a gentleness which lies between irascibility and the inability to get angry (*ἀοργησία*) ... And

(24) SATHAS, 2.140-41.

(25) He may also have intended to create a great impression and so deliberately set out to be innovating. Perhaps this is the kind of display which, as he tells us, first attacted Constantine's notice (*Chronographica*, 6.44-46).

> I have omitted your magnificence, how you keep the mean between boastfulness and meanness (*ἀλαζονεία μικροπρέπεια*) ... (30.1 ff.).

Not only is the passage based on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, but Psellus mentions Aristotle twice by name ([26]). In the *Chronographia*, however, we find :

> Now these things (sc. Constantine's high-handed treatment of Leichudes) are questionable and open to different interpretations depending on your point of view. But in all the other actions that I have chosen to write about, he did nothing moderate (*οὐδέν τι μέτριον τῶν πάντων ἐποίει*), but devoted his vigor and intensity to whatever he decided to do (6.182.1 ff.).

Here Psellus makes precisely the opposite judgement on Constantine. How can the two be reconciled ?

Again, we must examine the context of the remarks. In the panegyric, one has the impression that the passage is more a virtuoso performance than a carefully considered act of praise. That is, Psellus seems more interested in displaying his familiarity with Aristotle than in making a particularly just compliment. That explains the many Aristotelian echoes in the passage. Nevertheless, this is no assurance that Psellus actually believed Constantine was unduly rash. The passage in the *Chronographia* serves as a transition to the accounts of Zoe's tomb and the building of St. George's, both of them extravagant displays by the emperor. Psellus may simply be accusing Constantine of extravagance in order to launch himself into two examples of that extravagance. To return to the panegyric, we cannot plead that Psellus did not yet know Constantine very well, since the speech must have been delivered after 1050, the year of Zoe's death. Psellus will have been close to Constantine then for seven years, surely long enough to form an estimate of his character. In the end we cannot decide whether the panegyric or the historic contains his true opinion.

We come finally to a most interesing incident, the growth which appeared on the tomb of the Emperess Zoe ([27]). The panegyric, as

(26) *Nicomachean Ethics*, 2.7. *passim.*

(27) 6.182, KD 2.29.1 ff. Interesting also is the fact that Psellus mentions the emperor's moderation (or lack of it) in close proximity to this occurence. However, in the panegyric, he proceeds from the tomb to the subject of moderation, while in the *Chronographia*, he uses the tomb episode to illustrate Constantine's lack of moderation.

mentioned before, must have been delivered shortly after her death. Psellus begins with the *ἀπορία*, discussed above, "where shall I lead the spectator" and moves to Zoe's tomb :

> But if anyone wants to see a higher type (?), let him gaze upon the rose bed (*ῥοδωνία*) that sprang from an unaccustomed substance ... For silver and bronze now for the first time and contrary to all nature (*παρὰ τὴν ὅλην φύσιν*) burst forth without moisture (*ἀνίκμως*) into the birth of a flower (*ἄνθος*). And the manner – paradoxical ; and the form – more so ... Here was a manifest hand divided into five branches of roses (?) (*χεὶρ ἐναργὴς πέντε ῥόδων διῃρημένη ἀκρεμόσιν*) (KD 2 ; 28.12 ff.)

Now for the version offered in the *Chronographia* :

> One of the little columns that surrounded her burial place became somewhat moist (*ὑγρότητά τινα προσειληφότος*) in a spot where the precious metal had cracked and, according to the laws of nature (*κατὰ τοὺς φυσικοὺς νόμους*), there sprouted a tiny mushroom (*βραχύν τινα μύκητα*). At this, Constantine was filled with enthusiasm and filled the palace with cries, that the Almighty had worked a miracle ... Everyone knew what had happened, but they all humored him in his zeal, some out of fear, others hoping to gain something by their deception (6.183.6 ff.).

Here Psellus contradicts himself three times – in the question of moisture, of natural laws, and of the form of the growth.

These discrepancies must be explained by referring to something discussed earlier. Psellus himself says that whatever the emperor does is liable to various interpretations, depending on your point of view ([28]). In another passage of the *Chronographia*, he says this about Constantine's treatment of Leichudes :

> And someone might 'rhetorize' this into praise (*τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις εἰς ἔπαινον ῥητορεύσειεν*) saying that the emperor was bursting with *φρόνησις* and that, being self-sufficient for everything, he needed no outside help (6.181.3 ff.).

Leichudes was Psellus' friend and he had tried to warn him of the impending catastrophe. Hence, from Psellus' point of view, the emperor's action was rash and foolish. And he well knows how a

(28) 6.27 (see above, note 11) ; also 6.182.

ῥήτωρ like himself could put a fine construction on even this. But at the moment he wanted to hear none of it. So it is with Zoe's tomb. This 'miracle' was something the emperor felt strongly about, too strongly to be talked out of. No doubt he put pressure on Psellus to work the incident into his panegyric. But the *Chronographia* contains the more likely account, and the one which probably tells us Psellus' real thoughts.

The results of this study can be stated as follows : Psellus is quite conscious of the generic differences between history and panegyric. The former requires strict accuracy ; the latter must take whatever occasions present themselves, and fashion them, or even "rhetorize" them, into occasions for praise. In constructing his panegyrics on Constantine, Psellus follows the standard rhetorical textbooks of his time, in spite of the cryptic remark (*Chronographia*, 6.25) that no one knew how he composed his panegyrics. When he came to write history, Psellus felt some hesitation, as he confesses honestly, because he would have to give a more accurate account of incidents which he may once have "rhetorized" into praise of his favorite emperor Constantine. Three examples, particularly that of the growth on Zoe's tomb, document the conflict between panegyric and history. In the final analysis, when evaluating Psellus' reliability as a historian (or as a panegyrist for that matter), we must allow for the conventions prescribed by the quite different genres of history and panegyric ([29]).

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(29) Psellus as historian and rhetorician is also the subject of a recent study by Gary J. JOHNSON, «Constantine VIII and Michael Psellos : Rhetoric, Reality and the Decline of Byzantium, A.D. 1025-28», *Byzantine Studies / Études Byzantines*, 9, Pt. 2 (1982), 220-32. Johnson makes the same point as I have – that we must keep in mind the different requirements of different genres when evaluating Psellus' reliability as a historian. Psellus' pride in his rhetorical abilities, and the effect of rhetoric upon the *Chronographia*, is emphasized by Sture LINNÉR, «Literary Echoes in Psellus' *Chronographia*», *Byzantion*, 51 (1981), 225-31.

BHG 1841s : AN UNEDITED HOMILY OF PS. CHRYSOSTOM ON THOMAS

In a contribution to the Festschrift for Prof. A. Van Roey attention has already been called to an example of the contact which existed in the later Roman Empire between Constantinople and "India" and which is attested by an unedited homily of ps. Chrysostom on Thomas ([1]). In this same article it was suggested that the homily in question, BHG 1841s, dates from the time of the Emperor Justin I (518-527) or the Emperor Justinian I (527-565), and was composed by a homilist who so far cannot be identified ([2]). The homily itself we now offer to the readers of this journal in an *editio princeps* accompanied by an translation.

From the details contained in BHG 1841s we can conclude to the following context. "Indians" have come to Constantinople with the report of the conversion of their people. On the day preceeding that on which BHG 1841s was delivered there was a visit made to the martyrium of Thomas. Here we must in all probability think of "Thomas in Drypia", c. 13,5 km outside Constantinople ([3]). The reason for the choice of the martyrium of Thomas as destination is obvious : Thomas is the apostle of India. Now the author of BHG 1841s delivers a sermon, which is focussed on Thomas, in the Great Church of Constantinople in the presence of the "Indians". It is not, however, an encomium on Thomas, for after all it is not his feast-day. The homilist treats Christ's salvific work, which is also mentioned expressly in the title of the homily : *εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.*

(1) C. DATEMA, *New Evidence for the Encounter between Constantinople and "India"*, in *After Chalcedon, Studies in Theology and Church History* presented to Professor A. van Roey, (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 10), Leuven, 1985, 57-65.

(2) *Ibid.*, 65.

(3) *Ibid.*, 59-60.

After a prooimion in which the homilist lauds the power of the gospel and remarks that Thomas, as teacher of the true faith, deserves praise (9-37), the first part of BHG 1841s is devoted to the incarnation of Christ (38-126). The benefits of the incarnation are great, for all that comes from God is good, yet the mystery of the incarnation surpasses all else. Next the homilist describes the work of Christ, his humble descent to earth, and his humanity and divinity. The homilist then turns to Thomas (127-301), who is happy at all he sees and in his gratitude wants to be a good servant of Christ – his love of Christ knows no bounds. Not even the suffering of Christ deters him from his duty as disciple : in any case Christ's suffering had to proceed his resurrection. After he is raised from the dead Christ has to encourage his disciples, but Thomas is not present when the Lord appears to them. Thomas reproaches them when they recount that they have seen the Lord, in that it is impossible to maintain that the risen Christ has a body unless one has touched it. Subsequently Christ fulfils Thomas' prayer that he be allowed to touch him : he appears a second time and adresses himself to Thomas which leads to the latter's profession : "My Lord and my God", a profession which even after his death can be heard everywhere as far as India. In his epilogue (302-314) the homilist exhorts his congregation to keep the teaching of Thomas and not to lapse into their former worship of idols made of wood and stone.

The peculiar context of BHG 1841s explains the unique place which this homily occupies among other homilies on Thomas. Points of similarity between BHG 1841s and other homilies on Thomas are hardly to be found : we have found only one comparable passage in a homily of Proclus (4). This may be taken as a sign of the originality of our homilist. But it is indeed to the attention bestowed on Thomas that we owe the preservation of this homily, for in the panegyricum in which it is transmitted the homily is included as a text for the Sunday of Thomas, *i.e.* the Sunday within the octave of Easter (5).

(4) *Ibid.*, 63. The passage in question comes from a homily of Proclus on Thomas (BHG 1839-1841), edited by F.-J. LEROY. *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople. Tradition manuscrite inédits, études connexes* (*Studi e Testi* 247), Città del Vaticano, 1967, 238, 3-8.

(5) In *Sinait. gr.* 492, BHG 1841s is preceeded by the homily of Proclus (BHG 1839-1841) mentioned in the previous note, and followed by a homily of ps. Athanasius on the Ascension (cf. n. 12).

The homilist whom we encounter in BHG 1841s does not have a particularly rhetorical style, but he is certainly fond of using anaphora, as a glance at the text will confirm immediately. Often we find words repeated once (sixteen times) and twice (fourteen times), but more frequent repetitions also occur (6). Where the homilist uses anaphora he often shows a preference for short sentences, in which he strives for parallellism and symmetry (7). Similarly he likes to put words into the mouth of Thomas and of Christ, without, however, actually fashioning the speeches into dialogue form (8). A favourite preposition with our homilist is *πρός*, especially combined with the accusative to denote purpose as in 13, 15, 29, 33, 45, 46, 49, 56, 58, etc. The word *ὡς* is used innumerable times in the course of the homily, while *βεβαιόω* occurs six times (60, 94, 102, 206, 228 and 272 ; cf. 245). We have noticed one *hapax legomenon*: *διαπλασιάζω* (251). Of all these aspects of the homilist's style, however, there is not a single one which helps us to date the homily more closely or to assign it to a particular school of homilists.

In that, next to Thomas, Christ occupies a central position in BHG 1841s, it will be useful to pay some attention to the way in which the homilist describes Christ and his salvific work for the newly converted "Indians" and others in his congregation. Christ is God and man ; the homilist defines this as follows in his characteristic christological formula : *οὐ τραπεὶς ὅπερ ἦν, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο* (71-72, 299-300), a formula which we have not come across elsewhere (9). In 93-94 the homilist emphasises the real human being behind the words *ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο* with *τοῖς θαύμασιν καὶ τοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς πάθεσιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ βεβαιῶν τὸ φαινόμενον*. Christ's becoming man is not only

(6) We restrict ourselves here to indicating the most striking examples : *δι' οὗ* 8 times (64, 65, 66 bis, 67, 68 bis, 69) ; *ἀντί* 8 times (178, 179 bis, 180 ter, 181 bis) ; *τοῦτο* 6 times (12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18) ; *αὐτός* 6 times (75, 76, 77, 78 bis, 79) ; *δεῖ* 5 times (29, 31, 32, 33, 35) ; *οὐ(κ)* 5 times (80 bis, 81, 82 bis) ; *ἤκουσεν* 5 times (141, 142, 143, 145, 146-147) ; *πῶς* 5 times (247 bis, 248 bis, 249).

(7) *E.g.* 38, 41, 41-42, 55-57, 73-79, 80-83, 83-84, 85-89, 107-109, etc.

(8) Thomas' words are presented in 131-136, 153-157, 202-233, 243-249 and 276-286, and those of Christ in 173-185 and 257-273.

(9) In pp. 62-63 of the article mentioned in n. 1 above a number of related expressions are given from the works of John Chrysostom, Cyril, Theodoret and Justinian, from which is deduced that the formula used here points to the christological questions of the fifth and sixth centuries.

μεχρὶ σχήματος (99, 229). In lines 90-113 we find developed as well the theme of Christ, who is God and man. Christ remained God and man also after his resurrection (266-268). For the coming of Christ on earth the word ἐνδημία is used (39, 299).

Thomas, who is addressed twice with the vocative ὦ μακάριε (188, 287), is for our homilist τὸν τῆς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως καθηγητήν (31). It is Thomas who, χειρὶ καὶ γλώττῃ (a term occurring three times in the homily: 35, 199, 280), has made known the splendour of the incarnation.

TEXT

BHG 1841s is transmitted in a single manuscript, the wellknown unical *codex Sinaiticus gr.* 492, s. IX, which, like many other MSS from the Monastery of St. Catherine, was probably copied in Jerusalem ([10]). The MS contains a panegyricum with homilies of most of the earlier, famous authors such as Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius of Iconium, Proclus of Constantinople and Hesychius of Jerusalem; besides these we encounter an author who is for the rest almost unknown: John, who was bishop of Beirut at the end of the fifth century ([11]). A homily on the Ascension, ascribed in this MS to Athanasius, belongs in fact to the works of Cyril of Alexandria ([12]). From this short survey of the contents of the *codex unicus* can be seen that in the MS there are no indications of the identity of the author of BHG 1841s.

Although the folii of *Sinait. gr.* 492 have become somewhat disordered ([13]), BHG 1841s is still fortunately transmitted in its entirety on ff. 113^{r}-127^{v}, 132^{r}-133^{v} and 128^{r}.

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(10) Cf. M. AUBINEAU, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, I (*Subs. Hagiogr.* 59), Bruxelles, 1978, 88.

(11) Cf. M. AUBINEAU, *Homélies Pascales* (SC 187), Paris, 1972, 281-304.

(12) Cf. C. DATEMA, *Une homélie inédite sur l'ascension*, in *Byzantion*, XLIV, 1974, 121-137.

(13) Cf. C. DATEMA, *Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Cod. Sinait. gr.* 492, in *JÖB* 20, 1971, 241-243, and M. VAN ESBROECK, *Deux feuillets du* Sinaiticus *492 (VIIIe-IXe siècle)* retrouvés à Leningrad, in *Anal. Boll.* 100; 1982, 51-54.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου
εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀπόστολον
καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν·
ἐρρέθη δὲ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρόντων
Ἰνδῶν ἅτε τοῦ αὐτῶν βασιλέως ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως
προσελθόντος τῇ πίστει καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπηκόους
εἰς τοῦτο παραζηλώσαντος καὶ ἀποστείλαντος δῶρα τῷ
βασιλεῖ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν κλῆσιν γνωρίσαντος.

1. *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, ὁ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ῥήμασιν ὡς πιστὸς ἐπιφέρων τὴν ἔκβασιν· ὁ λέγων ἅπερ ἐπίσταται καὶ ποιῶν ἃ προέγνωκεν·* Ἀμὴν *γάρ, φησίν,* λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι κηρυχθήσεται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ
113[v] οἰκουμένῃ. *Τοῦτο πάλαι μὲν λόγος τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις / ἐτύγχανεν, νῦν δὲ πρᾶξις ἐνεργὸς τοῖς ὁρῶσιν καθέστηκεν. Τοῦτο πρὸς μίαν τὴν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τὰ πάντα συνήθροισεν ἁρμονίαν. Τοῦτο ἅπαντας τοὺς μακρὰν τῇ πίστει συνέδησεν πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν. Τοῦτο ‹ἐν› τοῖς παροῦσιν τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὸ ἔθνος τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεάτρῳ κατέμιξεν. Τοῦτο τὴν προφητικὴν λύραν τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ συνήρμοσε σάλπιγγι·* Αἰθιοπία *γάρ, φησίν,* προφθάσει χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ. *Τοῦτο τοὺς πόρρωθεν τῶν λόγων ὡς συγγενεῖς ἀκροατὰς ἀπειργάσατο.*

2. *Δεῦρο τοίνυν τῷ Θωμᾶ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποτίσωμεν, τοῖς εἰς τὸν*
114 *παιδευτὴν ἐπαίνοις τοὺς μαθητευομένους τιμήσωμεν, / τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν εὐνοίας τὸν λειτουργὸν στεφανώσωμεν. Χθὲς μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ δρόμου τὴν πορείαν ἐσπεύσατε καὶ πᾶσαν, ὡς πιστῷ, τῆς εὐνοίας τὴν ὀφειλὴν κατεβάλετε μίαν ὡς εὖνοι μέχρι τῶν σηκῶν τῷ πλήθει σειρὰν διατείνοντες, ἑνὶ τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας πρὸς τάχος συνθήματι χρώμενοι τῇ φύσει, τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ λεῖπον εἰσφέροντες, ὡς ἐπὶ ζεύγους τῆς πορείας τὸ τραχὺ διϊππεύοντες, ὡς ὄχημα τὸν πόθον τοῖς ποσὶν ὑποζεύξαντες. Σήμερον δὲ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα τὸν Θωμᾶν παρίστησιν καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς πρὸς εὐφημίαν ὑπογράφει τὸν κήρυκα. [Ἔ]δει γὰρ οὗ πρὸς πᾶσαν γῆν ὁ*
114[v] *φθόγγος διέδραμεν, τούτῳ τῶν λόγων / πανταχῇ συναπλωθῆναι τὸν στέφανον. [Ἔ]δει τὸν τῆς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως καθηγητὴν τῇ τῶν μαθητῶν*

10/12 *Matth.* 26, 13 et 24, 14 17/18 *Ps.* 67, 32

17 *αιθιοπίαρ cod. et postea ρ expunxit*
18 *συγγενειας cod.*

Saint John Chrysostom on Saint Thomas the Apostle and on the dispensation of Our Lord. Delivered in the Great Church in the presence of Indians, in as much as their King had, through a revelation, come to the faith and had stirred up all his subjects to emulate him in this, and had sent gifts to the Emperor and had made known their calling.

1. Blessed to God, who being faithful, adds to his words their accomplishment, he who says what he knows and does what he has foreknowledge of. For it says : *"Truly, I say to you that this gospel will be preached in the whole world"*. This was in ancient times a word for those who heard, but now it has become an effective reality for those who see. This has brought together everything into the single harmony which existed from the beginning. This has bound together with faith all the people from afar into concord. This on the present occasion has mingled the Indian race with the theatre of the church. This has harmonised the prophetic lyre with the trumpet of the gospel. For it says : *"Let Ethiopia hasten to stretch out her hand to God"*. This has made the people far from the word like relatives in their listening.

2. Come, then, let us render on their behalf the reward due to Thomas, let us with our praises of the teacher honour his pupils, let us crown the provider of our mutual respect. For yesterday you personally speeded up the progress of your course towards him, and you paid, I am sure, the entire debt of your respect, forming in your throng a single chain of respect stretching as far as the tombs, using your physical capacities as the single token of piety in order to be quick, relegating the rest to your intention, traversing the roughness of the course as if with a yoke of beasts, yoking desire as a chariot to your feet. But today the sermon presents Thomas himself to us here and visualises the messenger for the faithful, in order that he be praised. For it had to be that on the one whose voice ran to all the earth the crown of words should be completely unfolded. It had to be that the teacher of correct faith should be

εὐφημίᾳ στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς εὔκλειαν. [ʼΕ]δει τὸν θεὸν πρῶτον ἀνηγορευκότα τὸν Κύριον εἰς πᾶν μέρος αὐτοῦ τῆς κτίσεως ἀναρρηθῆναι τοῖς ῥήμασιν. Δεῖ τὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐν τῷ πλάστῃ φύσεως τὴν ἀπαρχὴν παραστήσαντα τῆς εὐνοίας τοῦ γένους ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν. Δεῖ τὸν χειρὶ καὶ γλώττῃ τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ μεγαλεῖον γνωρίσαντα πᾶσι τοῖς μέλεσι παρ' ἡμῶν στεφανοῦσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν.

3. Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἄνωθεν προνοίας τὰ σύμβολα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων / πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐνδημίας δεόμενα. Πολλὰ τῆς δεσποτικῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς κηδεμονίας τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ'οὐ τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ γενομένης ἡμῖν θεοφανείας ἐπάξια. Ὑπὲρ τὴν κτίσιν ἡ χάρις, ὑπὲρ τὴν δημιουργίαν ἡ συγκατάβασις, ὑπὲρ τὴν ποίησιν ἡ ἀνάπλασις. Αὕτη τῶν ὁρωμένων ἡμῖν ἐκφαιδρύνει τὴν χρῆσιν, αὕτη τὰ καλὰ λίαν τῇ πίστει καθίστησιν ποθεινότερα. Διὰ τὴν χάριν καὶ ὁ σύμπας ἡμῖν ὡς οἰκείοις προσηγάπηται κόσμος. Καλὸς ‹ὁ› οὐρανὸς ἡμῖν πρὸς στέγην ἁπλούμενος καὶ τῷ χορῷ τῶν ἄστρων διηνθισμένος πρὸς ἔλλαμψιν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐν ὕψει ῥήμασιν 115v αἰωρούμενος. / Τερπνὴ ‹ἡ› γῆ κατεστεμμένη τοῖς ἄνθεσι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑδάτων ὡς ἐπὶ κρηπῖδος ἐρηρεισμένη ῥοαις. Ἤδὺ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἡ θάλασσα τῇ γῇ συνεζευγμένη πρὸς εὔνοιαν καὶ τοῖς παρ'ἑαυτῆς τὸ λεῖπον εἰσφέρουσα καὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ὅρον ἐγγράφουσα καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ὡς ἐπὶ χορείαν τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀναστρέφουσα. Φαιδρὸς ὁ ἥλιος τῆς νυκτὸς τῇ αἴγλῃ διακρίνων τὸν ὅρθρον καὶ τῷ δρόμῳ τοῦ κόσμου διϊππεύων τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς τῇ θέρμῃ τὴν τελεσφορίαν δωρούμενος.

4. Καὶ τί γὰρ τῶν παρὰ θεοῦ γενομένων οὐκ εὔχρηστον ; Τί τῶν παρ'αὐτοῦ 116 καλῶς πραχθέντων οὐκ εὔφημον ; / Πάντα τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίᾳ κοσμούμενα, πάντα τῇ χρήσει πρὸς καλὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις μετρούμενα, πάντα τοῦ πλάστου τὴν πρὸς τὸ πλάσμα κηδεμονίαν γνωρίζοντα. Καρποὶ τῇ χρείᾳ τὴν εὐθηνίαν εἰσφέροντες, φυτὰ πρὸς βρῶσιν τοῖς ἐνδεέσιν προκείμενα, κτήνη τῶν πόνων τὸ ἄχθος συνμεριζόμενα, λόγος τῶν ἀλόγων τοῦ γένους διαίρων τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀρχὴ τῆς εἰκόνος ἡμῖν βεβαιοῦσα τὸ

32/33 Cf. *Ioh.* 20, 28 43 *Gen.* 1, 31 55/56 Cf. *Gen.* 1, 31

42 *ἀνάπλασις / λ super lineam scr. cod.*
56 *καλοῦ cod.*

crowned by the praise of his disciples in order that he be glorified. It had to be that the one who was the first to announce to every part of his creation that the Lord was God should be proclaimed by words. It had to be that the one who presented the first-fruit of our nature in the creator should receive in exchange the enjoyment of the beneficence of his race. It has to be that the one who with his hand and tongue made known the greatness of the dispensation to all its members should be crowned by us in our deeds.

3. Many indeed are the signs of the providential care for us from above, but they are inferior to the dwelling among us of the Only Begotten at the end of time. Many are the acts of solicitude of the Master in our regard, but they are not equal to the manifestation of God to us in the flesh. Grace surpasses what was established, condescension surpasses what was created, restoration surpasses what was made. This grace makes for us the use of visible objects resplendent, this grace renders the *exceedingly good* more desirable for faith. Through grace even the entire world becomes the object of our love as well, because we are related to it. Beautiful is heaven, folded out for us to be a roof and decorated with the dance of the stars for illumination, and suspended by the words of him who commands on high. Delightful is the earth, arrayed with flowers and planted on streams of water as on a foundation. Sweet to beholders in the sea, yoked in harmony to the earth and contributing from itself what is lacking, and marking by its coasts the limit fixed by God, and turning its onrush back on itself as for a dance. Brilliant is the sun, distinguishing by its radiance the dawn from the night and in its course riding through the whole world, and giving by its warmth maturity to fruit.

4. And which then of those things that come from God is not excellent? Which of his beautiful works is not praiseworthy? Everything has been fashioned with a testimony from him : Everything has been measured for use to a good end by those who are inclined ; everything makes known the care of the creator for creation : fruits bringing prosperity to want, plants offered for sustenance to the needy, beasts taking their share of the burden of toil, reason distinguishing the dignity of our race from what is not endowed with

γνώρισμα — ἡ πρὸς τὸν πλάστην οἷς χωροῦμεν ὁμοίωσις, νόμοι τὸ λογικὸν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐγγυμνάζοντες, προφῆται τῆς εὐσεβείας τὴν τρίβον εὐθύνοντες.

116v 5. *Ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας πρὸς ζωὴν ὑπεραίρει μυστήριον· / δι' οὗ τῆς* 65 *τριάδος ἡμῖν ἡ ἔλλαμψις παραγίνεται, δι' οὗ πατὴρ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ γνωρίζεται, δι' οὗ υἱὸς τῇ φύσει παρίσταται, δι' οὗ πνεῦμα τῆς θεϊκῆς οὐσίας ὑπογράφει τὴν ἔλλαμψιν, δι' οὗ τῆς ἀθανασίας τοῖς θνητοῖς πρόκειται τὰ δίκαια, δι' οὗ τῇ χάριτι καινουργεῖται τὰ πράγματα, δι' οὗ γῇ μὲν οὐρανὸς ἀναδείκνυται, οὐρανὸς δὲ βατὸς τοῖς γηίνοις καθίσταται, δι' οὗ* θεὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη καὶ 70 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη, *οὐ τραπεὶς ὅπερ ἦν, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο. Τοῦτο τὸ ποθούμενον θέαμα, τὸ ἐράσμιον θαῦμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν κτίσιν κατόρθωμα. Τί γὰρ οὐρανὸς πρὸς τὸν πλάστην; Τί γῆ πρὸς*
117 *τὸν Κύριον; / Τί θάλαττα πρὸς τὸν ἄπειρον; Ὑπὲρ τὴν κτίσιν ὁ ἄκτιστος, ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσιν ὁ ἀκαταλη[μ]πτος. Αὐτὸς τῆς γνώσεως ἡμῖν* 75 *τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐφήπλωσεν, αὐτὸς τῆς πίστεως ἡμῖν τὴν βάσιν ἐστήριχεν, ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁρῶν ἔχει τὴν ἔλλαμψιν, αὐτὸς τὴν γῆν ὡς ἄνθρωπος περινοστήσας ἐφαίδρυνεν, αὐτὸς θάλατταν πεζεύσας ἐσέμνυνεν, αὐτὸς τῆς ἀκτῖνος τὴν αἴγλην ἀπέσμηξεν, αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ πλάσματος τὴν φύσιν ηὐλόγησεν.*

80 6. *Οὐ μεσίταις ὁ πλάστης πρὸς διδασκαλίαν ἐχρήσατο· οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶν τῆς χάριτος τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἐνέγραψεν, οὐχ ὡς Μωϋσῆ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ὄρει*
117v *πορείαν ἐπέτρεψεν, / οὐκ ἐν γνόφῳ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑπέδειξεν, οὐκ ἐν πυρὶ τὴν θέαν ἐγνώρισεν. Ὡς συμπαθὴς τὴν χάριν ἐπλάτυνεν, ὡς πλουτῶν τὸ δῶρον ἐπηύξησεν. Αὐτὸς ἑκὼν συγκατέβη τῷ πλάσματι, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὴν* 85 *χάριν ἐκόμισεν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις παρέστησεν. Οὐκ ἐν γνόφῳ θυέλλης, ἀλλ' ἐν πλούτῳ τῆς χάριτος· οὐκ ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος ἤχους, ἀλλ' ἐν πνεύματι μετριότητος· οὐκ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ζόφῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν συγγενεῖ τῶν ὁρώντων οὐσίᾳ· οὐκ ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θυέλλῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν δουλικῇ πρὸς ἰατρείαν μορφῇ ὡς ἀδελφὸς τοὺς δεομένους προσήκατο.*

61 Cf. *Gen.* 1, 26 62/63 Cf. *Is.* 40, 3 ; *Matth.* 3, 3 69/70 *Baruch* 3, 38 80/81 Cf. *Exod.* 19, 20 81/82 Cf. *Exod.* 19, 16 et 20, 21 82 Cf. *Exod.* 19, 18 85/86 Cf. *Exod.* 19, 16 et 20, 21 86 Cf. *Exod.* 19, 16 87 Cf. *Exod.* 19, 16 et 20, 21 88 Cf. *Exod.* 19, 18 88/89 Cf. *Philip.* 2, 7

reason, a beginning reinforcing our recognition of the image – our likeness to the creator to the extent of our capacities, laws traininhg reason for virtue, prophets making straight the path of piety.

5. But the mystery of the dispensation exalts us so that we may live. Through this the radiance of the Trinity accrues to us ; through this the Father is known to us in truth ; through this the Son stands by nature ; through this the Spirit calls up a picture of the radiance of the divine essence ; through this the justice of immortality is set before mortals ; through this created things are renewed through grace ; through this earth reveals itself as heaven, while heaven is made passible to mortals ; through this *God appeared on earth and dwelt among human beings*, not changing what he was but assuming what he appeared as. This is the desired vision, the longed-for miracle, the succes surpassing creation. For what is heaven compared with the creator ? What is earth compared with the Lord ? What is the sea compared with infinity ? The uncreated surpasses creation, the ungraspable surpasses the nature of the elements. He it is who unfolded for us the rays of knowledge, he it is who fortified for us the foundation of faith ; it is in him that everyone who sees possesses radiance ; he it is who made the earth splendid in traversing it as man ; he it is who sanctified the sea by walking on it ; he it is who purified the shine of the ray ; he it is who in himself blessed the nature of his creature.

6. The creator did not use intermediaries to teach, he did not engrave the legislation of grace onto tablets, he did not enjoin, as he had done on Moses, that one approach him on the mountain, he did not reveal his presence in cloud, he did not make known his appearance in fire. Being bountiful he increased grace, being rich he added to the gift. He it is who willingly descended to the level of his creation, he it is who offered himself grace, he it is who stood beside the needy. Not in a cloud of a tempest, but in a wealth of grace ; not in the sound of a trumpet-echo but in a spirit of modesty ; not in fear and darkness, but in an existence related to those who see him ; not in fire and tempest, but in the form of a slave to cure, as a brother, did he come to the needy.

118 90 7. *Ἔδωκεν τοῖς αὐτῷ προσεγγίζειν βουλομένοις τὴν ἄδειαν / κρύπτων τῇ μετριότητι τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὸ συγγενὲς τοῖς θνητοῖς εἰς προτροπὴν προϊσχόμενος, αὐτῇ τῇ θέᾳ τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς τῆς καταλλαγῆς δεικνὺς τὰ ἐνέχυρα, ἀντὶ βάτου τῇ παρθένῳ προσχρώμενος, «Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν» ἀνακράζων, τοῖς θαύμασιν καὶ τοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς πάθεσιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ βεβαιῶν τὸ φαινόμενον,*
95 *τηρῶν ὡς θεὸς τῇ μητρὶ τὴν ἁγνείαν καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος χρόνῳ τὴν κύησιν προσδεχόμενος, ὡς βρέφος τόπῳ κρατούμενος καὶ μάγους ὡς πλάστης σαγηνεύων πρὸς θέαν, διδοὺς ἀγκάλαις Συμεῶνι προσφαύειν, τοῖς κόλποις ἑαυτὸν μεθιστῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἄνναν, ἵνα πᾶς αὐτῷ μαρτυρήσῃ τῷ σώματι, ἵνα*
118v *πᾶς ὁρῶν γνωρίσῃ τὴν συγκατάβασιν, / ἵνα μὴ μέχρι σχήματος ἁπλῶς*
100 *ἀναπλάσῃ τὸ θαῦμα· λαμβάνων πρὸς συνηγορίαν τῆς ἐφ' ἣν ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν πενίας τὸν χρόνον, δεικνὺς ἐν τριάκοντα κύκλοις ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, βεβαιῶν πρῶτον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τότε τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὑποφαίνων τὸ γνώρισμα, τοῖς μικροῖς ἐπεφέρων τὰ μείζονα, τοῖς θαύμασιν τὸν ποιητὴν εἰσηγούμενος, πᾶσι μισθὸν*
105 *τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τοῖς δεομένοις κατατιθέμενος, γαμοῦσιν οἶνον προ-*
119 *σάγων, πεινῶσιν ἄρτον προσφέρων οὐχ ὡς πτωχὸς / παρ' ἑτέρου κιχρώμενος ἀλλ' ὡς θεὸς πηγάζων τὰ πρόσφορα, οὐ θερίζων ἀστάχυς οὐ βότρυς ἐκτέμνων, οὐ ληνῷ καὶ ἅλῳ προσχρώμενος, ἐκτὸς μύλης ἀρτοποιῶν, ἐκτὸς ἀμπέλου τὸν οἶνον προχέων, καινουργῶν φύσιν ἣν› αὐτὸς ἑτέρως πάλαι*
110 *διέταξεν, νεύων καὶ πρὸς οἶνον μεταφέρων τὰ ὕδατα, δεικνὺς τὸν χορηγὸν οἷς εἰργάζετο, τῶν ὄμβρων παραδηλῶν τὸν παραίτιον, πηλῷ τυφλοῖς διανοίγων τὰ ὄμματα, τῷ μέρει τοῦ παντὸς ὑποφαίνων τὸν αἴτιον, τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τὸν πλάστην παραδηλῶν.*

8. *Οὐ λεπρὸς φανεὶς ἀπῆλθεν ἀνόνητος, οὐ χωλὸς ὀφθεὶς ἐδεήθη τοῦ*
119v 115 *φέροντος. Εἶπεν καὶ γέγονεν, ἠθέλησεν καὶ παρέστησεν, / ἔνευσεν καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡ φύσις ἀνέτρεχεν. Τοῖς ὁρωμένοις προσετίθει τὰ μὴ φαινόμενα, τοῖς σώμασιν τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἴασιν ἐμνηστεύετο. Πᾶς ὡς ἰατρῷ προσελθεῖν προσηπείγετο, πᾶς ὡς ὅρμῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς προσετίθει τὴν ἄγκυραν. Ἑώρα τυφλὸν ἁμαρτωλὸς ὀμματούμενον καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐθὺς*
120 *αὐτῷ τὴν ἰατρείαν ἐπέρριπτεν. Ὁ μὲν ὡς τελώνης ἀρρωστῶν ἐξεβόα·* Κύριε, ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. *Ὁ δὲ ὡς λῃστὴς ἀπεγνωσμένος*

92 Cf. *Exod.* 3, 2 93 *Exod.* 3, 14 96/97 Cf. *Matth.* 2, 1 sqq.
97/98 Cf. *Luc.* 2, 25-38 101 Cf. *Philip.* 2, 7 105/106 Cf. *Ioh.* 2, 1-11 ;
cf. *Matth.* 14, 13-21 106/107 Cf. *Ioh.* 6, 11-13 111/112 Cf. *Ioh.* 9, 6
121 *Luc.* 18, 13

108 *προσχρώμενος / add. εψτ cod. et postea erasit*

7. To those who wish to approach him he gave freedom, hiding his dignity by his modesty ; offering mortals what was of like kind in order to attract them ; by his very appearance showing to sinners the guarantee of reconciliation ; instead of a bush availing himself of the virgin, calling out, *"I am the one who is"*; by his miracles and sufferings in the flesh confirming in himself his appearance ; preserving as God purity for his mother and as man accepting to be conceived in time, as a child subject to space, and as creator catching the Magi in his net so they would come to see him ; allowing Simeon's arms to touch him, surrendering himself to Anna on lap, so that everyone would bear witness to his body, so that everyone who saw would discover the condescension, so that he would accomplish the wonder not simply in appearance. Taking time as an advocate of poverty, to the point where he emptied himself, showing his human character in thirty cycles of years ; first strenthening for those who saw our nature in himself and then revealing the knowledge of his divinity in accordance with his power, adding bigger things to small ones, introducing the maker by his miracles, offering to all the needy the bounty of his presence, setting wine before newly-weds, serving bread to the starving, not, like a pauper, borrowing from another, but, like God, causing his gifts to flow, not harvesting corn, not gathering grapes, not using wine-press and threshing-floor ; making bread without a mill, making wine flow without a vine, renewing nature which he himself had formerly ordered otherwise, giving a sign and changing water into wine, showing the patron by his works, revealing the one responible for storms, opening the eyes of the blind with clay, manifesting by means of a part the cause of the whole, revealing the creator of Adam.

8. The leper who presented himself to him did not go away without benefit, the paralytic when he was seen by him did not need the stretcher-bearer. He spoke and it happened, he expressed the wish and it occurred, he gave a sign and nature turned back on herself. To the visible he added what was not visible ; to the body he promised cure of the soul. Everyone made haste to approach him as to a doctor, everyone cast anchor towards him as if to the mooring-place of his life. The sinner saw the blind man get his sight back and immediately attributed to him the cure of his soul. The one who was infirm,

ἀνέκραζεν· Κύριε, μνήσθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. *Ἡ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλικὴν ἐκ πορνείας ἐλαυνομένη[ν] στήλην κατέφυγεν αὐτὸν*
120 *εἶναι τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸν βασιλέα πιστεύουσα ξένῃ πρὸς τιμὴν ἁλουργίδι /*
125 *πηλίνῃ προσχρώμενον, καὶ τῆς δεήσεως κατ' ἐχθρῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀντιγραφὴν ἀναμένουσα.*

9. *Ταῦτα Θωμᾶς ὁρῶν ὡς ἐπὶ πλούτου τὴν εὐφροσύνην ἐπέτεινε· τούτοις σκιρτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ χορείας ὁ εὔνους ἠγάλλετο ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις ἰώμενος. Ἑώρα τυφλὸν ὀμματούμενον καὶ ἐχόρευεν, ἑώρα χωλὸν τρέχοντα*
130 *καὶ ἑόρταζεν, ὡς πιστὸς προσῆγε τοὺς κάμνοντας. Εἶδεν τελώνην, ἐπαίδευεν· εἶδεν πόρνην καὶ πρὸς ἰατρείαν προέτρεπεν. «Μὴ μόνον, φησίν, ἀσυντελὴς γένωμαι τῷ δεσπότῃ. Πᾶσα κτίσις ὡς πλάστῃ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς προσάγει πρὸς εὔνοιαν· οὐρανὸς ἀστέρα προφέρει, γῆ μάγους προΐσχεται,*
120v *θάλαττα τὸν στατῆρα, κτήνη τὸν πῶλον. / Ἐγὼ ποθεινὸν αὐτῷ προσεπι-*
135 *νοήσω μοι ξένιον· τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς καλέσω πρὸς ἴασιν, ὡς πρὸς ζωὴν τοὺς νενεκρωμένους συνάξω, δι' οὓς ἦλθεν πρὸς ἰατρείαν προσάξω.» Ἴδει λιμένα τῶν ἐν πλημμελείαις τὸν Κύριον, ᾔδει συμπαθείας θησαυρὸν τὸν ἥμερον.*

10. *Οὐ γένος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀγάπην λελόγιστο, οὐ πόλις αὐτῷ*
140 *τῆς μαθητείας προκέκριτο, οὐ πλοῦτος αὐτῷ τῆς ἀκολουθήσεως προτετίμητο. Ἤκουσεν·* Μὴ κτήσησθε χρυσὸν μήτε ἄργυρον, *καὶ γνώμῃ τὴν πτωχείαν προήρπαζεν. Ἤκουσεν·* Δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε, *καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἄμισθον προετίθει τὸ κήρυγμα. Ἤκουσεν·* Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου
121 καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων, *καὶ τῷ πόθῳ / προεπήδα τῆς*
145 *κλήσεως. Ἤκουσεν·* Πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, *καὶ ἑαυτὸν τοῖς οὖσιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν δεομένων συνεπίπρασκεν χρείαν. Ἤκουσεν·* Μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι, *καὶ ὡς ζωὴν ἐμελέτα τὸν θάνατον.*

122 *Luc.* 23, 42 122/126 Cf. *Luc.* 7, 36-50 et *Matth.* 26, 6-13 125 Cf. *Proclus Hom.* VII, PG 65, 757D 129/130 Cf. *Marc.* 10, 52 et *Matth.* 21, 14 133 Cf. *Matth.* 2, 1-2 134 Cf. *Matth.* 17, 27 134 Cf. *Matth.* 21, 7 ; cf. Proclus Hom. IV, PG 65, 713C 141 *Matth.* 10, 9 142 *Matth.* 19, 24 143/144 *Matth.* 4, 19 145 *Matth.* 19, 21 147/148 *Matth.* 10, 28

because he was publican, cried out, "*Lord, have mercy on me, a sinner*". The other one who was condemned, because he was a robber, called out, "*Lord, remember me when you come into your kingdom*". And the woman, escaping to him from prostitution, sought refuge by him as by a royal pillar, believing that he was the king of justice who had availed himself to a strange, muddy purple for his adornment, and waiting for an answer from him to her entreaty against the enemy.

9. Seeing this, Thomas became passionate to his joy, as if he saw riches. Exulting in this as at a dance, the virtuous man rejoiced as if in the sinful people he had been cured himself. He saw the blind man get his sight back and he danced, he saw the paralytic run and he celebrated, in his faith he led the sick to the Lord. He saw a publican, he taught him ; he saw a prostitute and encouraged her to be cured. "Just let me not become useless to the Master", he said. "All creation brings to him as to its creator its good as an offering of joy : heaven provides stars ; earth offers Magi ; the sea, silver ; animal creation, the foal. For my part I shall invent a gift that will please him : I shall call sinners to be cured, I shall call together the dead as if to life, I shall lead to be cured those for whom he has come". He knew that the Lord is a harbour for those in error, he knew that the gentle Lord is a treasure of sympathy.

10. There was no race that he counted on with regard to love of the Saviour, there was no city preferred by him for his discipleship, there was no wealth prized by him above following the Lord. He heard : *Do not acquire gold or silver*, and with his heart he snatched poverty in anticipation. He heard : *You received without pay, give without pay*, and he put the unpaid message of salvation first. He heard : *Come, follow me and I will make you fishers of men*, and in his desire he jumped in advance of the call. He heard : *Sell your goods and give them to the poor*, and he sold himself with his possessions for the benefit of the needy. He heard : *Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul*, and he concerned himself with death as if it were life.

11. *Οὐ σταυρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς μαθητείας ἀπέστησεν, οὐχ ἥλοι τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐσάλευσαν, οὐκ Ἰουδαῖος συκοφαντῶν, οὐ Καιαφᾶς κατηγορῶν, οὐ Πιλᾶτος μαστίζων, οὐ στρατιῶται χλευάζοντες, οὐκ οἰκέτης ῥαπίζων. Εἶχεν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ σταυρουμένου ῥήμασιν τὸ ἐνέχυρον· ἡ τῶν παθῶν πεῖρα τῆς* 121v *ἀναστάσεως ἀνεζωγράφει τὴν ἔκβασιν. / «Μία, φησίν, ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξενήνεκται ψῆφος. Αὐτὸς προλαβὼν ὁ κρινόμενος ἀπεφήνατο, αὐτὸς εἶπεν·* Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παραδοθήσεται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ θανατώσουσιν καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται.»

12. *Ἔδει προχωρῆσαι πρὸς πίστιν τὰ σκυθρωπότερα, ἔδει προλαβεῖν πρὸς πεῖραν τὰ λυπηρότερα καὶ τότε τῶν φαιδρῶν ἐπενεχθῆναι τὴν μέθεξιν. Οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ στυγνοῖς ἐδυσφόρει τοῖς χείροσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθέσιν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἐόρταζεν. Τοῖς πρώτοις κατενόει τὰ δεύτερα· γέγονεν ὅπερ ἤκουσεν,* 122 *ἦκεν ὅπερ ἐπίστευσεν. Ὁ σταυρὸς προεχώρησεν, / ὁ σταυρώσας ἐλήλεκτο, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δεδόξαστο. Τῶν ὁρωμένων ἡ μαρτυρία συνέτρεχεν·* τοῦ ναοῦ *διῄρητο* τὸ καταπέτασμα, *ἡ χάρις ἐξέφυγεν, γῆ κάτωθεν ἐσαλεύετο, ἥλιος ἄνωθεν μικροῦ κατεσβέννυτο. Τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν συνῆλθεν τὰ ἰσχυρά, τῷ[ν] ἀνθρωπίνῳ τὸ θεῖον τοῦ σωτῆρος προσεμαρτύρητο· ἐσκυλεύθη ὁ ᾅδης, ἐσαλεύθη ἡ κτίσις, διηνοίγη τὰ μνήματα, ὁ νεκρὸς, ὡς εἶπεν, ἐξέδραμεν. Ἡ σφραγὶς ἐπὶ θύρας, οἱ φρουροῦντες ἐν δέει, ὁ φρο‹υ›ρούμενος ἐπ' ἀδείας ὡς ἐξ οἴκου πρὸς οἶκον μεταπηδῶν, ἐκ τάφων πρὸς ὑπερῷον μεταχωρῶν, τοὺς μαθητὰς ὡς κατεπτηχότας ἐλέγχων, τῶν θυρῶν οὐκ ἀναμένων τὴν ἄνοιξιν,* 122v *τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς / εἰσόδῳ τοῦ τάφου γνωρίζων τὴν ἔξοδον, ῥήμασιν τοὺς πεπτωκότας ἐγείρων.*

13. «Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. *Μέχρι τίνος δειλιῶντες οὐ παύεσθε; Τί ἐν γαλήνῃ ταράττεσθε; Τί μετὰ νίκην δεδοίκατε; Τί μετὰ τρόπαια κατέπτηχθε;*

150 Cf. *Matth.* 26, 63 151 Cf. *Ioh.* 19, 1 et *Matth.* 27, 29 151 Cf. *Ioh.* 18, 22 155/157 *Marc.* 10, 33-34 164 *Matth.* 27, 51 164/165 Cf. *Matth.* 27, 51, *Matth.* 24, 29 et Marc. 13, 24 166/167 Cf. *Matth.* 27, 52 167/168 Cf. *Matth.* 27, 66 168 Cf. *Matth.* 28, 4 170/171 Cf. *Ioh.* 20, 19 173 *Ioh.* 20, 19

149 *της ευσεβειασ cod.*
157 *θανατωσωσιν cod.*

11. The cross did not keep him away from his discipleship, the nails did not shake his piety, nor the Jew and his false charges, nor Caiaphas and his accusations, nor Pilate and his scourging, nor soldiers and their scoffing, nor the servant with his slapping. For he possessed the guarantee from the words of the one who was to be crucified : the trial of suffering delineated the accomplishment of the resurrection. "A single verdict", he said, "is passed by both events. In anticipation the man who is to be judged revealed himself, he said himself : *Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem and the Son of man will be delivered to the Gentiles and they will scourge him and kill him and on the third day he will rise up*".

12. It was necessary, with a view to the faith, that gloomy events should come first ; it was necessary, in view of the test, that the painful events should occur first, and that the participation in glorious events should be added later. He did not become vexed at the bad, as one would at hateful things, but he celebrated at what he saw, as one would at true things. From the first he recognised the second ; what he heard, happened, what he believed, came to be. The cross came first, the crucifier was put to shame, the crucified was glorified. The witness of visible events kept pace : the *curtain of the temple was rent*, grace was put to flight, earth was shaken below, the sun was almost extinguished above. To the feeble were joined the strong, to humanity the divinity of the Savour added its testimony, Hades was despoiled, creation was shaken, graves opened, the dead man, as he had said, escaped : the seal on the doors, the guards in a quandary, the man who had been under guard for security reasons jumping as it were from house to house, passing from tombs to upper chamber, reproaching the disciples for being afraid, not waiting for doors to open, by his coming in to them making known his going out of the tomb, with his words raising up those who had fallen.

13. "*Peace to be you.* How long will you continue to be cowardly ? Why are you troubled in a time of serenity ? Why are you afraid after victory ? Why

Πέπαυται θάνατος, ἡ λύπη κατήργηται, τὰ πάθη κατέσβεσται, ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ἐλήλεκται, ἡ ἀλήθεια καταπέφανται. Ἅπερ εἶπον ἐπλήρωσα, τῶν τάφων τὸ σῶμά μου διανέστησα. Μηκέτι λοιπὸν ἀποροῦντες διάκεισθε, τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν τὴν πρόσοδον ὑποδέξασθε. Ἀντὶ πληγῶν λάβετε τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀντὶ χολῆς τὴν χορείαν προσδέξασθε, ἀντ' ἀκανθῶν τὴν εὐφροσύνην
123 *κομίσασθε, ἀντὶ σταυροῦ βασιλείαν, ἀντὶ τραυμάτων ἀθανασίαν, / ἀντὶ λόγχης τὴν κολυμβήθραν, ἀντὶ θανάτου ζωήν, ἀντὶ τάφου τὸν οὐρανόν. Οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν ἐμῶν πρὸς ζωὴν ἀπροσόδευτον. Μηδεὶς ὡς αἰχμάλωτος διακείσθω, μηδεὶς ὡς πένης καταλυέσθω, μηδεὶς ὡς γυμνὸς αἰσχυνέσθω, μηδεὶς ὡς πολέμιος δειλιάτω. Ἐγὼ τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν ἔχθραν κατέλυσα, ἐγὼ* τοῦ
φραγμοῦ τὸ μεσότοιχον *καταβέβληκα.»*

14. *Ἀλλ' ὦ θαύματος. Ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπεφαίνετο καὶ Θωμᾶς ἀπελιμπάνετο, ὁ ποθούμενος ἐπὶ θύραις καὶ ὁ προσδοκῶν οὐχ ηὑρίσκετο. Τί τοῦτο ὃ πεποίηκας, ὦ μακάριε; Ὁ τῷ πόθῳ πάλαι πυρούμενος, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ πράγμα-*
123v *τος παραδοκῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, / ὁ πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ τῇ τελευτῇ κοινωνεῖν*
ἐπευχόμενος, ὁ βοῶν· Ἄγωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵνα ἀποθάνωμεν μετ' αὐτοῦ. *Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θαύματος ἔκβασιν, μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔνδειξιν δέον παρεῖναι τῷ πράγματι, δέον σκιρτῆσαι τῷ θαύματι, δέον ὡς ἐκ παστάδος τὸν εὐεργέτην προσδέξασθαι, πόρρω τῆς χορείας καθέστηκας, ἔξω τῆς μάνδρας περινοστεῖς, ὡς ἀπογνοὺς οὐ προσδέχῃ τὸν Κύριον. Τάχα που καὶ*
τοῦτο τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ σόφισμα, τάχα που καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ σοφοῦ τὸ μηχάνημα, ἵν' ὡς ἀλγῶν ἐπιδράμῃ θερμότερον, ἵν' ὡς διψῶν ἐρευνήσῃ
124 *περιεργότερον, ἵν' ὡς τοῖς ἑωρακόσιν διαμιλλώμενος / τῆς ἀφῆς ἑαυτῷ προσεπινοήσῃ τὴν μέθεξιν, ἵνα τῆς οἰκονομίας ὡς πιστὸς τρανώσῃ τὸ κήρυγμα, ἵνα χειρὶ καὶ γλώττῃ τοῖς ἀποῦσιν διαγγείλῃ τὸ θαῦμα, ἵνα τὸ*
παροφθὲν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἀναπληρώσῃ τῷ πράγματι, μόνον οὐ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις βοῶν·

15. *«Τί μοι νῦν ὡς πλεονεκτοῦντες διάκεισθε; Τί ὡς ῥᾳθύμῳ τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπεμβαίνετε·* Ἑωράκαμεν τὸν Κύριον; *Μὴ καί, ὡς δεῖ, πρὸς πίστιν*

184/185 *Ephes.* 2, 14 187 Cf. *Ioh.* 20, 24 190/212 *Ioh.* 11, 16
203 *Ioh.* 20, 25

183 *διακείσθω*] *o supra lineam scr. cod.*
195 *καὶ expunxit cod.*

do you cower after winning trophies ? Death has stopped, sorrow has been abolished, suffering has been quenched, the Jew has been put to shame, the truth has been revealed. I have fulfilled my words, I have raised my body up from the tomb. Be no longer at a loss within yourselves, accept the profit of my suffering. Instead of blows accept certitude, instead of bile receive the dance, instead of thorns carry off joy, instead of a cross, royalty, instead of wounds, immortality, instead of a lance, the baptismal font, instead of death, life, instead of a tomb, heaven. There is nothing that concerns me that cannot be turned to profit for your life. Let no one be like a slave, let no one be dismissed like a pauper, let no one be ashamed like a naked man, let no one be afraid like an enemy. By means of my body I have destroyed enmity, I have broken down *the party-wall of division*".

14. But what a miracle ! The Saviour manifested himself and Thomas was wanting ; the one desired was at the door and the one awaiting was not to be found. Why did you do this, blessed Thomas ? You who were once on fire with desire, you who were awaiting the ressurection before the deed, you who were praying before the cross to be part of his death, you who were crying : "*Let us go too, to die with him*". Although, after the accomplishment of the miracle, after the demonstration of the resurrection, you should be present at the deed, you should jump for joy at the miracle, you should receive your benefactor as coming from a bridal chamber, you stand far aloof from the dance, you wander around outside the fold, like one who has despaired you do not await the Lord. Perhaps that was precisely the wisdom of the Saviour, perhaps that was precisely the device of the wise man, so that in his pain Thomas should run more ardently, so that in his thirst he should investigate more curiously, so that vying with those who has seen, he should invent the participation of touching, so that as a believer he should make plain the message of the dispensation, so that with his hand and tongue he should announce the miracle to the absent, so that what the disciples had left undone he should make good by his deed, crying to the apostles to this effect :

15. "Why do you behave now as if you have the advantage over me ? Why, as if I were lazy, do you attack me with the words, "*We have seen the Lord*" ? Have you too, as you should, touched in order to believe ? Have you embraced the teacher with your touch ? Is the sight of him enough to convince disbelievers ? Wasn't it in order that you should testify that the

ἐψηλαφήσατε ; Μὴ τῇ ἀφῇ τὸν παιδευτὴν ἠγκαλίσασθε ; Ἀρκεῖ τοῖς
ἀπίστοις ἡ ὄψις πρὸς ἔλεγχον ; Οὐ πρὸς μαρτυρίαν ὑμῖν ὁ δεσπότης
ἐπέλαμψεν ; Οὐ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὑμῖν ἐβουλήθη βεβαιῶσαι τὸ θαῦμα ; Οὐ
124[v] *τοῦ σώματος ὑμῖν ἦκεν παραστῆσαι τὴν ἔγερσιν ; Οὐχ ὡς συνηγόροις ὑμῖν /*
αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα πρὸς διδασκαλίαν ὑπέδειξεν ; Τί οὖν ἐφ' ὅπερ ἦλθεν οὐ
διεπράξασθε ; Τί μὴ τῇ ἀφῇ τῆς δικαιολογίας ἑαυτοῖς τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐφυ-
λάξατε ; Οὐκ ἴστε πόσοι τῇ ἀναστάσει προσμάχονται ; Πόσοι τῆς ἡμετέρας
φύσεως ἀπιστοῦσιν τὴν ἔγερσιν ; Τί μὴ τῇ ἀπαρχῇ τῆς πίστεως τὴν κρηπῖδα
κατεδέξασθε ; Μέχρι τοῦ σταυροῦ πολλοὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς ἡμῖν μαρτυ-
ροῦσιν τὴν ἔνδειξιν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ λεπροῖς χεῖρας ἐπέθηκεν καὶ πτύσας
τυφλοῖς ἐθεράπευσεν καὶ τελώναις πρὸς ἑστίασιν συνανέκειτο καὶ πόρνη
τῇ ἀφῇ τοὺς πόδας ἐγνώρισεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μετὰ τάφον δεῖ τινος ἡμῖν πρὸς
125 *ἀπόδειξιν. Τίς μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῖν ἀποδείξει τὸ γνώρισμα ;*
Οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς τάφον ὁρμήσαντες ; Ἀλλ' οὐχ εὗραν τὸν Κύριον. Ἡ μετὰ
τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτῷ προσελθοῦσα Μαρία ; Ἀλλ' ἤκουσεν· Μή μου ἅπτου.
Ἡμᾶς τοίνυν δεῖ ταύτην ἑαυτοῖς περιποιῆσαι τὴν πίστιν τοὺς τῆς οἰκου-
μένης πιστευθέντας τὸ κήρυγμα. Πῶς τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν κα-
ταγγείλωμεν ; Πότερον μετὰ σώματος ἢ ἐκτὸς σώματος ; Μεθ' ἧς ἀνειλήφει
μορφῆς ἢ μόνην τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος τὴν φύσιν γνωρίζοντες ; Διὰ τοῦτο τὸ
παροφθὲν ἀναπληρώσω τοῖς πράγμασιν. Ἐὰν μὴ βάλω τὸν δάκτυλόν
μου εἰς τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων καὶ βάλω τὴν χεῖρά μου εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν
125[v] 225 αὐτοῦ, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω. / *Ἐὰν μὴ τὸ πλέον ἐμαυτῷ διανύσω πρὸς μέθεξιν,*
οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι. Ἐὰν μὴ τὸ στερρὸν ἐμαυτῷ περιποιήσω πρὸς διδασκαλίαν,
οὐ παύσομαι. Ἐὰν μὴ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐμαυτὸν ἐφοδιάσω πρὸς πίστιν, οὐ
στήσομαι. Δεῖ με πᾶσιν τῇ ἀφῇ βεβαιῶσαι τὸ κήρυγμα, μή μοι τῶν ἀπίστων
ἀντιπνεύσωσιν φλυαρίαι, μὴ εἴπωσιν· "Οὐκ ἐγήγερται, μέχρι σχήματος
230 *ἁπλῶς ἐτύγχανεν τὸ φαινόμενον, τῷ τάφῳ τὸ σῶμα κατέλιπεν, μέχρι τοῦ*
σταυροῦ τῆς σαρκὸς ὁ δεσπότης ἠνέσχετο." Διὰ τοῦτο προσκαρτερῶ, διὰ
τοῦτο μέχρι θέας ἐμαυτὸν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ καταδεσμῶ· ἂν μὴ πληρώσω τὸν
πόθον, οὐκ ἔξειμι.»

126 16. *Εἶδεν ὡς παρὼν τὸν στρατιώτην ὁ Κύριος, εἶδεν ὡς παρὼν / τὸν*
235 *εὐγνόμονα, εἶδεν τῆς εὐνοίας τὸ γνήσιον, εἶδεν τοῦ ζήλου τὴν πύρωσιν, πῶς*

213 Cf. *Marc.* 6, 5 — 214 Cf. *Marc.* 8, 23 — 214/215 Cf. *Matth.* 9, 10
215 Cf. *Luc.* 7, 38 — 217/218 Cf. *Ioh.* 20, 3-9 — 218 *Ioh.* 20, 17
223/225 *Ioh.* 20, 25

226 *οὐχ cod.*

Master was resplendent among you ? Didn't he wish to confirm for you the miracle of the ressurection ? Didn't he come to prove to you the resurrection of his body ? Didn't he show his flesh to you as to advocates so you could teach this ? Why then didn't you carry out fully the purpose for which he came ? Why by touching didn't you keep for yourselves the first reasons of your affirmation ? Don't you know how many people fight against the resurrection, how many do not believe in the resurrection of our nature ? Why didn't you accept the foundation of faith through the first-fruit ? Until the cross many people bore witness to us of the proof of his flesh : he put his hands on lepers, and cured the blind with saliva, and reclined to eat with publicans, and a prostitute recognised his feet by touch, but for events after the tomb we need something to prove it. Who will show us after the resurrection the proof of the body ? Those who first ran to the tomb ? But they did not find the Lord. Mary, who approached him after the resurrection ? But she heard : *Do not touch me.* We, however, have to procure this faith for ourselves, we to whom its proclamation to the whole world has been entrusted. How should we proclaim the Son after the resurrection, with his body or without ? With the form he assumed or making known only the nature of his divinity ? On this account I shall make good by my deeds what has been undone. *If I do not put my finger into the print of the nails and put my hand in his side, I will not believe.* If I do not achieve more for myself as regards participation, I shall not stand aloof. If I do not procure for myself the concrete in order to teach it, I shall not stop. If I do not supply myself with deeds in order to believe, I shall not stand firm. I have to strengthen the message for everyone with my touch, lest the prattle of disbelievers blow against me, lest they say : "He wasn't raised up ; his appearance was simply a semblance, he left his body in the tomb, until the cross the Master held onto his flesh". It is on this account that I persevere, it is on this account that I bind myself fast in the upper room until I see. If I do not fulfil my desire, I shall not leave".

16. As if he were present the Lord saw his soldier, as if he were present he saw the prudent man, he saw the sincerity of his good-will, he saw the ardour of his zeal, how he was struggling on behalf of the faith, how he was fighting on behalf of the resurrection, how he was toiling on behalf of the message. And like a general he fulfilled his desire, he armed him with what he had

ὑπὲρ πίστεως ἠγωνίζετο, πῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀναστάσεως προσεμάχετο, πῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἔκαμνεν. Καὶ ὡς στρατηγὸς τὸν πόθον ἐπλήρωσεν· ὁπλίζων οἷς ἔπραττεν, οἷς παρεῖχεν ἀσφαλιζόμενος, δεικνὺς τὰ πρὸς νίκην τῷ σώφρονι, κατ' ἐχθρῶν αὐτῷ περιποιῶν τὸ δικαίωμα. Μεθ' ἡμέρας *γάρ, φησίν,* ὀκτὼ ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ Θωμᾶς μετ' αὐτῶν. *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ἀσθενήσας ἐνάρκησεν, οὐχ ὡς ἀπιστήσας διέπτυσεν, ὡς πιστεύων ἀνέμενεν, ὡς διψῶν ἐκαρτέρησεν, μόνον οὐ ταύτην ἀεὶ δι' εὐχῆς προσάγων τὴν δέησιν· «Πλήρωσον ὡς ἀγαθός μοι τὴν αἴτησιν, ὡς εὔνους με τῆς ἐλπίδος*
126v *ἀξίωσον. / Ἴδω τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐν σοὶ τὰ γνωρίσματα, ἴδω τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπαρχῆς τὴν βεβαίωσιν. Τοῖς κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἐλέγχοις τὸν μαθητὴν ἐφοδίασον. Ἴδω πῶς τὸ τρωθέν σου σῶμα καὶ μετὰ τάφον γνωρίζεται, ἴδω τοῦ φυράματος τῇ ἀπαρχῇ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἴδω πῶς πεπάτηται θάνατος, πῶς φθορὰ καταλέλυται, πῶς οἱ δεδεμένοι πλουτίζονται, πῶς οἱ γυμνοὶ προσφαιδρύνονται, πῶς οἱ πολεμοῦντες προσάγονται.»*

17. *Ἐντεῦθεν τὸ πέρας ἐπηκολούθει τοῖς ῥήμασιν καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπὶ θύραις τοῖς μαθηταῖς διαπλασιάζων τὴν ὄψιν, τὰ πρώην τοῖς ἔργοις ἀνανεούμενος, οὐδὲν τῶν πρόσθεν καταλιμπάνων τοῦ θαύματος, τιμῶν τοῖς ἴσοις τὸν*
127 *δίκαιον, πᾶσιν ἀνθιστῶν / τὸν εὐχάριστον, ὡς ἐν ζυγῷ πρὸς πάντας ἀντιμετρῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, ποιῶν ἅπερ ἐποίησεν,* τῶν θυρῶν κε-
κλεισμένων *εἰστρέχων, τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πρόσρημα, τῇ ἀφῇ τὸν πόθον ἀποπληρῶν.*

18. «Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. *Παῦσαι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑπ' εὐνοίας μαχόμενος, παῦσαι τοῖς πιστοῖς τῆς ῥαθυμίας ἐπιφέρων τὸ ἔγκλημα. Ἐγώ σου τὸν πόθον ἀποπληρῶ· ἂν μὴ τοῦ σώματος ἐν ἐμοὶ δείξω σοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἀνέρχομαι.* Φέρε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου ὧδε καὶ ἴδε τὰς χεῖράς μου· φέρε τὴν χεῖρά σου καὶ βάλε εἰς τὴν πλευράν μου, καὶ μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πιστός. *Μὴ δείσῃς ὡς δειλὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν· λάβε τοῦ κηρύγματος*
127v *τὸ ἐχέγγυον, λάβε τοῦ θαύματος τὸ ἐνέχυρον, / κατὰ τῶν ἀπίστων ὁπλίσθητι. Ἂν ἴδῃς ‹τινὰ› τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀρνούμενον, ἔλεγξον· ἂν*
ἴδῃς τινὰ τῆς θεότητος ἀθετοῦντα τὴν φύσιν, στηλίτευσον. Γνῶθι τί τὸ

239/240 *Ioh.* 20, 26 254/255 *Ioh.* 20, 26 257 *Ioh.* 20, 26
260/262 *Ioh.* 20, 27

237 *στρατηγῶ cod.*
243 *εὔνουν cod.*
246 *σῶμα / supra lineam scr. cod.*
262 *ὡς / σ supra lineam scr. cod.*

done, he made him secure with what he had provided, making clear to the virtuous man the things which lead to victory, preserving for him justification against the enemy. For *eight days later*, it says, *the disciplines were there and Thomas was with them.* He did not grow numb like someone who is sick, nor split like someone who is incredulous ; like a believer he remained, like someone thirsty he persevered, constantly addressing a petition in his prayer to this effect : "In your bounty fulfil my petition, in your good-will grant me my hope. Let me see in you the proofs of my nature, let me see the confirmation of my first-fruit. Supply your disciple with proofs against the enemy. Let me see how your wounded body is made known even after the tomb, let me see the resurrection in the first-fruit of our composite nature, let me see how death is trampled on, how corruption is destroyed, how the fettered become rich, how the naked become clothed in splendour, how those at war are embraced".

17. From that point their goal followed their words and the Saviour remoulded the disciples' vision beyond the doors, renewed his previous appearance by his acts, omitting from the miracle nothing of what had happened before, honouring the just man equalluy, matching the favoured man with all, as in scales measuring Thomas' enjoyment against all, doing what he had done, coming in through *closed doors*, taking up again his salutation of peace, fulfilling desire by touch.

18. "*Peace be to you.* Stop fighting with your brothers under the pretext of good-will, stop bringing the accusation of negligence against those who have believed. I am going to fulfil your desire. If I do not show you the truth of my body in myself, I shall not go away. *Put your finger here and see my hands. Put out your hand and put it in my side, and do not be disbelieving but believing.* Don't be afraid of the resurrection like a coward. Accept the pledge of the message ; accept the guarantee of the miracle ; arm yourself against disbelievers. If you see someone denying the dispensation of the flesh, convince him. If you see someone rejecting the nature of the godhead, hold him up to scorn. Know what is appearance, what is to be thought, what is

φαινόμενον, τί τὸ νοούμενον, τί τὸ πρὸς παθῶν πεῖραν ἀκήρατον, πῶς θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὑπάρχω τῷ πράγματι, οὐκ ἀποβαλὼν ὅπερ ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' ἀχώριστον ἐμαυτῷ χαρακτηρίζων. Ὡς ἴδιον διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸ σταυροῦ τοῦ σώματος ὑμῖν τὸν τύπον παρέδωκα λέγων·
270 Τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς
132 *τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, ἵνα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν /ἐπιτελοῦντες τὸν τύπον τοῦ πράγματος ἐν ἑαυτοῖς βεβαιώσητε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἵνα γνῷς πῶς ὅπερ ἔλαβεν θάνατος ἥρπασα, πῶς ὃ κατέπιεν ἐξεδίκησα.»*

19. *Τί οὖν ὁ πιστὸς στεφανίτης, ὁ γυμνὸς τροπαιοῦχος, ὁ πτωχὸς νικηφό-*
275 *ρος; Εἶδεν ὅπερ ἐπηύχετο, τῇ ἁφῇ τὰς χεῖρας ἡγίασεν καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπτεροῦτο τῷ πράγματι. «Ὁ κύριός μου, φησίν, καὶ ὁ θεός μου. Ἔχω ὅπερ ἐπόθουν, οἷς ἠβουλήθην κατήρτισμαι, οὐκέτι μέλλω πρὸς τὸ κήρυγμα, βοῶ θεόν μου τὸν Κύριον, ἡγίασά μου τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς Κύριον, ἁγιάσω λοιπὸν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ στόμα, ἔγνων τί τὸ φαινόμενον εἶπω, τί τὸ νοούμε-*
132v 280 *νον, χειρὶ καὶ γλώττῃ τὸν ἐμὸν /ἀναγγείλω δεσπότην. Ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου, σὺ εἶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεός μου. Οὐ θνητοῦ τινος ἁπλῶς τὸ θαῦμα καθέστηκεν· οὐδεὶς ἄνθρωπος αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ⟨ν⟩ενεκρωμένον ἀνέστησε, οὐδεὶς ἐν σταυρῷ τὸν ἐχθρὸν κατηγώνισται, οὐδεὶς θανάτῳ*
133 *θάνατον κατεπάλαισεν. Τῆς σῆς δυναστείας τὸ θαῦμα, /τῆς σῆς βασιλείας*
285 *τὸ χάρισμα. Ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου, τοῦτό σου πλοῦτος, τοῦτό σου θησαυρός.»*

20. *Ὦ μακάριε, τοῦτο κάρπος εὐφροσύνης, τοῦτο στέφανος κάλλους, τοῦτο σκῆπτρον, τοῦτο βασίλειον. Οἷς εἶπας ἐπλούτησας, οἷς ἐπέγνως τετίμησαι, τοῖς σοῖς ῥήμασιν τὴν δυναστείαν προσείληφας, ἡ σὴ φωνὴ καὶ*
290 *μετὰ τάφον ἀκούεται, κηρύττεις καὶ κείμενος, βοᾷς τοῖς θαύμασιν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οἷς ἐνεργεῖς ἐκδιδάσκεις, οἷς πράττεις δημηγορεῖς. Οὐ δεῖ σοι γλώττης πρὸς τὸ κήρυγμα, πᾶν μέλος στόμα σοι πανταχῇ τοῖς παροῦσιν καθίσταται, οὐχ ἓν αἰῶνος μόνον σοι πρὸς μαθητείαν κεκλήρωται, οὐκ ἐκ*
133v *τόπου πρὸς τόπον μεθίστασαι. Πᾶσα γῆ σου τὴν κόνιν μερίζεται, /ὡς ζῶν*
295 *ἑκάστῳ παρέστηκας· σοὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὸ ἔθνος προσέπεται, τῶν σῶν λειψάνων μεταδιώκει τὴν τέφραν, τῆς σῆς πίστεως περιφέρει τὰ σύμβολα, ὡς ἐν βίβλῳ τῷ σταυρῷ τῆς σῆς σοφίας ἀναγινώσκει τὰ γράμματα μόνον*

270/271 1 *Cor.* 11, 24 276 *Ioh.* 20, 28 280/281 *Ibid.* 285 *Ibid.*

297 *βίβλῳ] β*^{2} *supra lineam scr. cod.*

not defiled by the trial of suffering, how God and man I am the same in fact also after the resurrection, not casting off what I have assumed, but presenting it as inseparable from myself. It was on this account that even before the cross I gave you as something personal the symbol of my body, saying : *This is my body, which is broken for you. Do this in memory of me*, so that, accomplishing the symbol after the resurrection, you may confirm the truth of the fact in yourselves, so that you may know how I snatched what death took, how I exacted retribution for what he had gulped down".

19. What then did the faithful conqueror, the naked trophy-winner, the poor prize-winner, do ? He saw what he had prayed for, by touching he sanctified his hands, and the fact gave him wings of joy. "*My Lord and my God*", he said, "I hold what I desired, I have received what I wanted, I no longer hesitate with regard to the message, I cry that the Lord is my God, I have sanctified my hands in the Lord, I shall sanctify next my mouth by my profession, I know what I have to call appearance and what is to be thought, with my hand and my tongue I announce my Master. *My Lord and my God*, you are at the same time my king and my God. It is not simply the wonder of some mortal : no human being has raised up his corpse, nobody has defeated his enemy on a cross, nobody has overthrown death by death. It is the miracle of your might, it is the charism of your royalty. *My Lord and my God*; this is your wealth, this your treasure".

20. O blessed man, this is a fruit of joy, this is a crown of beauty, this is a sceptre, this is a diadem. Your words are your riches, your confession your glory, by your utterance you have received might in addition, your voice is heard even beyond the tomb, you proclaim even while lying dead, you cry out the truth with your miracles, by your works you carry out teaching, by your deeds you address the people. You do not need a tongue for your message, every part of the body is for you a mouth for those who are present from all places, it is not only one age that has fallen to your lot for instruction, you do not go from place to place. All the earth shares in your ashes, like a living person you stand by the side of each person. The Indian race follows you ; it seeks the ashes of your remains ; it carries everwhere the symbols of your belief ; as it were in a book it reads aloud the letters on the cross of your

οὐ ταῦτα βοῶν· «Εἷς θεὸς ἐν τριάδι νοούμενος, εἷς πατὴρ ὡς μόνος πατήρ, εἷς υἱὸς πρὸ τῆς ἐνδημίας ἀσώματος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν μετὰ σώματος, οὐ
300 *τραπεὶς ὅπερ ἦν, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο, ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον μοναδικῶς τῇ τριάδι συναριθμούμενον.»*

21. *Καλῶς, ὦ παῖδες, ἐπέγνωτε τοῦ Θωμᾶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν· ταύτην τηρήσατε, μὴ πρὸς τὰ ἀσθενῆ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου πάλιν αὐτομολήσητε, μὴ*
128 *λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις τὴν σωτηρίαν | πιστεύσητε, μὴ ξοάνων μορφαῖς τὸ θεῖον*
305 *ὑβρίσητε, τῶν ὁρωμένων τὸν ποιητὴν προτιμήσητε. Ἀσώματος ὁ θεός, ἀσχημάτιστος ὁ θεός, ὅλος ἐν πᾶσιν νοούμενος καὶ ὅλος ἁπανταχοῦ, οὐκ ἀλόγων θυσίαις τερπόμενος, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων σφαγαῖς προσηδόμενος· θύσατε τῷ θεῷ* θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, *τὴν ἐκ διανοίας αὐτῷ προσάγετε προσευχήν, σωφροσύνῃ τὸ σῶμα σεμνύνατε, τῇ πίστει τὴν ζωὴν κοσμήσατε καὶ*
310 *Κύριος πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. Ἔχετε Θωμᾶν συνήγορον, ἔχετε Θωμᾶν ὑπέρμαχον, ἔχετε Θωμᾶν διδάσκαλον· αὐτὸς καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ὑμῶν ὑπερασπίσει τοῦ ἔθνους ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

315 *Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀπόστολον.*

308 *Heb.* 13, 15

wisdom, shouting to this effect: "One God, thought of in a trinity; one Father as the only father, one Son, bodiless before his descent and after his arrival endowed with a body, not changing what he was, but assuming what he appeared as, one Holy Spirit, counted together with the Trinity as a unity".

21. You have come to know well, my children, the teaching of Thomas: keep it, do not return again to the weak elements of the world, do not entrust your salvation to stones and pieces of wood, do not outrage the divine by shaped statues, honour first the creator of the visible. God is bodiless, God is formless, thought of as wholly in everything and wholly everywhere, not taking pleasure in sacrifices of animals nor delighting in the slaughter of men. Offer to God *a sacrifice of praise*, address to him the prayer from your spirit, respect your body by purity, adorn your life with faith and the Lord will fight for you. You have Thomas as advocate, you have Thomas as champion, you have Thomas as teacher. Even after death he personally will hold a shield over your race in Christ Jesus our Lord, with whom, to the Father as well as to the most Holy Spirit, be glory, honour, power, now and always and forever and ever. Amen.

On Saint Thomas the Apostle.

UN ALPHABET RELIGIEUX EN VERS POLITIQUES SUR LA PASSION DU CHRIST

Le manuscrit 199 (XVe-XVIIe s.) du Métochion du Saint-Sépulcre, jadis à Constantinople, actuellement à la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Athènes (1), nous conserve entre les ff. 73^v-75^r le texte tout à fait inconnu d'un alphabet religieux sur la trahison de Judas et la passion du Christ. Nous le publions ici en étudiant brièvement les problèmes littéraires qu'il peut poser.

Comme il est bien connu, les alphabets forment une catégorie particulière de textes très populaires à l'époque byzantine, ainsi que dans les périodes post-byzantine et néo-grecque. Ces textes, plutôt en vers qu'en prose, sont acrostiches. La plupart de ces alphabets appartiennent à la littérature religieuse par leur sujet ou leur but. C'est ainsi que les *Θρησκευτικοὶ Ἀλφάβητοι* se divisent généralement en deux grandes catégories : a) les poèmes édifiants ou «utiles à l'âme», comme sont par exemple les alphabets parénétiques, b) les poèmes de célébration des grandes fêtes de l'Église (2). Quelques-uns de ces derniers vivent encore dans la littérature populaire en Grèce (chants de Noël, du jour de l'an, de l'Épiphanie ou du Vendredi saint).

Notre alphabet appartient à la catégorie des alphabets de célébration. Loin d'être un «mirologue», tel que des chansons populaires du

(1) Cf. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, t. 4, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1899, pp. 174-175. Voir aussi, Fr. HALKIN, *Catalogue des manuscrits hagiographiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Athènes*, Bruxelles, 1983 (= *Subsidia hagiographica*, 66), p. 169.

(2) Pour les alphabets comme genre littéraire voir K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich, 1897, pp. 71-720. Pour les alphabets parénétiques, nous avons l'étude précieuse de D. N. ANASTASIJEWIČ, *Die paränetischen Alphabete in der griechischen Literatur*. Diss. Munich, 1905. Voir encore DU MÊME, *Alphabete*, dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16 (1907), pp. 479-501. Pour les alphabets purement religieux, voir Hélène KAKOULIDES, *Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαβητάρια*, Thessalonique, 1964 (= *Ἀριστ. Πανεπ. Θεσσαλονίκης, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς, Παράρτημα*, 9). Cf. aussi, W. HÖRANDNER, *Ein Alphabet in politischen Versen über Schöpfung und verlorenes Paradies*, dans *Lirica greca da Archiloco a Elitis. Studi in onore di Filippo Maria Pontani*, Padova, 1984, pp. 273-289.

Vendredi saint ([3]), il nous donne en vers politiques le cadre historique de la Passion, tel qu'il nous est connu par les Évangiles. Commençant à la fin de la Cène, il va jusqu'à l'éclipse du soleil trois heures après la crucifixion du Christ. Il comprend 96 vers, qui forment 24 strophes de 4 vers chacune. Les premières lettres des strophes forment l'acrostiche alphabétique A-Ω.

Qui est l'auteur de cet alphabet ? Nous n'avons aucun renseignement à son sujet. Il serait un homme du clergé sans doute, car il paraît érudit. Il ne connaît pas seulement les Évangiles et les textes hymnographiques de la semaine sainte. Sa langue et son style sont évidemment d'un homme lettré, et nous pouvons signaler quelques références au texte d'Homère, comme nous le montrons dans notre commentaire. En suivant les évangélistes, surtout saint Jean, l'auteur agence sa composition avec des mots, des phrases et des symboles de l'hymnographie et de la littérature grecque. Au point de vue lexicologique, nous devons signaler quelques mots «hapax» ou très rares, mais très expressifs, comme par exemple : *λαχανοτρόφος* (v. 4), *ἀγριότροπος* (v. 20), *λογάς, ἡ* (v. 25), etc. ([4]).

De quelle époque pourrions-nous dater ce texte ? Nous n'avons que peu d'indications à ce sujet. Il y a d'abord, la date du manuscrit, qui nous donne un *terminus ante quem.* D'autre part, je constate que l'absence de rime (*ὁμοιοκαταληξία*) pourrait être une indication sérieuse. Comme il est bien connu, la rime a été introduite dans la littérature grecque sous l'influence italienne, vers la fin du XIVe siècle ([5]). Pour cette raison notre alphabet ne pourrait être postérieur à cette époque. La datation du XIVe siècle ne serait pas loin de la réalité, à notre avis.

Sa valeur littéraire n'est certainement pas grande, comme c'est d'ailleurs généralement le cas des alphabets. Il s'agit seulement d'un témoin de la vie religieuse byzantine avec beaucoup d'éléments populaires. Et c'est de ce point de vue qu'il vaut la peine de le mettre à la portée des spécialistes de la littérature byzantine en l'éditant.

(3) Cf. le livre de B. BOUVIER, *Le mirologue de la Vierge. Chansons et poèmes grecs sur la Passion du Christ.* I. *La chanson populaire du vendredi saint*, Rome et Genève, 1976.

(4) Voir notre commentaire, ci-après.

(5) Cf. C. DIMARAS, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, Athènes, 1975[6], p. 66.

Cod. Metochii Sancti Sepulcri in Constantinopoli
(nunc Athenis) *Gr.* 199

f. 73^{v} *Ἀνῆλθεν ὁ σωτὴρ Χριστὸς τῆς Πέμπτης τὴν ἑσπέραν*
μετὰ τὴν δείπνου τελετήν, μετὰ τὸ νίψαι πόδας,
πέραν εἰς τὸ ἀντίπεραν τῶν Κέδρων τοῦ χειμάρρου,
ἔνθα χαρεῖ τὸ πρόσωπον λαχανοτρόφος κῆπος.

Βλέπει προδότης μαθητής, στοχάζεται τὸν τόπον,
τὴν κάραν ἤρξατο κινεῖν κατὰ τοῦ Διδασκάλου·
πολλάκις γὰρ συνήθροιστο μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων
καὶ τῆς καλῆς ηὐμοίρηκε Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας.

Γρήγορον ἔσχηκε τὸν νοῦν, γρήγορον δρόμον τρέχει,
ἔρχεται πρὸς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἄνναν τε καὶ Καϊάφαν,
πρὸς παρανόμους γραμματεῖς καὶ εἰς τοὺς Φαρισαίους
κομπάζων, ἐγκαυχόμενος καὶ λέγων τὰ τοιαῦτα:

«Δότε μοι ἔνοπλον στρατόν, δότε μοι ὑπηρέτας,
ὡς παραδώσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν σήμερον ἑσπέραν
τὸν Ναζωραῖον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας,
τὸν βεβηλοῦντα σάββατα καὶ λύοντα τὸν νόμον».

f. 74^{r} *Ἔλαβεν ὅσα ἤθελεν, ἀνέρχεται ἐκεῖσε·*
μετὰ λαμπάδων καὶ φανῶν καὶ ξύλων ὡπλισμένοι,
βεβακχευμένοι τῷ θυμῷ, τῷ φθόνῳ πεπλησμένοι,
ὡς ἀγριότροποι λησταὶ καὶ κύνες λυσσητῆρες,

Ζητοῦσι τὸν Διδάσκαλον, βρύχουσι τοὺς ὀδόντας,
ζητοῦσι, συλλαμβάνουσι φιλήματι προδότου,
ἐμπτύουσιν, ἐμπαίζουσι, δεσμοῦσι, μαστιγοῦσιν,
ἀπάγουσι πρὸς τὴν σφαγὴν ὡς ἄκακον ἀρνίον.

Ἡ δὲ θεόλεκτος λογὰς τῶν θείων ἀποστόλων
ἀπέδρασεν, ἐσκόρπισε τῷ φόβῳ τῶν Ἑβραίων
κατασεισθεῖσα τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ πλήθει τῶν δοράτων
καὶ λάθρα παρεκρύπτοντο πρὸς ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις.

Titulus : *Ἕτερα (ἀλφάβητα)* 13 *στρατῶν* cod. 18 *ὁπλισμένων* cod
27 *κατασιστεῖσα* cod.

Θάρρους ὁ Πέτρος δὲ πλησθεὶς πρὸς μάχην ἐξηγέρθη
καὶ μάχαιραν ἐξείλκυσε, Μάλχον τινὰ πατάσσει
καὶ τὸ ὠτίον ἔταμε τὸ δεξιὸν ἐκείνου,
ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνέστειλε, κατέπαυσε τῆς μάχης.

Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ προσφιλὴς καὶ Πέτρος μόνοι δύο
συνήπτοντο, συνέτρεχον, Χριστῷ παρηκολούθουν
ὁρῶντες τὰ πραττόμενα, στοχάζονται τὸ μέλλον
μέχρι καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς αὐτῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Καϊάφα.

Καὶ πυλωρὸς θεράπαινα καὶ πλήθη παρεστώτων
τὸν Πέτρον ἐπυνθάνοντο, ὁ δὲ ‹καὶ› τρὶς ἀρνεῖται :
– «Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν Διδάσκαλον» ἠρνήσατο ὁ Πέτρος
(ἀλέκτωρ δ' ἐξεφώνει)
ἀλλ' ἐξελθὼν τῶν ἔξωθεν πικρῶς ἐναποκλαίει.

Λαμβάνουσι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀλάστορες ὁπλῖται,
f. 74v *τῷ Καϊάφᾳ φέρουσι / συχνῶς ἀνερωτῶντι.*
Ὁ δὲ προγνώστης καὶ Θεὸς τὰς πεύσεις τὰς ἐκείνου
σοφῶς ἀνθυποκρίνετο μηδέποτε τρομάξας.

Μάνικος δέ τις ἄγριος ἀπὸ τῶν προεστώτων
τὴν χεῖρα τύπτων μανικῶς κατὰ τῆς σιαγόνος
ἐκρότησε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, βαβαί, τοῦ τολμητίου !
Ἥλιε, γῆ καὶ οὐρανέ, ἀβάλε πῶς οὐ φρίττεις.

Νὺξ μὲν ἤδη διήρχετο ἡ ἱερὰ ἐκείνη,
ὑπηύγαζε δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν ἄλλη φωσφόρος ἔκτη,
ἐν ᾗ κοσμοσωτήριον ἐξετελέσθη πάθος,
δι' οὗ πᾶς κόσμος σέσωσται, πᾶς πιστὸς ἐθεώθη.

Ξένον, γυμνόν, ἀπάτορα καὶ ἄδικον εὑρόντες
τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπάγουσι, προῆλθον τοῦ Πιλάτου·
ὁ δὲ δεσμώτην ἔστειλεν Ἡρῴδῃ τῷ τετράρχῃ,
ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὸ βύσσινον ἐνδύσας ἀντιπέμπει.

Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἀνιδὼν Χριστὸν μετὰ κοκκίνου
τοῖς παρανόμοις ἤρετο : – «Τί δεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτον ;»
– «Σταύρωσον, σταύρωσον αὐτόν», ἐβόησαν οἱ πάντες,
«τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἀπόλυσον ἡμῖν τὸν λῃστόκριτον».

30 *μᾶλλον* cod. 31 *ἔτεμε* cod. 33 *πρός φυλῆς* cod. 39 *εἶδον* cod
39a *ἀλλ' Ἔκτορ* cod. 41 *ὁπλοίτε* cod. 42 *ἀναιρωτουντα* cod
60 *τολιστοκρήτων* cod.

Πιλάτος τοιγαροῦν Χριστὸν ἐκδίδει σταυρωθῆναι.
Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἄγουσιν ἐκ τούτου τῷ Κρανίου
καὶ δὴ αὐτὸν ἐμπαίζουσι, ῥαβδίζουσι τὰς σάρκας
καὶ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν τὴν κάραν ταινιοῦσι.

Ῥομφαία διεπέρασεν εὐθὺς τὴν Θεοτόκον
καὶ τρυχομένη, κλαίουσα κατόπιν ἠκολούθει
καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτεραι γυναῖκες Γαλιλαῖαι
χειροκροτοῦσι παρειὰς καὶ τύπτουσι τὸ στῆθος.

Σταυρώσαντες δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν γυμνὸν οἱ στρατιῶται
κλήρους ἐκβάλλουσιν εὐθὺς τοῖς τούτου ἱματίοις·
f. 75r *μερίζοντες / ἁρπάζουσιν ὡς λάφυρα καὶ κοῦρσος*
καὶ προσπαρακαθίζοντες παρατηροῦσι κύκλῳ.

Τότε σταυρώνουν σὺν αὐτῷ δύο ληστὰς κακούργους,
τὸν μὲν ἕνα ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων·
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εἷς ἐξέχεε ῥήματα λοιδωρίας
σὺν παρανόμοις τοῖς ἐκεῖ βλασφήμων πτύων λόγους.

– «Υἱὸς Θεοῦ εἴπερ αὐτὸς τυγχάνεις, ζωοδότα,
κατάβηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ πιστεύσωμεν πάντες·
οὕτω γὰρ σῴζεις σεαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ κακίστου μόρου,
ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἅπαντας ἐξαπιστοῦντας ἕλκεις».

Φωνὴ δευτέρωθεν φησί ληστὴς εὐγνώμων οὕτως
μετὰ δακρύων καὶ κλαυθμῶν καὶ στεναγμοῦ βαρέος:
– «Μνήσθητί μου, Κύριε, τοῦ τάλανος τὸ πνεῦμα,
ὅταν κατέλθῃς ἐπὶ γῆς ὡς βασιλεὺς τοῦ κρῖναι».

Χριστὸς εὐθὺς ἐβόησεν εὐκταίαν τούτῳ ῥῆσιν:
– «Ἀμήν σοι λέγω σήμερον ἐν παραδείσῳ ἔσει
συναυλιζόμενος ἐμοὶ καὶ συνδιαιτῶν ἅμα,
ἔνθα χαρὰ ἡ ἄληκτος, ἔνθα σκηναὶ δικαίων».

Ψυχαὶ πᾶσαι ἐσκίρτησαν, ψυχαὶ δικαίων τότε
ἐν παραδείσῳ βλέπουσαι ληστὴν χοροβατοῦντα
καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν κατέχοντα, τῶν χριστιανῶν τὸ σκῆπτρον,
δι' οὗ πιστοὶ συνήχθησαν ἐντὸς τοῦ παραδείσου.

72 *παρατηροῦντες* cod. 73 *σταυρώνουσιν αὐτόν* cod. 87 *σύν δι αὐτῶν* cod. *συνδιαιτῶν* scripsi.

Ὡς εἶδεν ἥλιος φρικτόν, τεράστιον ἐν κόσμῳ,
Χριστὸν Θεὸν σταυρούμενον ὡς ἕνα τῶν κακούργων,
τὰς φεγγοβόλους ἔσβησεν πυρσοφαεῖς λαμπάδας
καὶ σκότος γέγονε βαθὺ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον.

COMMENTAIRE

3. Cf. *Jean*, 18.1 : *Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν Κέδρων, ὅπου ἦν κῆπος.*

4. Le verbe *χαρῶ* (*χαρέω*) au sens de «donner de la joie» se trouve ici pour la première fois, «hapax». Cette forme verbale provient sans doute du subjonctif aoriste du verbe *χαίρομαι* (aoriste *ἐχάρην*, subjonctif *χαρῶ*). En grec moderne, on entend aussi le verbe *χαρῶ*, mais presque toujours avec un objet pronominal : *χαρῶ σε, χαρῶ τον, χαρῶ το*, etc. Ce verbe conserve évidemment l'aspect du subjonctif ancien.

– Le simple *κῆπος* (jardin) de l'Évangile est qualifié ici par l'adjectif *λαχανοτρόφος* (qui produit des légumes). Le mot *λαχανοτρόφος* ne se trouvant pas dans les lexiques grecs, est un «hapax» lui aussi.

6. *τὴν κάραν ἤρξατο κινεῖν.* La phrase indiquant la menace a son origine, selon moi, dans le *Canon* de Cosmas le Mélode pour le jeudi saint, *Ode*, VII, 1, où on lit : *Νευστάζων κάραν Ἰούδας κακὰ προβλέπων ἐκίνησεν.* Cf. W. CHRIST-M. PARANIKAS, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 192. Voir aussi Th. DETORAKIS, *Κοσμᾶς ὁ Μελωδός. Βίος καὶ ἔργο*, Thessalonique, 1979 (= *Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων*, 28), p. 135.

9. Il nous faut remarquer les deux sens tout à fait différents de l'adjectif *γρήγορος* dans un seul vers : a) éveillé, spirituel (*γρήγορον ἔσχηκε τὸν νοῦν*), b) rapide (*γρήγορον δρόμον τρέχει*). L'expression *γρήγορος νοῦς* provient probablement d'une prière, qu'on lit à haute voix pendant les acolouthies de l'*Apodeipnon* du Carême. Cf. *Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα*, Athènes, 1983[8], p. 179.

10. Cf. *Matth.*, 26.14-15 : *τί θέλετέ μοι δοῦναι, καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν παραδώσω αὐτόν; οἱ δὲ ἔστησαν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια.*

14 et 16. Ces vers rappellent un tropaire (*Kathisma*) du VIIe Antiphone de l'acolouthie de la Passion de Christ, au Vendredi saint : *Ὤ, πῶς Ἰούδας ὁ ποτέ σου μαθητὴς / τὴν προδοσίαν ἐμελέτα κατὰ σοῦ... / πορευθεὶς εἶπε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι· / Τί μοι παρέχετε, / καὶ παραδώσω ὑμῖν ἐκεῖνον, / τὸν νόμον λύοντα καὶ βεβηλοῦντα τὸ σάββατον...* Cf. *Τριῴδιον...*, éd. Venise, 1851, pp. 375-376. Toutes les références suivantes sont faites à cette édition. Cependant, la source de notre tropaire se trouve dans l'*Évangile Apocryphe de Nicodème* : *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σάββατα βεβηλοῖ καὶ τὸν πάτριον νόμον ἡμῶν*

βούλεται καταλῦσαι. Cf. C. TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1853, p. 207.

18. Cf. *Jean*, 18.3.

20. L'adjectif *ἀγριότροπος*, ne se trouvant pas dans les lexiques du grec ancien , est un «hapax». Pour le *κύνες λυσσητῆρες* cf. HOMÈRE, *Iliade*, 8, 299.

22. Cf. *Luc.*, 22.48.

24. Dans l'Acolouthie de la Passion, le Vendredi saint, il y a un tropaire commençant : *Ὃν ἐκήρυξεν ἀμνὸν Ἡσαΐας / ἔρχεται ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἑκούσιον...* Cf. *Τριῴδιον...* p. 368.

25. *Ἡ δὲ θεόλεκτος λογάς.* Pour l'adjectif *θεόλεκτος* voir G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 626. Au contraire, le mot *λογάς* ne se trouve pas comme substantif dans les lexiques. Dérivé du verbe *λέγω*, au sens de «recueillir» (*συλλέγω*), il veut dire : groupe, collège. L'expression a son parallèle dans la phrase *Ἡ δεκὰς ἡ θεόλεκτος* de l'*Acolouthie des Dix Martyrs Crétois* (23 décembre). Voir le Ménée de décembre actuellement en usage, dans l'acolouthie des Vêpres le 23.

26. Notez l'utilisation du verbe *σκορπίζω* au sens passif (*σκορπίζομαι*), comme en grec moderne.

– *τῷ φόβῳ τῶν Ἑβραίων.* Cf. *Jean*, 19.38 et 20.19. En grec moderne la phrase biblique *διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων* est devenue un proverbe. Cf. M. TRIANDAPHYLLIDES, *Παροιμιακὲς φράσεις ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὴ λογοτεχνία*, Thessalonique, 1962, p. 69. Voir aussi, D. S. LOUCATOS, *Οἱ ἀκολουθίες τῆς* M. *Ἑβδομάδος κι ἡ ἐπίδρασή τους στὴ νεοελληνικὴ γλώσσα*, dans *Nea Estia*, 19 (1936), p. 492.

30-32. Cf. *Jean*, 18.10-11.

37-40. Cf. *Matth.*, 26.69-75.

39a. *Matth.*, 26.74 : *καὶ εὐθέως ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησε.*

40. Le verbe composé *ἐναποκλαίω* ne se trouve pas dans les lexiques. Dans les Évangiles *ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς.* Cf. *Matth.*, 26.75 et *Luc.*, 22, 62).

45. Le nom propre *Μάνικος* est un faux nom sans doute, dérivé de l'adjectif *μανικός* (furieux). Nous avons quelques cas analogues dans les textes hagiographiques. Voir, par exemple, le nom *Ἀγριανός* formé de l'adjectif *ἄγριος* dans le *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (= *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*), col. 750.

45-47. *Jean*, 18.22 : *εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν παρεστηκὼς ἔδωκε ῥάπισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰπών· οὕτως ἀποκρίνῃ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ;*

48. *ἀβάλε.* Il s'agit d'une interjection rare, dérivant de l'hébreu, au sens de «Oh !», «Hélas !». Pour les formes et le sens cf. LAMPE, *o.c.*, p. 1.

50. *ἕκτη*. C'est-à-dire le Vendredi saint, tenant la sixième place dans la série des jours de la semaine, selon la manière grecque de les nommer. C'est ainsi que le samedi (*σάββατον*) s'appelle *ἑβδόμη*, le septième jour de la semaine. Dans le tropaire doxastique de l'acolouthie de l'*Ὄρθρος* du Samedi saint, nous lisons : *καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ εὐλογημένον Σάββατον*... Cf. *Τριῴδιον*, p. 411.

51. L'adjectif *κοσμοσωτήριος*, comme un qualificatif de la Passion de Christ, se rencontre pour la première fois dans la tragédie *Χριστὸς πάσχων* (*Christus patiens*) attribuée à Saint Grégoire de Nazianze (?). Voir LAMPE, *o.c.*, p. 772.

54-56. Ces vers sont un démarquage poétique de *Luc*, 23.7-11.

56. *Τὸ βύσσινον*. *Luc.*, 23.11 : *περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πιλάτῳ*. Notre poète appelle cet habit *βύσσινον*, un habit splendide couleur de griotte, en suivant l'*Apocalypse*, 18.16, où nous trouvons le mot : *ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, ἡ ἐνδεδυμένη βύσσινον καὶ πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον*...

57. En *Matth.*, 27.28, ce sont les soldats de Pilate qui ont revêtu Jésus de la *χλαμύδα κοκκίνην*, une chlamyde rouge. Voir aussi le tropaire suivant de l'*Acolouthie de la Passion*, du Vendredi saint : *Ἐξέδυσάν με τὰ ἱμάτιά μου / καὶ ἐνέδυσάν με χλαμύδα κοκκίνην*... Cf. *Τριῴδιον*, p. 382.

59. Cf. *Jean*, 19.6.

60. Cf. *Matth.*, 27.21. L'adjectif *ληστόκριτος* (condamné comme un brigand) est un «hapax» formé évidemment par analogie de *κατάκριτος*.

62. Cf. *Matth.*, 27.23 ; *Marc.*, 15.22 ; *Luc*, 23, 33, *Jean*, 19.17.

64. Cf. *Jean*, 19.2. Le verbe *ταινιόω-ῶ* signifie «couronner». Dans LAMPE, il y a aussi la forme *ταινιάω*, peu correcte.

65. Le mot *ῥομφαία* (glaive, épée), comme un symbole de la grave tristesse de la Vierge lors de la Passion de son fils, figure déjà chez *Luc.*, 2.35 : *Καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία*. Je suppose, cependant, que notre poète a trouvé son inspiration dans l'hymne de Cosmas le Mélode au Samedi saint. Dans le 2e tropaire de la IXe ode de ce «tetraodion» c'est la Théotokos qui dit à son fils déjà mort, mais immortel : *τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τῆς λύπης σπαράττομαι δεινῶς· / ἀλλ' ἀνάστηθι, ὅπως μεγαλυνθήσομαι*. Cf. W. CHRIST-M. PARANIKAS, *o.c.*, p. 201.

66-67. Ces deux vers ont leur origine sans doute dans le Kontakion de Romanos le Mélode sur la Passion de Christ, dont la première strophe (*Οἶκος*) insérée dans l'acolouthie de la Passion du Vendredi saint se lit actuellement dans l'Église grecque : *Τὸν ἴδιον Ἄρνα ἡ ἀμνὰς θεωροῦσα / πρὸς σφαγὴν ἑλκόμενον / ἠκολούθει Μαρία τρυχομένη / μεθ' ἑτέρων*

γυναικῶν... Cf. *Τριῴδιον*, pp. 378-379. Voir aussi l'édition de J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode. Hymnes*, t. IV, Paris, 1967 (= *Sources Chrétiennes*, 128), p. 160.

68. Voir le tropaire idiomèle suivant de l'acolouthie du Vendredi saint : *Σήμερον σὲ θεωροῦσα / ἡ ἄμεμπτος Παρθένος ἐν σταυρῷ, / Λόγε, ἀναρτώμενον, / ... καὶ στενάζουσα ὀδυνηρῶς ἐκ βάθους ψυχῆς, / παρειὰς σὺν θριξὶ καταξαίνουσα κατετρύχετο· / διὸ καὶ τὸ στῆθος τύπτουσα / ἀνέκραγε γοερῶς...* Cf. *Τριῴδιον*, p. 382. À propos du verbe *χειροκροτέω*, qui ne se trouve ni dans le *LSJ* ni dans le LAMPE, nous remarquons qu'il est en usage actuellement en grec moderne, mais presque toujours intransitif, au sens d'«applaudir», «battre des mains en signe d'approbation».

69-70. Cf. *Matth.*, 27.35 ; *Luc*, 23.34 ; *Jean*, 19.24.

71. Le mot *κοῦρσος, τό*, au neutre, signifie le produit du pillage. Sur le mot, voir E. KRIARAS, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας*, t. 8, Thessalonique, 1982, p. 343.

73. Cf. *Marc*, 15.27.

77-78. Cf. *Luc*, 23.39-43.

79. L'expression *κακὸς (κάκιστος) μόρος*, au sens de la mort dure et humiliante à la fois, se trouve déjà dans le texte homérique. Cf. *Iliade*, 6, 357 ; 21, 133.

80. Le verbe composé *ἐξαπιστέω* (être infidèle, douter) ne figure pas dans les lexiques grecs.

81. *δευτέρωθεν*. Il veut dire «de la part de l'autre (brigand)». Il s'agit d'un adverbe «hapax» inconnu dans les lexiques.

88. *ἔνθα σκηναὶ δικαίων*. La phrase est empruntée à l'Acolouthie aux morts, citée dans l'*Εὐχολόγιον* de l'église grecque.

90. Le verbe *χοροβατέω* (danser en chœur) se trouve très souvent dans les textes hymnographiques.

93-96. Cf. *Marc*, 15.33 ; *Luc*, 23.44-45.

95. L'adjectif *πυρσοφαὴς* (éclatant, rayonnant) est un «hapax», inconnu des lexiques grecs.

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ON CASSIA,
ΚΥΡΙΕ Η ΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΑΙΣ ...

Κύριε, ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις περιπεσοῦσα γυνή,
τὴν σὴν αἰσθομένη θεότητα,
μυροφόρου ἀναλαβοῦσα τάξιν,
ὀδυρομένη μύρον σοι πρὸ τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ κομίζει
οἴμοι ! λέγουσα, ὅτι νύξ μοι ὑπάρχει,
οἶστρος ἀκολασίας ζοφώδης τε καὶ ἀσέληνος,
ἔρως τῆς ἁμαρτίας·
δέξαι μου τὰς πηγὰς τῶν δακρύων
ὁ νεφέλαις διεξάγων τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ ὕδωρ·
κάμφθητί μοι πρὸς τοὺς στεναγμοὺς τῆς καρδίας
ὁ κλίνας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τῇ ἀφράστῳ σου κενώσει·
καταφιλήσω τοὺς ἀχράντους σου πόδας,
ἀποσμήξω τούτους δὲ πάλιν
τοῖς τῆς κεφαλῆς μου βοστρύχοις·
ὧν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ Εὔα τὸ δειλινὸν
κρότον τοῖς ὠσὶν ἠχηθεῖσα τῷ φόβῳ ἐκρύβη·
ἁμαρτιῶν μου τὰ πλήθη καὶ κριμάτων σου ἀβύσσους
τίς ἐξιχνιάσει, ψυχοσῶστα σωτήρ μου ;
Μή με τὴν σὴν δούλην παρίδῃς
ὁ ἀμέτρητον ἔχων τὸ ἔλεος.

Lord, a woman who fell into many sins,
Recognizing Your Divinity,
Took up the myrrh-bearer's office,
With tears brought you myrrh before your entombment.
"Ah me !" she said, "night is upon me,
The goad of incontinence, gloomy and moonless,
To lust after sin.
Receive my streams of tears,
You who use clouds to draw the water of the sea ;
Bend to my heart's groans,
You who bent the heavens with your ineffable abasement
I shall cover with kisses
And wipe again

With the hair of my head
The immaculate feet of You,
Whose footfalls echoing in her ears,
Eve in paradise at even-tide hid herself in fear.
Soul-saving savior, who will track down
The numbers of my sins and the depths of your judgments ?
Do not overlook me your servant,
You who have pity without measure."

This poem has, through inclusion in anthologies as well as through translation and paraphrase, become one of the best known specimens in the enormous corpus of Byzantine verse (1) ; nor has it remained untouched by literary criticism (2). Nevertheless important aspects of the poem have been neglected or misunderstood ; a clearer picture of its achievement can be obtained by comparison with its models and by attention to the development of thought and to its formal properties (metre, imagery, rhetorical figures).

In these lines the "sinful woman" of Luke's Gospel (7, 36 ff.) appears not for the first time as a poetic subject. Cassia's troparion has, in fact, several points of contact with Romanos' tenth *kontakion* (3), including the metaphor of night used to describe the woman's state : ROMANOS, *prooemium* II.1 : *ἐν κατανύξει* ; *ibid.*, stanza 6, l. 4 :

(1) On the many modern adaptations and translations cf. Ilse ROCHOW, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 135 f. (K. Palamas), 169 f. (anon. modern Greek), 171 (Th. Boreas) ; 185-7 (anonymous French), to which add that of C. A. TRYPANIS, *Penguin Book of Greek Verse* (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 435 ; the poem has also been much anthologized, *e.g.*, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, ed. W. CHRIST et M. PARANIKAS (Leipzig, 1871), p. 104 ; *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry : an Anthology*, ed. C. A. Trypanis (Oxford, 1951), no. 6 ; however, the most recent such collection, the *Anthology of Byzantine Poetry*, ed. B. Baldwin (Amsterdam, 1985), 154-56, oddly omits the poem in favor of Cassia's denunciation of the Armenians. On the form of the hymnographer's name cf. ROCHOW, pp. 3-5.

(2) E. C. TOPPING, "Kassiane the Nun and the Sinful Woman", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 26 (1981), 201-9 ; I regret that K. ΤΖΩΓΑΣ, *Τὸ τροπάριον τῆς Κασσιανῆς* (Athens, 1955) is inaccessible to me.

(3) For Romanos as a model of other poems of Cassia cf. ROCHOW (n. 1 above), p. 42, and K. KRUMBACHER, "Kasia", *SBBAW*, philos.-philol. und hist. Cl. (1897), 1, 322-23 ; Romanos also alludes to the harlot at *canticum* 52, *α'*, 3 : *ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ* (sc. *τῷ ἰατρείῳ τῆς μετανοίας*) *ἡ πόρνη ὑγίανεν.*

ἧς ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ ἦλθες ἰδεῖν με τὸν ἥλιον (4) ; CASSIA, ll. 5-6 : *ὅτι νύξ μοι ὑπάρχει, / οἶστρος ἀκολασίας ζοφώδης τε καὶ ἀσέληνος* ; both poems likewise share a direct address to the Deity (ROMANOS, *prooem.* II, l. 2 : *Χριστὲ ὁ θεός* ; CASSIA, l. 1 : *Κύριε*) preceding a dramatic presentation of the woman's thoughts in direct speech. Even more instructive, however, are the differences. The first speech which Romanos puts in her mouth, while similar in content, is altogether different in tone :

> How am I to fasten my gaze upon You, I whose glance deceived all ?
> How am I to beseech You the merciful One, I who provoked You
> my Creator to anger ?
> Come, receive this myrrh offered by way of supplication, Master ;
> And grant me release from the shame
> Of the pit of my deeds (5).

This speech begins with two lines which bring home the full paradox of her past behavior as juxtaposed with her present feelings. The gift of myrrh is then offered ; and finally she prays for release from her sinful state. An English rendering has difficulty conveying one aspect of Romanos' artistry, namely the fact that the rhetorical question *πῶς σε δυσωπήσω* ... ; is taken up in the next line by the presentation of myrrh *πρὸς δυσώπησιν. Δυσωπεῖσθαι* (> *δυσ-* + *ὤψ*) means literally 'to wear a gloomy countenance' (6) ; since such a display tends to produce pity in the observer, the active verb comes to mean 'to

(4) Ephraem the Syrian used the metaphor of blindness for the woman's sinful state and contrasts this with the light of Christ : *A Select Library of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd series, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, 13, 2 (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956), pp. 336 ff.

(5) *Πῶς σοι ἀτενίσω τῷ ὄμματι ἡ πάντας ἀπατήσασα τῷ βλέμματι ;*
πῶς σε δυσωπήσω τὸν εὔσπλαγχνον ἡ σὲ παροργίσασα τὸν κτίστην μου ;
ἀλλὰ δέξαι τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πρὸς δυσώπησιν, δέσποτα ·
καὶ δώρησαί μοι ἄφεσιν τῆς αἰσχύνης
τοῦ βορβόρου τῶν ἔργων μου.

(6) Cf. LSJ s.v. *δυσωπέω* ; Et. Gen. (AB) : *δυσωπεῖσθαι : ὑφορᾶσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι, μεθ' ὑπονοίας σκυθρωπάζειν · οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρίνειν καὶ ἐλέγχειν τὴν λέξιν λαμβάνουσιν (οἱ γὰρ – λαμβάνουσιν* B : om. A) *· δυσωπεῖν γὰρ εἴρηται παρ' ὅσον οἱ κατακεκριμένοι κακῶς* (A : *-οὺς* B) *ἔχουσι τὰς* (A : *τοὺς* B) *ὤπας. οὕτως εὗρον τὴν λέξιν εἰς τὸ Ῥητορικὸν Λεξικὸν* (cf. Phot. *δ* 858 Th.) *καὶ εἰς τὸ* (EM : *τὰ* B) *ἀνεκφώνητον τοῦ Ἡρωδιανοῦ* (sc. 2, 421, 3 Lentz ; *οὕτως εὗρον* – om. A) ..., unde (sc. ex B) EM 293, 51.

beseech'. The *nomen actionis* δυσώπησις can mean either 'shamefacedness' or 'supplication' depending on whether it is associated with the original or the metaphorical sense of the verb ; here surely the latter sense is in question, since πρός + accusative functions as a periphrasis for an adverb (LSJ s.v. πρός III.7) : the Master is thus asked to receive the myrrh 'by way of supplication' ; the presentation of myrrh, then, is the answer to the question πῶς σε δυσωπήσω ... ;

Romanos deals in character-types (7) ; the sinful woman is assimilated to the type of the harlot, and indeed her status as such is clearly implied even in the Lukan narrative, insofar as Simon assumes that she is easily recognizable at sight as belonging to a class of sinful women (*Luke* 7, 39 : ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Φαρισαῖος ὁ καλέσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων· οὗτος εἰ ἦν προφήτης, ἐγίνωσκεν ἂν τίς καὶ ποταπὴ ἡ γυνὴ ἥτις ἅπτεται αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἁμαρτωλός ἐστιν) (8). Yet as a result of his insistence on this aspect of her character, though her case can become a precedent for other sinners (cf. strophe 2, 9 ff.), she herself cannot be a universal symbol of sin and redemption. Romanos, in fact, follows fairly closely the account at *Luke* 7, 36 ff., so that, though the woman's situation is examined closely at the beginning of his *kontakion*, the focus shifts to the contrast of the woman with Simon the Pharisee and the lesson drawn that the love manifested by a sinner is proportionate to the sins forgiven.

Cassia, however, chose a different moment, a time after this incident had already occurred. Assuming the sinful woman to be identical with Mary Magdalene, who was among the women who went to the tomb to anoint Christ's body prior to burial (*Mt.* 28, 1 ; *Mk.* 16, 1 ; *Lk.* 24, 10) (9), Cassia selected this occasion for her poem, which,

(7) This probably results, at least in part, from the fact that the *kontakia* were intended for delivery before a large and diverse audience whose members were not necessarily used to sophisticated literature ; on Romanos' public cf. H. HUNGER, "Romanos Melodos, Dichter, Prediger, Rhetor – und sein Publikum", *JÖB*, 34 (1984), 36 ; J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris, 1977), p. 286.

(8) *Pace* TOPPING (n. 2 above), p. 205.

(9) For the identification cf. JEROME, *PL* 22, 588 : *Maria Magdalena ipsa est, a qua septem daemonia expulerat* (cf. *Mk.* 16, 9), *ut ubi abundaverat peccatum, superabundaret gratia* (cf. *Rom.* 5, 20), if the reference is to an abundance of personal sins, rather than merely her fallen condition : cf. U. HOLZMEISTER, "Die Magdalenenfrage in der kirchlichen Überlieferung", *ZKTh* 46 (1922), 567 ; GREG. MAGN. In ev. hom. 25, 1 (= *PL* 76, 1189B). 33, 1 (= *PL* 76, 1239C). In the East

after a brief *mise-en-scène*, consists in a dramatization of the woman's own thoughts. The monologue alludes to the previous encounter (ll. 12-14 : *καταφιλήσω τοὺς ἀχράντους σου πόδας, / ἀποσμήξω τούτους δὲ πάλιν / τοῖς τῆς κεφαλῆς μου βοστρύχοις*), but goes well beyond it, so that in the final prayer "the need of one sinner is absorbed into the cry of a whole suffering world" ([10]).

Cassia's hymn bears the superscription *Εἰς τὴν πόρνην*. Even if it did not or if the title were inauthentic, lines 5-7 give a clear picture of the woman's sin. The image of the gadfly may have caused the classically educated Byzantine to think of Io pursued by a gadfly in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (ll. 561 ff.) ([11]). Here the image is given a new twist by the limitation *ἀκολασίας* : the tendency to compulsive sin ([12]) conceived as a scourge could hardly have been expressed more vividly. Whereas Romanos shows the woman's sinful life from the outside in the deceptive allurement of her glance, Cassia presents it from the inside.

By assigning the woman the stereotypical attributes of a harlot, Romanos is able to underline the irony of her situation through rhetorical paradox ; but at the same time he reduces the possibility for identification with her. By freeing her from this stereotype Cassia removes the barrier to treating her as a human being wrestling, like all others, with the universal problem of sin and redemption. Cassia thus gained in depth of feeling and universality of theme, two qualities which, in conjunction with the monostrophic form, which enforces a

the identification is implied as early as Theodore of Mopsuestia ad *Io.* 20, 17 (= *PG* 66, 784A) : *δοκεῖ μὲν ἐπέχειν αὐτὴν τῆς ἁφῆς, ὡς ἂν* οὐχ ὁμοίως *ὀφείλουσαν ἐγχειρεῖν τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἁφῇ* ..., adduced by HOLZMEISTER, *l.c.*, p. 578, n. 2, who, however, fails to give this testimony proper weight ; the identification was not Cassia's innovation, as Topping (n. 2 above), p. 207, suggests. Cassia chose, for whatever reason, to make no use of the tradition that Christ cast seven devils out of the Magdalene.

(10) H. J. W. TILLYARD, "A Musical Study of the Hymns of Cassia", *BZ* 20 (1911), 433.

(11) This play was, of course, a member of its author's "Byzantine triad".

(12) Cf. Plato's definition : *καίτοι καλοῦσί γε ἀκολασίαν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἄρχεσθαι* ... (*Phdo.* 68e7) ; it is one of the bones of contention between Socrates and Callicles in the *Gorgias* (cf. 492a5, 505b11-12, 507d2 and 508a4) ; cf. also ARIST., *EN* 1117b23 ff., especially 1118b1 ff. ; *EE* 1230a36 ff.

concentrated display of poetic power, insured her hymn a "classic" quality denied to most Byzantine poems ([13]).

The introduction to the woman's speech is framed by the two longest lines of the poem (verses 1 and 4 ; 18 syllables each). This introductory statement anticipates the speech itself. We begin with a description of the woman's sinful state (1, 5-7) ; the turning-point, expressed in the second line, is not so much restated as dramatized in the speech as a whole ; then follows the woman's acceptance of service as a step in her redemption (ll. 3-4 and 12-14) ([14]). The word *Κύριε*, with which the poem begins, sets the tone. Even the first four lines, which narrate the woman's condition in the third person, are confided to God ([15]). Yet even so, there is a stark contrast between the relatively impersonal introduction and the dramatization of the situation in the woman's own words. It is the very onset of spiritual perception (note aorist *αἰσθομένη*) in l. 2 which makes the darkness surrounding the woman in ll. 5-7 seem so oppressive ([16]). The woman's acceptance of the office of myrrh-bearer (ll. 3-4) is an outward sign of an inner change ([17]). One reading this line for the first time might be tempted to refer these words to the purchase of myrrh prior to the woman's appearance at Simon's house, a scene dramati-

(13) Tension between literary form and intense emotion is, of course, one of the hallmarks of the 'classic'.

(14) There is also a metrical correspondence of the first seven syllables of ll. 4 and 12.

(15) Similar in structure is Cassia's *ἰδιόμελον* on the birth of John the Baptist (CHRIST-PARANIKAS [n. 1 above], p. 104 = *Poeti Bizantini*, ed. R. CANTARELLA, 1 [Milan, 1948], p. 142) ; but there the three lines which introduce Isaiah's speech are, in the absence of an invocation of the Deity, much less intense in tone (*Ἡσαΐου νῦν τοῦ προφήτου ἡ φωνὴ / σήμερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ μείζονος προφητῶν κυήσει / Ἰωάννου πεπλήρωται*).

(16) The harlot's change of heart appears, not as a corollary of spiritual insight, but as a reaction against her previous way of life in the anonymous hymn for the Wednesday of Holy Week (modelled on Romanos' tenth canticum) printed at *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi parata*, ed. J. B. PITRA, 1 (Paris, 1876), 478-80, stanza *β'* : *ἡ πρώην ἄσωτος γυνὴ / ἐξαίφνης σώφρων ὤφθη / μισήσασα τὰ ἔργα / τῆς αἰσχρᾶς ἁμαρτίας / καὶ ἡδονὰς τοῦ σώματος / διενθυμουμένη / τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν πολλὴν / καὶ κρίσιν τῆς κολάσεως, / ἣν ὑποστῶσιν πόρνοι καὶ ἄσωτοι* ... — Cf. also the oppressive darkness conjured by Aristophanes' chorus of birds (*Av.* 693-95).

(17) Cf. previous note and EPHRAEM THE SYRIAN (n. 4 above), pp. 336-37.

zed, after Ephraem the Syrian ([18]), by Romanos (*cant.* 10, stanzas 9-10) ; and the "office of myrrh-bearer" conjures another New Testament scene, that in which the Magi present myrrh, among other gifts, to the infant Jesus. In fact, however, as we are told in the next line, the myrrh will be needed for embalming the body of the crucified Christ (*Lk.* 23, 56) ([19]). In all three cases, however, the gift of myrrh represents, on the world's scale of values, a high honor, an honor which flows from the spiritual insight mentioned in l. 2 (*τὴν σὴν αἰσθομένη θεότητα*) ([20]).

The cry *οἴμοι* with which the woman's speech begins is unexpected. As a common cry in response to physical pain, it occurs not infrequently on Greek comedy ([21]) ; Cassia uses it to make the goad of sin palpable ([22]). The imagery of darkness in ll. 5-6 includes a metaphorical application of *ἀσέληνος*, which is ordinarily an epithet of night ([23]). These lines conjure up a death-like state, if anything, still more horrible than the physical death alluded to in l. 4 ; and they add a new dimension to the woman's grief, also mentioned in l. 4, which may have been not only for the death of the Savior, as the reader at first assumes, but also for her own fallen state ([24]).

(18) N. 4 above, p. 337 ; cf. also [Io. CHRYSOST.] *PG* 59, 534.

(19) Cf. also *Mt.* 26, 12, where Jesus interprets another gift of myrrh as intended for his burial.

(20) AMPHILOCH. ICON., *PG* 39, 81A ff., inveighs against those who would regard such expenditure as a waste of money.

(21) Cf. the many passages listed by O. J. TODD, *Index Aristophaneus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 176.

(22) In the first two chapters of *Mimesis : the Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (New York, 1953 ; 1st German edn. Bern, 1946), Erich Auerbach contrasts the narrative styles of the Old and New Testaments with those of select pagan authors and comments on the inseparability in the former of the sublime and the everyday ; in this Cassia is clearly the heir of the Biblical tradition.

(23) The *Ἀσέληνα ὄρη* also involve a metaphor ; they were perhaps so named, as Nicander suggested (frs. 6-7 Gow-Scholfield = *FGrHist* 271-2 F 6a-b = sch. Ap. Rh. 4, 57/8 and Et. Gen. [AB] s.v. *ἀσέληνα*, unde EM 153, 6), because when Selene slept there with Endymion, the rest of the world was moonless. Apart from the *Ἀσέληνα ὄρη*, our passage may be the earliest metaphorical use of the epithet (based on a check of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* [Irvine] s.v. *ἀσελην-*). The boldness of Cassia's metaphor is tamed in the translation of Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware, *The Lenten Triodion* (London and Boston, 1978), p. 540 : "... for night surrounds me, dark and moonless ...".

(24) Cf. the Byzantine proverb "Patroclus-excuse" (DIOGEN, 7, 47 with test.), an

Lines 8-14 comprise a statement of her offering ([25]). But now what is being offered is not mere external goods, such as myrrh, costly though that was : each offering involves a part of her – the streams of her tears, the groans of her heart, the kissing of His feet, and wiping of them with the hairs of her head ; what she is offering is herself ([26]). Christ had, in fact, recognized that her gift showed greater love than that of Simon (*Lk.* 7, 44-47).

In ll. 8-9, 10-11 and 17-18 the argument advances through an elaborate parallelism of human and divine activities and attributes. The confrontation of macrocosm and microcosm in ll. 8-11 is designed to further her plea by showing how relatively small a thing she asks in comparison to His other activities. Though in ll. 8 and 9 her tears are by rhetorical hyperbole streams, He can receive them since He fills the sea with water ([27]) ; the bending to an individual is easy compared to the bending of the heavens (ll. 10-11 ; cf. *Ps.* 17, 10) ([28]). Note also

allusion to *Il.* 19, 301-2, where the Trojan women bewail their own troubles on the pretext of Patroclus' death.

(25) It is appropriate that line 8, which begins the woman's address to the Deity, should correspond metrically to the first ten syllables of the first line, also addressed to God (this assumes substitution of s l s for s s l s at the end of l. 8 [s = short, l = long]).

(26) Ancient moral theory recognized the superiority of gifts which involve personal service to those based merely upon expenditure of capital : cf. ARIST., *EN* 1120a30-31 ; CIC., *off.* 2, 52 ; SEN., *ben.* 1, 5, 2. 7, 1. 11, 1-5.

(27) E. G. PANTELAKIS, "*Τά Σιναϊτικά χειρόγραφα τῶν λειτουργικῶν βιβλίων τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας*", *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrbb.* 11 (1934-35), 316-18, argues for adopting *στημονίζων*, the reading of an Athonite and three Sinaitic codices, in place of *διεξάγων* in l. 9 of our poem ; though the new reading fails on inner grounds to yield a convincing text (cf. ZON., 1680 : *στημονίζω : λεπτύνω*), this case does illustrate the urgent need for an edition of Cassia's works based on a critical recension of all extant witnesses ; cf. also I. ROCHOW, "Neues zu den Hymnen der Kassia aus *Cod. Meteor. Metamorphoseos* 291", *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Texte und Untersuchungen 125 (Berlin, 1981), 495-8 (on ascriptions, including p. 495 [our hymn]).

(28) For the phraseology of ll. 8 and 10 *τὰς πηγὰς τῶν δακρύων ... πρὸς τοὺς στεναγμοὺς τῆς καρδίας*) cf. ANDREW OF CRETE, *Great Canon*, ll. 183-84 : *Τὰ δάκρυα, σωτήρ, τῶν ὀμμάτων μου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ βάθους στεναγμοὺς / καθαρῶς προσφέρω, βοώσης τῆς καρδίας* ... For lines 9 and 11 (*ὁ νεφέλαις διεξάγων τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ ὕδωρ ; ὁ κλίνας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τῇ ἀφράστῳ σου κενώσει*) note E. NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), pp. 175 ff., esp. 201 ff., 220 ff., who contrasts forms of divine predication current in Greek paganism and in Oriental religions or religions

the contrast of ll. 9 and 11 : it is as if an explosion of water filling the sea is opposed to an implosion when a void is left by the *κένωσις* (an untranslatable pun : both 'emptying' and 'abasement') of God. The only respect in which the woman can aspire to cosmic proportions is in the number of her sins (17-18). But this reflection, which might bring her to an abyss of despair, is balanced with the realization of the likewise cosmic depths of God's judgments. Tillyard will have had ll. 8-11 and 17-18 in mind when he wrote that "possibly [the poem] contains too much antithesis" ([29]). However, the underlying thought – the contrast in scale of the individual and the Creator – is apposite ; and the antithesis, far from being artificially overlaid, is inevitable in the expression of this thought ([30]).

The introduction of Eve has caused difficulty. Tillyard found Eve's presence in the poem a "pedantic" intrusion ([31]). Topping points to the contrast of Eve the disobedient and the repentant harlot in Lenten sermons and hymns as precedent for the allusion to the first sinful woman ([32]). As evidence she adduces the Great Canon of Andrew of Crete, but her paraphrase of this is misleading. She says that in it Andrew "upbraids his soul for imitating Eve rather than the *porne*" ([33]). He does indeed upbraid his soul for imitating Eve (ll. 17 ff.) ; the reference to the *porne*, however, is as follows : *Τὰ δάκρυα τὰ τῆς πόρνης, οἰκτίρμον, κἀγὼ προβάλλομαι· / ἱλάσθητί μοι, σωτήρ, τῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ σου* (ll. 57-58 ; cf. ll. 307 ff.) ; there is thus no explicit contrast with Eve ([34]). Topping might, however, have referred, for instance, to the oration on the sinful woman by Amphilo-

influenced by Oriental conceptions, including Christianity ; he places in the latter category the form article + participle expressing an inherent attribute of the deity. Note also the metrical correspondence of the second cola of ll. 9 and 11 (*τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ ὕδωρ : τῇ ἀφράστῳ σου κενώσει*), with substitution of s l s (l. 11) for l s (l. 9) at the end of the line.

(29) TILLYARD (n. 10 above), p. 432.

(30) Cassia was, however, guilty of using excessive antithesis elsewhere – in the *ἰδιόμελον* on John the Baptist (n. 15 above) : cf. KRUMBACHER (n. 3 above), p. 321.

(31) TILLYARD (n. 10 above), p. 432.

(32) TOPPING (n. 2 above), pp. 208-9.

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 209, n. 22.

(34) The author of the anonymous hymn for the Wednesday of Holy Week (n. 16 above) does, however, reproach himself for not imitating the harlot's contrition (stanzas *α'-β'*).

chius of Iconium, a cousin of Gregory Nazianzen and friend of all three of the great Cappadocians ([35]). Indeed, of possible Old Testament types for the sinful woman, Eve is the most obvious and convincing, albeit some authors mention the case of Rahab, a harlot of Jericho, who hid Joshua's spies and was, as a result, spared together with her family when the Hebrews destroyed that city (*Jos.* 2 and 6, 25) ([36]). Yet it is perhaps not Eve *per se* but rather the way she is introduced that seems a bit artificial, with the "pure feet" of Christ serving as the link between the scenes at Simon's house and in the Garden of Eden ([37]). However, there is perhaps another point to the allusion to Eve which has so far been missed. Both Eve and the subject of Cassia's poem are sinful women, but their behavior in the presence of their God is totally opposite : the one attempts to hide (*Gen.* 3, 8), the other pours out tears of repentance ([38]). The two women become for all humankind negative and positive exempla of the behavior of a sinful mortal.

The verb *ἐξιχνιάσει* suggests a link between the two couplets comprised in ll. 15-16 and 17-18. God did indeed "track down" Eve, in spite of her vain and foolish effort to hide. The rhetorical question *... κριμάτων σου ἀβύσσους / τίς ἐξιχνιάσει* ; is modelled on *Rom.* 11, 33 : *ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θεοῦ· ὡς ἀνεξεραύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ* ([39]).

(35) *PG* 39, 71B ff. ; for authenticity cf. K. HOLL, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den großen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904), pp. 61 and 63.

(36) *Ibid.*, 76B ; ROMANOS 10, stanza 7 ; [IO. CHRYSOST.] *PG* 59, 534.

(37) COSMAS OF JERUSALEM likewise alludes to the "pure feet" of Christ in connection with the harlot ; but his reference is for the sake of a contrast along the lines of that of Romanos (cf. p. 65 above) : *τῶν ἰχνῶν σου ἐπελάβετο τῶν ἀχράντων κεχραμμέναις παλάμαις* (*PG* 98, 476A) ; cf. also AMPHILOCH. ICON., *PG* 39, 77B and 80A and the anonymous hymn (n. 16 above), stanza *α'*.

(38) CYRIL's notion that she anointed and wiped Christ's feet while standing behind him and could only come before him after her sins had been forgiven (*PG* 72, 624A) is, of course, without support in the text. — The contrast of the two is reinforced by the metrical correspondence of l. 13 with the first colon of l. 16 (with licit substitution of long for short in the first syllable : cf. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica : Cantica Genuina*, ed. P. MAAS and C. A. TRYPANIS [Oxford, 1963], pp. 512-13 [I]).

(39) Cf. also *Ps.* 35, 7 : *τὰ κρίματά σου ἄβυσσος πολλή* ; also CASSIA's *Canon for the Dead apud* KRUMBACHER (n. 3 above), p. 347, 1-2 : *Ὕψος καὶ βάθος τίς ἐκφράσαι δύναται / τῆς σῆς σοφίας, Χριστέ ... ;*

Then follows the phrase *ψυχοσῶστα σωτήρ μου*, the first invocation of the Deity within the woman's speech ; with its doubling of the *σω*-element it seems, like other figures of repetition, to heighten the pathos still further ([40]).

In the final couplet the thought of the cosmic scope of God's mercy becomes a source of consolation ; here the imitation of the penitential Psalms, though palpable, is integrated seamlessly into the new context : *Ps.* 50, 3 : *ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου / καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου ἐξάλειψον τὸ ἀνόμημά μου* ; CASSIA, ll. 19-20 : *μή με τὴν σὴν δούλην παρίδῃς / ὁ ἀμέτρητον ἔχων τὸ ἔλεος* ([41]).

Though the poem closes on a note of entreaty, the reader is surely meant to connect it with the Gospel accounts which place Mary Magdalene among the women first vouchsafed news of the resurrection (*Mt.* 28, 1 ff. ; *Mk.* 16, 1 ff. ; *Lk.* 24, 1 ff.) or even make her the first (*Io.* 20, 1 ff., and, if authentic, *Mk.* 16, 9) or among the first (*Mt.* 28, 9) to see the risen Christ ([42]). The answer to the prayer thus lies outside the hymn proper but through choice of its occasion (l. 4) is clearly implied.

The relation of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* is never easy to disentangle. In this case one suspects that it may well have been the feminine sympathies of one woman for another that enabled Cassia to explore the feelings of the sinful woman with such insight and sensitivity and make her a representative of sinful humanity in general. On the other hand, the "biographical fallacy" – the tendency of careless readers to identify the author with the literary subject – is surely responsible for

(40) For the type here represented cf. H. LAUSBERG, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 2nd edn. (Munich, 1973), § 638. 1a) ; on the affect of figures of repetition in general, *ibid.*, § 612 ; on the early development of this type in Greek cf. D. FEHLING, *Die Wiederholungsfiguren und ihr Gebrauch bei den Griechen vor Gorgias* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 153 ff., esp. 159-60.

(41) For the petition *μή με ... παρίδῃς* cf., *e.g.*, ANDREW OF CRETE, *Great Canon*, l. 76 (*μὴ ὑπερίδῃς με*) ; CASSIA, *Canon for the Dead apud* KRUMBACHER (n. 3 above), p. 353, ll. 151 ff. : *τῶν δούλων σου πάριδε / τὰ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, σωτήρ, / καὶ γνώσει πταίσματα. / Ὡς ἔχων μακρόθυμε, / φιλανθρωπίας / ἄπλετον πέλαγος, / τῶν πρὸς σὲ μεταστάντων / μὴ στήσῃς ὅλως τὰ παραπτώματα / ἐν τῇ ἐτάσει / αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον* ... The same poem regularly designates the petitioners as "thy slaves" (besides the passage just cited cf. ll. 50, 60, 205-6).

(42) Cf. the attempted harmonization at [IO. CHRYS.] *PG* 59, 635 ff.

the legend that Cassia herself was a fallen woman ([43]). If, as seems likely, she is to be identified with the Cassia addressed in three extant letters of Theodore the Studite, some biographical data emerge : the fact that she was the daughter of a Constantinopolitan courtier with the title *candidatus* ; her good education and literary style ; her zeal (in one case, in Theodore's view, excess of zeal ([44])) in the iconophile cause ; and her plan to become a nun ([45]). After the restoration of the icons in 843 she was able to fulfill her dream of founding a monastery, of which she served as abbess, according to reports of the chroniclers and a note in the *Patria Constantinoupoleos* ([46]).

More controversial is another report, also found in chronicles (first in Symeon the Logothete), to the effect that Cassia was among the participants in a bride-show instituted for the Emperor Theophilus. Her beauty caught his eye, and he accosted her with the words "Evil has come about through woman" (*διὰ γυναικὸς ἐρρύη τὰ φαῦλα*), to which she replied unabashed "But through woman also good has come" (*ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ γυναικὸς πηγάζει τὰ κρείττονα*). Thereupon Theophilus bestowed the golden apple upon another. W. T. Treadgold has subjected the evidence – both literary and numismatic – for the chronology of Theophilus' reign to close scrutiny and concluded that there are no good grounds for challenging the account of Symeon the Logothete ([47]). It is unfortunate that the most recent accounts of Cassia as a poetess, namely those of Topping ([48]) and Trypanis ([49]), have ignored Treadgold's study and instead have followed Ro-

(43) TOPPING (n. 2 above), p. 201, blames, less plausibly, "sexist prejudice" in general.

(44) He strongly criticizes her for refusing to allow last rites to the *strategos* Theodore, who, though a friend of the Studite, had lapsed into the iconoclast heresy (*PG* 99, 1621 f.).

(45) Rochow (n. 1 above), pp. 20 ff., reprints the letters with comment.

(46) *Ibid.*, pp. 26 ff., with literature.

(47) Cf. W. T. TREADGOLD, "The Problem of the Marriage of the Emperor Theophilus", *GRBS* 16 (1975), 325-41 ; more briefly, *id.*, "The Bride-Shows of the Byzantine Emperors", *Byzantion* 49 (1979), 403-4.

(48) TOPPING (n. 2 above), pp. 204-5, while calling the anecdote a "legend", seems to want to salvage its implications for the hymnographer's character.

(49) C. A. TRYPANIS, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis* (London and Boston, 1981), p. 755, n. 55.

chow ([50]) in discounting this story. Admittedly, one cannot vouch for all details (the golden apple, for instance, has seemed to many scholars to be a motif derived from folktale ([51])). But the outspokenness of Cassia's response certainly fits with her character as known from her *γνῶμαι* ([52]).

To sum up : the poem on Mary Magdalene begins on a milder but still relatively intense tone (four introductory lines), which is then raised sharply with the onset of the woman's speech (*οἴμοι*) and continues to rise steadily until the very last line holds out some promise of equilibrium. The language is simple and direct, the use of

(50) Cf. ROCHOW (n. 1 above), pp. 5 ff., who supplies references to the sources ; I append some comments on her argument, since Treadgold cites it but does not refute it in detail. Rochow relies on an *argumentum ex silentio*, always a hazardous proceeding. She argues that the earliest source for the anecdote, an epitome of Symeon Magister (or the Logothete), is merely of tenth century date and that the silence of sources of the previous hundred years is decisive against it. But we have not very many earlier sources for Cassia's life. Which of them would have had occasion to mention it ? Rochow accepts Symeon's indication that Cassia founded a monastery, since it is confirmed by PSEUDO-CODINUS, *Patria Constantinoupoleos*, but not his account of the bride-show. Note, however, that the *Patria* alludes in this context to Cassia's beauty (*Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, 2 [Leipzig, 1907], 276 f. : *Ἡ δὲ μονὴ τὰ Ἰκασίας ἐκτίσθη παρὰ Ἰκασίας τῆς μοναχῆς, εὐπρεποῦς καὶ εὐλαβοῦς καὶ σεβασμίας γυναικός, ὡραίας τῷ εἴδει τῆς τε κανόνας καὶ στίχους ποιησάσης ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Θεοφίλου καὶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*), a reference which is *per se* quite gratuitous here, but understandable if the author is following a source which, like Symeon, sets Cassia's failure in the bride-show and her founding of the monastery into relation as cause and effect. Moreover, Rochow herself has to admit the likelihood that a bride-show for Theophilus took place, since this event is confirmed by a source independent of Symeon, namely the *Vita Theodorae*, where there is no mention of Cassia (ROCHOW, n. 1 above, pp. 14 ff.). Yet the author of the *Vita* would hardly have alluded to the incident involving Cassia, even if he had known of it, since his job was to glorify Theodora, and the anecdote of Cassia implies that the latter was more beautiful than the future Empress.

(51) *Ibid.*, p. 13, with literature.

(52) So ROCHOW, *ibid.*, p. 19, who suggests that this fact may have been the starting-point of the anecdote. But, as Rochow herself points out (p. 59), there is no unambiguous reference to the *γνῶμαι* of Cassia in the whole of Byzantine literature ; if the anecdote had its origin in this feature of Cassia's character, it is more likely to have originated among those who knew her ; and if that is the case, why should it not have had some basis in fact ? – See the edition of three collections of *γνῶμαι* by K. KRUMBACHER (n. 3 above), 357 ff.

rhetorical figures restrained ([53]) ; at several points metrical correspondence underlines parallelism of sense ; elements taken from literary models (Scripture, Romanos) are not carelessly pasted on but made to form an organic part of their new environment ; the Old Testament type (Eve), if introduced with a certain artificiality, forms an apt contrast with the sinful woman and points a moral. Distinguished poets before her had touched on the theme of the sinful woman, but not in the same way. By presenting her as a stereotypical harlot, Romanos reduces the possibility of the reader identifying with the woman ; Cassia, however, invites such identification by presenting her plight with such vividness and pathos. In view of the originality with which she handles this subject it is hardly surprising to find that our biographical data attest her wit, literary culture and religious devotion ; she seems to have been allotted beauty into the bargain. Cassia can be said to have laid bare the human soul in a poem of extraordinary concentration and power.

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(53) Cf. p. 71 above.

P.S. – After I had corrected proof of this article, E. C. Topping, "The Psalmist, St. Luke and Kassia the Nun", *Byz. Stud.* 9 (1982), 199-2190, came into my hands (though bearing 1982 imprint date, this journal reached our library only in July, 1986). She has enriched her analysis with further parallels and evidently withdrawn or modified most of the points to which I took exception (above p. 71 and notes 8, 43 and 48). The reader will find that our two studies complement each other ; there are, to be sure, some overlappings, and there remain some (healthy) differences in interpretation.

THE SLAVIC THEORY IN RUSSIAN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE BYZANTINE FARMER COMMUNITY

Scholarly interest in Byzantine socio-economic history began to emerge in the second half of the nineteenth century. In western Europe, this interest was sporadic and resulted in a few works ([1]). Some modern scholars explain the lack of a broader involvement with this question on the part of the nineteenth century western byzantinology as "due partly to the historians lack of interest in economic phenomena, and partly to the clerical, literary and dynastic-anecdotal character of accessible sources. With Pan-Slavism and the boom of oriental trade investigation began in earnest but not to any great extent until the turn of the Century" ([2]). The statement concerning the quality of sources available before "the turn of the century" is not convincing enough. From the 1840's, J. A. B. Mortreuil, E. K. Zachariä von Lingenthal, and the team of F. Miklosich and J. Müller published their monumental collections of legal and diplomatic documents that virtually opened the door for studies of Byzantine socio-economic history ([3]). Russian byzantinists of that time not only noticed these

(1) N. CONSTANTINESCU, "Introduction à l'étude de la question agraire dans l'empire byzantin", in *Revue historique de sud-est Europe*, 1 (1924), pp. 235-237.

(2) J. DANSTRUP, "The state and landed property in Byzantium to c. 1250", in *Classica et mediaevalia*, 8/2 (1947), p. 222. It seems that what the author meant was Slavophilism rather than Pan-Slavism. The ideas of Pan-Slavism preaching political and cultural unity of Slavic nations originated in the 17th century. In the early 19th century, it became an established political movement and a tool in Russia's efforts to destroy Austro-Hungary by instilling separatistic ideas into Slavic nations living under Austrian domination. Also : A. ANDREADES, «Deux livres récents sur les finances byzantines», in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 28 (1928), p. 290.

(3) E. K. ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL, *Jus graeco-romanum*, 7 v. (Leipzig, 1856-1884) ; J. A. B. MORTREUIL, *Histoire du droit byzantin, ou du droit romain dans l'empire d'Orient depuis la mort de Justinien jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople en 1453*, 3 v. (Paris, 1843-1846) ; F. MIKLOSICH et J. MÜLLER, *Acta and diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 v. (Vienne, 1860-1890).

works but found them inspiring for their own studies. In addition, thanks to their east-European and near-Eastern connections, Russian historians benefited from the resources of both ecclesiastical and secular archives preserved in the territories of the former Byzantine empire. These archives, with their copious sources relating to law, economics, and the class structure of Byzantine society, extensively broadened the scope of Russian scholarschip. Yet, because of the language barrier, contributions of the Russian pre-revolutionary byzantinists were inaccessible to western scholars and only occasional references attested to their existence (4).

This essay offers a review of the Russian contributions which concern the institution of farmer community. There are two reasons for focusing on this subject. For the Russian historians, this subject represented a central theme in their studies then concentrated on the relations between Byzantium and the Slavs. For the western historians of Byzantium, this subject was a center of attention for several decades due to the availability of new sources.

The Russian historians' discussion revolved around three issues : (1) the origin of the Byzantine farmer community ; (2) the ownership of land in the community ; and (3) the liability of the community for taxes.

I. E. ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL AND HIS INTERPRETATION OF SOURCES

It was Zachariä von Lingenthal, the pioneer historian of Byzantine law, who ignited a long-lasting discussion on the origins and the

(4) P. LEMERLE, "Gorod i derevniia Vizantii v IV-XII v.", in *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'études byzantines, Ochrida, 1961* (Beograd, 1964), v. 2, p. 275 : "Ce sont les byzantinistes russes qui ont ouvert la voie à l'étude des questions agraires, à la fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle, avec les remarquables travaux de *Pančenko, Vasilevskij, Uspenskij*, etc.". Other mentions in : P. LEMERLE, "Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance : les sources et les problèmes", in *Revue historique*, 219 (1958), p. 32 = *The Agrarian History of Byzantium : from the Origins to the Twelfth Century. The Sources and Problems* (Galway, Ireland, 1979), p. VII ; CONSTANTINESCU, "Introduction...", pp. 233-234 ; ANDREADES, "Deux livres..."; p. 306 ; K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (München, 1881), p. 29 ; W. ASHBURNER, "The farmer's law", in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 32 (1912), p. 139 ; N. SVORONOS, "Petite et grande exploitation à Byzance", in *Annales*, 11 (1956), p. 325.

organization of the Byzantine free farmer community. His comments were based on an analysis of the *Nomos Georgikos* (*NG*) and the *Sentence of Magister Kosma* ([5]). Zachariä claimed that the *NG* represented an official legislative act of the Isaurians (pp. 249-250) and characterized it as *eine Polizeiordnung*. He maintained that provisions of the *NG* reflected the reception of Slavic institutions by Byzantine land property law (pp. 251-252). The Slavic tribes, which accounted for the majority of newcomers in the massive colonization of the Byzantine countryside during the seventh century, based organization of their rural settlements on their native laws and customs. Hence "there was nothing more natural than to treat the newly settled groups of farmers (*Bauernschaften*) as collective owners of the colonized land and, more importantly, to make them liable for the taxes due" (p. 254). Zachariä distinguished two stages in the organizational development of the farmer community. In the first stage, indicated in Art. 32 and 81 of the *NG*, all members of the community lived in full collectivity (*ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κοινότης*) in which "an individual exploitation took place only occasionally" (p. 252) ([6]). The second stage began with an act of division of the collectively owned land among

(5) K. E. ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 3d. ed. (Berlin, 1892). Zachariä's studies of the *NG* are based on Harmenopulos' version of the 14th c., published by G. E. HEIMBACH, *Constantini Harmenopuli manuale legum sive Hexabiblos cum appendicibus et legibus agrariis* (Leipzig, 1850). The Russian scholars discussed in this paper used mainly C. Ferrini's "Edizione critica del *νόμος γεωργικός*", in *B.Z.*, 3 (1898), pp. 558-571. The modern scholars who began investigating the rural question in the 1920's (in western Europe) and in 1940's (in the Soviet Union) have used W. Ashburner's version published in his "The farmer law", in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 30 (1910), pp. 85-108 (with the Greek text), and *ibidem*, 32 (1912), pp. 68-95 (with English translation from which the following quotations are taken).

(6) Art. 32. If a tree is cultivated by someone in an undivided place and afterwards an allotment took place and it fall to another in his lot, let no one have possession of the tree but him who cultivated it; but if the owner of the place complains 'I am injured by the tree', let them give instead of the tree another tree to the man who cultivated it and let them keep it.

Art. 81. If a man who is dwelling in a district ascertains that a piece of common ground is suitable for the erection of a mill and appropriates it and then, after the completion of the building, if the commonalty of the district complains of the owner of the building as having appropriated common ground, let them give him all the expenditure that is due to him for the completion of the building and let them share it on common with its builder.

single farmers, indicated in provisions of Art. 8 of the *NG* and in the *Sentence of Magister Kosma* ([7]). "What is striking here", wrote Zachariä analyzing the *Sentence*, "is that the division resulted in *equal parts*". (Zachariä's emphasis, p. 253). Following such division, each farmer cultivated "his *own* land" (Zachariä's emphasis, p. 252). Yet, the division did not give rise to the full ownership of the individual plots in the Roman meaning of *dominium*. Zachariä defined the right of an individual farmer to his allotted share as a "special property" (*Sondereigentum*). Any member of the community who felt injured by the division had a right to demand a cancellation of this act within the thirty year statute of limitation (p. 252). The new redistribution of land which followed the cancellation of the division in question gave rise to the same mutable rights, subject to the same conditions. As indicated in Art. 18 and 19 of the *NG* ([8]), during both these stages the community was collectively liable for all fiscal obligations (p. 254).

In light of Zachariä's excellent historical analysis of the farmer class in early Byzantium presented in other chapters of his *Geschichte*, and in his earlier work ([9]), this interpretation of the *NG* and the *Sentence of Magister Kosma* is rather surprising. Thus, it seems justified to assume that Zachariä's theory was influenced by the romantic philosophic ideas of nineteenth-century Europe. Slavophilism, a trend which

(7) Art. 8. If a division wronged people in their lots or land, let them have licence to undo the division.

Art. 81. If after the land of the district has been divided, a man finds in his own lot a piece which is suitable for the erection of a mill and sets about it, the farmers of the other lots are not entitled to say anything about the mill.

The Sentence of Magister Kosma. If there is one tax register and one tax payment due and the single lots constitute a community, and if thirty years have not yet elapsed since the division took place, one can treat the entire register and the single lots as a whole again in order to perform a new division into equal parts, in which the land under cultivation will be distributed according to its size and value.

(8) Art. 18. If a farmer who is too poor to work his vineyard takes flight and goes abroad, let those from whom claims are made by the public treasury gather the grapes, and the farmer if he returns shall not be entitled to mulct them for wine.

Art. 19. If a farmer who runs away from his own field pays the extraordinary taxes of the public treasury, let those who gather in the grapes and occupy the field be mulcted twofold.

(9) K. E. ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL, *Historiae iuris Graeco-Romani delineatio* (Heidelberg, 1839), p. 32 stated that the *NG* represented a compilation of Justinianic laws and popular laws of the peoples inhabiting the Empire.

emerged from these ideas in several European countries was particularly fashionable in Germany during Zachariä's lifetime.

II. Slavophilism in Germany and in Russia

The ideas of Germanic Slavophilism linked to the concept of the rural community were most comprehensively expounded by A. von Haxthausen ([10]). He claimed that the ancient institution of *obshchina*, successfully preserved in Russia due to the lack of the destructive influence of the West, was based and developed on very broadly conceived family bounds. These bounds had organized the nation into a hierarchic structure, crowned with the tsar, who acted as a father endowed with absolute power. The feeling of unity that such a structure instilled became the source of strength and patriotism for the Russian people and foreshadowed Russia's fulfillment of its great historical mission to serve as the nation "called to become a mediator between Europe and Asia, and to transmit the western civilization to the Orient" (p. 188).

German philosophical romanticism became very popular with Russian intellectuals, and gave rise to numerous and often conflicting ideologies concerning religion, history, economics, and socio-political science within Russia itself. From among the many factions representing these respective ideologies, the Slavophiles and the Westerners were both the most influential and the most radically opposed one to another. The Slavophiles, whose philosophy was shaped mainly by Schelling's mysticism and the concept of an organic nation, believed in the destructive influence of the western institutions upon a society. The Westerners, mainly affected by Hegel, conceived the western institutions as the indispensable precondition of any progress. Yet, the Russian Slavophiles did not entirely share Haxthausen's bucolic vision of their native society. Instead, they claimed that a nation organized on the principle of communal bonds needed neither a government nor, in particular, an absolute ruler. The nation only "invited" the government to protect the society from both inside and outside interference.

(10) A. von Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands*, 3 v. (Hannover, 1847). Vol. 1, pp. v-ix ; v. 3, pp. 127-128, 162-163, 177. These numberings of pages refer to the French edition published in the same place and the same year.

The Russian Slavophilic theory of *obshchina* was built on two premises : the universalism of Slavic institutions, which determined all the basic achievements of a civilized society during ancient times, and the belief that the Roman concept of property had destroyed these institutions in western Europe. The *obshchina* successfully preserved in Russia "was the best example of the Christian attitude to life, which considered property as means to satisfy human wants, not as an independent principle ; the land was held jointly by the commune and was periodically distributed among its members" ([11]).

Zachariä's concepts linking the Byzantine farmer community with the institution of *obshchina*, elicited a lively following in nineteenth-century Russia, when Russian byzantinology originated and flowered. Yet, it would be irresponsible to maintain that all the Russian followers of Zachariä's theories were influenced by the native Slavophile philosophy as well. The Russian *obshchina*, as an institution pertinent to the nation's most vital issues, became, decades earlier, a subject of fervent political arguments. These arguments reflected the main ideological struggle in nineteenth century Russia. A substantial part of Russia's upper and upper-middle class of that time, representing predominantly large landholding, praised the *obshchina* for their own economic benefit. Radicals and revolutionary leftists supported the *obshchina* for ideological reasons. The state bureaucracy found the Slavophilic philosophy regarding this institution to be in accord with the official agrarian and fiscal policies ; after all, it was the Russian government who had financed Haxthausen's costly travels across the country to help him produce a book extolling the Russian *obshchina* as the main national force capable of resisting the growth of both

(11) P. K. KRISTOFF, *An Introduction to Nineteenth-century Russian Slavophilism : a study of Ideas*, Vol. 1, *A. S. Khomiakov* ('S-Gravenhage, 1961), pp. 42-50, 214-219 and *passim* ; N. V. RIASANOVSKY, *Russia and the West in the Teaching of the Slavophiles : a Study of Romantic Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 12-16, 74-80 and *passim*. On pp. 135-136, the author summarizes the views of the two leading Slavophiles A. S. Khomiakov, who developed a theory about the role of the Slavs in the world history, and K. S. Aksakov, who in his numerous articles elaborated Russian history from the Slavophilic point of view ; A. WALICKI, *The Slavophilic Controversy : History of a Conservative Utopia in Nineteenth-century Russian Thought* (Oxford, 1975, translated from Polish), pp. 69-82, 168-178, 256-266 and *passim*. For a survey of the Slavophilic historiography see G. VERNADSKY, *Russian Historiography : a History* (Belmont, Mass., 1978), pp. 79-91.

capitalistic and socialistic thought in contemporary Europe ([12]). The liberal segment of the society, on the other hand, saw the *obshchina* as an institution that hindered not only the development of agriculture but also the overall progress of the nation. Thus when Chicherin, a prominent Westerner lawyer and historian, proved that the institution of the *obshchina* with its common property and periodical divisions of land was introduced to the Russian land tenure law only in the eighteenth century for purely fiscal objectives, he attacked not only the Slavophiles but, in fact, the general opinion and the official state policies ([13]).

III. Russian historians of the nineteenth century

Zachariä's views were accepted and further elaborated by three Russian historians : V. G. Vasilevskiĭ, F. I. Uspenskiĭ, and A. S. Pavlov. Vasilevskiĭ introduced a course of Byzantine history at the University of St. Petersburg and launched studies of Russo-Byzantine relations that sought to prove close analogies among Byzantine, Slavic, and early Russian history ([14]). Uspenskiĭ initiated and greatly advanced the study of the Byzantine agrarian economy and stressed its importance for a full comprehension of the empire's history. Pavlov's research on the history of Russian law concentrated on the influence of Byzantium on early Russian agrarian institutions.

Vasiliĭ Grigor'evich Vasilevskiĭ (1838-1899). Vasilevskiĭ's discussion on the *NG* – its history, its links to the *Ekloge*, and its basic provisions concerning the legal structure of the community – was a somewhat expanded word-for-word translation of Zachariä's work ([15]). Vasilevskiĭ, devoted to the investigation of traits common

(12) Walicki, *The Slavophilic Controversy*..., p. 165 ; Haxthausen, *Studien*..., v. 1, introduction, p. iv.

(13) B. N. Chicherin, *Opyty po istorii russkogo prava* (Moskva, 1858), pp. 57-58 ; T. Guerrier and B. N. Chicherin, *Russki diletantism i obshchinnoe zemlevladenie* (Moskva, 1878), p. 197, 200, 206 ; R. Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime* (New York, 1974), pp. 17-18.

(14) F. I. Uspenskiĭ, "Notes sur l'histoire des études byzantines", in *Byzantion*, 2 (1925), pp. 5-10, 17, 24-25.

(15) V. G. Vasilevskiĭ, "Zakonodatel'stvo Ikonoborcev", in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, 199 (1878), pp. 258-309 ; and 200 (1878), pp. 95-129. The *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* was composed of two parts : (1) announcements and business matter of the Ministerstvo ; (2) scho-

to both Russian and Byzantine history, firmly believed in Slavic influence on the institutions of land property represented by the *NG*. Aside from Zachariä's thesis, his beliefs were inspired by the writings of a Greek scholar, C. Paparrigopoulos ([16]).

Paparrigopoulos viewed the iconoclastic movement as a reaction by Greek nations against the foreign domination that supressed their Hellenic spirit of freedom. Consequently, he claimed that the abolition of serfdom, a direct result of the social reforms of the Isaurians, was implemented by the provisions of the *NG*, and that these provisions had proven a definite triumph of Hellenism over Romanism. Vasilevskiĭ agreed with Paparrigopoulos' conclusions regarding the revolutionary character of iconoclasm and the social premises of the Isaurians' reform. However, he disagreed with Paparrigopoulos' perception of the causes of these developments. "It is understandable", Vasilevskiĭ wrote, "that an Athenian professor looking at the history of the Byzantine empire from a national, Greek point of view, insists on the continuous existence of Hellenism and of Hellenic principles" (p. 260). But, because the demographic composition of the empire's population had dramatically changed in the medieval period, "the Greeks had to share their power over the empire with many other nations, beginning with the Slavs and ending with the Avars. [Moreover] one has to emphasize that Greeks called themselves *Romaioi* ... that their emperor was the Roman emperor, a representative and carrier of the idea ... of Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine" (pp. 260-262). Hence, "the promulgation of the *NG* did not precede the ethnographic and social revolution, but on the contrary, its enactment followed the revolution, and merely sanctioned the situation which already existed in reality ... We have every right to assume that ... the new Slavic settlers would have preferred a law conforming to their views, habits and customs, rather than to the tradition of strict Roman law of private property" (p. 105).

larly papers. Therefore, the note "pt. 2" which is included in some references to works published in the *Zhurnal* is omitted in this article. For a comprehensive bibliography of Byzantine studies published in the *Zhurnal* see "Ukazatel' statei po vizantinovedeniiu v 'Zhurnale Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia'", in *Vizantiiskiĭ Vremennik*, 23 (1963), pp. 307-318.

(16) C. PAPARRIGOPOULOS, *Histoire de la civilisation hellénique* (Paris, 1878).

Vasilevskiĭ fully shared Zachariä's views on collective property of land in the Byzantine farmer community. But he disagreed with Zachariä on the fiscal origin of the collective liability for taxes. "It is obvious", Vasilevskiĭ maintained, "that before the common land was divided, the tax was paid by the entire community ; but after the division, the liability for the whole sum of taxes also rested upon all the members of the community. This was a way to implement the legal principle that the land belonging to all members of the community was their collective property, and that separate possession did not abolish the original principle of commonness. Now a question emerges when such entirely new principles as freedom of movement and collective land tenure appeared in the Byzantine state and in the Byzantine communal regime. It seems likely that the principles were linked to one another by some inner ties and connected by something more than their simultaneous chronological appearance ... How was it possible that a legislator could impose the liability for taxes upon the community and at the same time give its members the right to move from one place to another ? ... It was quite unbelievable that during a period of total demographic instability which followed the Slavic migrations, any legislator of sound mind could proclaim [without any outside pressure] that everybody might look for cattle and land whenever he wanted". This outside pressure that resulted in the new revolutionary contents of the *NG* arose "during the first half of the seventh century [when] entire masses of Slavic peoples crossed the borders of the empire and occupied the land left behind by their predecessors. At the same time a great swarm of the expelled natives had to search for a place to live in other areas. That fact makes the beginning of the peasants' freedom to move, and this is where ... the sources of a new approach to land tenure are hidden" (pp. 104-105) ([17]).

Fedor Ivanovich Uspenskiĭ (1845-1928). Uspenskiĭ fully credited Zachariä for his initiative in the study of the Byzantine farmer class. "With his splendid explanation of the new legislative principles of the Isaurians ..., Zachariä was the first to throw new light on the iconoclas-

(17) Another major work of Vasilevskii on history of Byzantine peasantry in "Materialy dlia vnutrenei istorii vizantiiskogo gosudarstva : merty v zashchitu krest'ianskogo zemlevladennia", in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, 202 (1879), pp. 160-232. About Vasilevskii : P. BEZOBRAZOV, "V. G. Vasilevskii", in *Vizantiiskiĭ Vremennik*, 6 (1899), pp. 636-658, with bibliography of his works.

tic epoch [and] to attribute a political significance to a [farmer] community" (p. 302) ([18]). Similarly Uspenskiĭ highly valued the contributions of Vasilevskiĭ "who first studied and accumulated the past and current foreign and Russian editions of sources and materials on Byzantine history, forgotten and omitted from scholarly circulation [by now]" (p. 305).

Yet, Uspenskiĭ was critical as well. He found his predecessors' contributions too superficial. "The origin of the community, its fate in the following epoch, and, finally, its role in the national and political history of Byzantium remained for Zachariä quite unclear" (p. 84, 302). "Vasilevskiĭ, who had such a vast material at his disposal, [failed to approach] the difficult problem of taxation and the tangled fiscal terminology, a puzzle whose solution evaded Zachariä himself" (p. 305).

With regard to the impact of Slavic colonization on Byzantine agrarian laws, Uspenskiĭ wrote : "As it appeared, the Byzantine empire had not only managed to absorb the new ethnographic elements, *i.e.*, to put the barbarians in such a position that they served the empire with the greatest benefit, but had also managed to integrate Romanism and Hellenism with the principles acquired from these new peoples. ... [Hence], in order to make these new principles consistent [with laws governing the farmer class], the legislation of the eight century had not so much to adjust Roman laws to the needs of the Slavic settlers, as to adapt the laws brought to the empire by its new subjects. ... [Consequently], the legislation of that time was attuned to the demands of people living in a community and holding land collectively. These novelties of the Greek law issued by Byzantine emperors, are characteristic for Byzantinism, and show that both Slavic legal principles ... and elements of Slavic ways of life were included in this law" (pp. 14-16) ([19]). "The conviction that the *NG*, attributed to the emperors-Iconoclasts, was a proof of the strenghtening of Slavic laws

(18) F. I. USPENSKIĬ, "K istorii krest'ianskogo zemlevledennia v Vizantii", in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchennia*, 225 (1883), pp. 30-87, 301-360. In this article Uspenskii investigated the history of the Slavic colonization and the fate of the Byzantine farmer community during the time of the Comnenes, challenging Zachariä's and Vasilevskii's thesis that free farmer communities disappeared around the end of the 10th c. due to the economic expansion of the big landowners.

(19) F. I. USPENSKIĬ, *Istoriia vizantiiskoi imperii*, t. I (St. Petersburg, 1913).

on the Byzantine soil resulted in a great interest in studies of this legislative act. The *NG* is seen as an indication of collectivism in the farmers' way of life and as a consequence of the large Slavic immigration that changed the economic conditions of the rural population [in Byzantium] (p. 95) ([20]).

Successful in his studies on the dependent peasantry based on the rich materials preserved in monastic archives, Uspenskiĭ complained that "there is a lack of similar valuable sources to trace the history of secular landholding, *i.e.* land owning farmers and free tenants" (*K istorii*, p. 33). Therefore Uspenskiĭ turned to the literature of land-surveying, geometry, and geodesy ([21]). "As an agricultural country, basing its administration ... on the farm landholding and estate system, Byzantium, for the sake of the proper distribution of taxes, could not disregard problems of rural economics. This is why we find among Byzantine manuscripts numerous practical instructions relating to land surveying and to rural economics independently from textbooks guides on geometry and geodesy. These sources record events which took place on individual farms and deal with [aspects] of rural life which would never be included in learned treatises. [They] are of great interest for any student of Byzantine landholding" (p. 232).

"In the first place, we will examine an official act that by now has not attracted any scholarly interest. Numerous [legal sources dating from] after the *Ekloge* [such as] the novels of Constantine Porphyrogenetes and of Nikephoros, also include two items [by Magister Kosma]. Inferring from the fact that [his two] sentences are in these compilations put next to the novels, and from the high rank of this statesman at the court of Constantine Porphyrogenetes, we are compelled to consider these sentences as important official documents. The second [sentence] is the object of our investigation" (pp. 247-248).

Analyzing the *Sentence of Magister Kosma*, Uspenskiĭ came to the conclusion that : "a division of land among the members of a rural community took place every thirty years as a rule ; Magister Kosma considers it possible to make an exception to this rule in case of

(20) F. I. Uspenskiĭ, «Sotsialnaia evolutsiia i feodalizatsiia v Vizantii", in *Annaly*, 2 (1923), pp. 94-114.

(21) F. I. Uspenskiĭ, "Nabliudeniia po sel'skokhoziastvennoi istorii Vizantii", in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, 259 (1888), pp. 229-252.

necessity. Yet, the *Sentence of Magister Kosma* gives no answer regarding the circumstances under which such an exception could take place" (pp. 248-249). Considering the *Sentence* as a "point of departure and as a guidepost for studies of the administration of farmers' land", Uspenskiĭ examined numerous records relating to land survey. These records allowed him to specify some criteria for the evaluation of quality and taxability of the soil. It appeared that the "equality" of single shares requested by the *Sentence* as a condition of a division of common land, was determined not by their physical size but by the degree of their productivity. "The size of farmers' shares depended on the quality of land ; there were three categories of the soil and [thus] three categories of its value. ... In all probability the value of the land varied in different times [and in different places]. But ... the geometrical proportion between the quality and the price is evident everywhere : the land of the first rate was twice as expensive as the land of the second rate, and the land of the third rate was twice as cheap as the land of the second rate. [The matter of the quality of land] was closely bound to the organization of farmers' allotments as well as to the [organization] of the economic and tax units" (p. 249). Eventually, the quality of land became also the basic premise for elaborating a state system of taxation (p. 257).

According to Uspenskiĭ, the principle of collective liability for taxes was implemented by the responsibility "of the wealthy for the poor. This responsibility – called the *ἐπιβολή* – was of purely fiscal character ... If a community member participating in [payment of] taxes for common land died or became insolvent, the other members should take over his share along with the fiscal duties pertinent to it. This is the *ἐπιβολή*, the addition (*nadbavka*) of a lot of a poor to the lot of a more prosperous person, of the unproductive piece of land to those who were responsible for its profitable cultivation" (*Istoriia*, pp. 595-596).

Returning to studies of the *Sentence of Magister Kosma* over forty years later, Uspenskiĭ felt "no doubts that, in order to explain this document properly, one ought to link it to the laws existing in Byzantium", and, in particular, to the *NG* ([22]). He defined the *NG* as

([22]) F. I. USPENSKIĬ, V. N. BENESHEVICH, *Vazelonskie akty : Materialy dlia istorii krest'ianskogo i monastyrskogo zemlevladeniia v Vizantii* (Leningrad, 1927).

"[a code] which does not embrace a full picture of rural life ... nor does it include necessary provisions to govern either the numerous very common difficulties of that life, or its simple every-day relations" (p. XLVI). Therefore, Uspenskiĭ regarded the *Sentence* as a document supplementing Art. 8 of the *NG* with a set of conditions under which the distribution of common land should be performed. Uspenskiĭ believed that the *Sentence* "dealt with substantial interests of the state and had not disappeared from the scene as long as Byzantine empire existed, even if scholarship has no sufficient data to reconstruct the entirety of this problem" (p. XLVIII) ([23]).

Aleksei Stepanovich Pavlov (1832-1898). Pavlov concentrated on studies of the Byzantine influence on early Russian law ([24]). "Among the Slavic monuments of Byzantine law, which badly need a critical edition, there is one small, but because of its content and historical meaning, very important compilation called in manuscript *Knigi zakonnyia imuzhe godimsia vsiakoe dielo ispravliati vsiem' pravoslavnym' kniazem'*. These *Knigi* ... include [as their first chapter] the *Zakon zemledel'nyi ot' Oystinianovych knig* (*νόμος γεωργικός*) ... which is, according to all probability [a legal enactment of the emperors-Iconoclasts]" (p. 3). Pavlov edited the Slavonic and the Greek text of the *NG* and published both of them in his work. "The Slavonic text is being offered [in accordance with] an excellent manuscript copy from the fifteenth century ... and with variants of two manuscripts compilations [from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries] which contain various fragments of the *Knigi zakonnyia*. ... All the Greek originals of the fifteenth century from which our version of the *NG* is composed ... are supported with variants of the parchment manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries" (pp. 8-9).

"The *NG*", Pavlov commented, "had grown on the Byzantine soil under the undoubted influence of the Slavs, as was first proven by ... Zachariä, and later confirmed by ... V. G. Vasilevskiĭ. This law is based

(23) About Uspenskiĭ : B. T. GORIANOV, "F. I. Uspenskiĭ i ego jnachenie v vizantinovedenii", in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 1 (26), 1947, pp. 29-108 ; "Bibliographia Uspenskiana", *ibid.*, pp. 270-308.

(24) A. S. PAVLOV, "Vizantiiskiia 'Knigi zakonnyia' v drevne-russkom perevode", in *Sbornik Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovenosti Imperatorskoi akademii nauk*, 38/2 (1885), pp. 1-92 ; V. G. VASILEVSKIĬ, "A. S. Pavlov, Knigi zakonnyia" a review article in *Iuridicheskii Vestnik*, 4 (1886), pp. 700-713.

on two principles of the social life of all ancient Slavic peoples : the collective ownership of land and the individual freedom of a farmer, even if he cultivated someone else's land" (p. 28). ... "The correct handling of taxes ... was secured by the collective liability of the entire community" (p. 30).

Sharing the views of his predecessors that Art. 8 of the *NG* referred to repetitive divisions of the collectively owned land of the community among all its members, Pavlov also claimed that "after a division of the common property ... each farmer became an owner (*κύριος, δεσπότης*) of his share". However, in his analysis Pavlov went much further that Zachariä and Vasilevskiĭ. He also examined those provisions of the *NG* that allowed the farmers to enter contracts involving their shares, as well as those articles that protected the farmers' rights to their shares. He admitted that a farmer could exchange his plot (Art. 3-5), lease it (Art. 12-14), mortgage it (Art. 67), or let a peasant who prepared his barren land for cultivation to usufruct this land for three years (Art. 17). "Also, as a full master of his share, a farmer ... could always object to trespassing even if it was by the community itself" (art. 1-3, 19, 82 ; p. 29).

IV. Russian historians of the pre-Revolutionary twentieth century

A. A. Vasiliev wrote : "From the time [Pavlov's work was published] the question [of the farmer community] was not discussed in historical literature, and the theories [of Zachariä and his followers] ... acquired a certain recognition in scholarship. ... Due to publication of a new version of the *NG* by Ferrini in 1898, the question of Byzantine farmers could again attract scholarly attention" (p. 445) ([25]).

(25) A. A. Vasiliev, "B. A. Panchenko, Krest'i͡anskaia sobstvennost v Vizantii", a review article in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, 359 (1905), pp. 444-454. Vasiliev was not directly involved with studies of the farmer class ; however, he questioned Uspenskii's views on the extent and the socio-economic significance of Slavic colonization in his "O slovi͡anach v Gretsii", in *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik*, 5 (1898), pp. 404-438 ; and "F. I. Uspenskii, Istoriia vizantiĭskoi imperii, t. I", a review article in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, 55 (1915), pp. 227-241.

Boris Amfi͡anovich Panchenko (1872-1920) appeared to be the scholar who, according to Vasiliev, "accurately analyzed and definitely rejected conclusions of the prominent jurist... One cannot but appreciate [Panchenko's] detailed analysis of Zachariä's views. ... The problem [of communal landholding and Slavic colonization] called for an unbiased investigation for a long time, and this is exactly what we have gotten now in the book of B. A. Panchenko" (pp. 448-449) ([26]). Indeed, Panchenko's study of the *NG* became a landmark in the historiography of the Byzantine farmer class. Yet, because of the language barrier, familiarity with the wealth of Panchenko's concepts and methods has never gone beneath the very surface of his contributions.

The material that Panchenko considered essential for his studies was very broad. He gathered many versions of the *NG* including several Greek and Slavonic manuscripts of the Synodal'naia͡ Moskovskaia͡ Biblioteka dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. He examined Justinianic law and its paraphrases, the *Ekloge*, the *Ekloge ad prochirion mutata*, the *Basilika*, the scholia to the *Basilika*, the *Nomos nautikos* and the *Nomos stratiotikos*, the last two of which together with the *NG* constituted an appendix to some of the several editions of the *Ekloge*. His comparative textual analysis of all these sources sought: (1) to reconstruct the original tenor of the *NG* by identifying interpolations and mistakes of compilers and copyists; (2) to examine the degree of similarity of the *NG* and the other legal monuments. This analysis led Panchenko to the conclusion that "in its older and genuine version, the *NG* constituted a legal compilation entirely independent of Justinianic law. ... [Rather] it was a record of customary law for practical instruction" (pp. 3-4). "The additions and interpolations came not from the laws enacted in later times, but from the Greek paraphrases of Justinian's books" (p. 14, 26, 29). No version of the *NG*, Panchenko explained, had shown any planned continuity of its editorial work; neither of its older versions included an introduction, epilogue, division into topical chapters, or any other feature that would indicate the official character of the source, assumed by Zachariä (p. 24, 29, 31, 58). Zachariä claimed that the official

(26) B. A. PANCHENKO, *Krest'ianskaia͡ sobstvennost' v Vizantii, Zemledel'cheskii zakon i monastyrskie dokumenty* (Sofia, 1903).

commanding tone of a legislator dominated in all the extent of the *NG*". ... Yet, Panchenko maintained that "the laconic imperative form, in which provisions of the *NG* were written, was not a common feature of the official Byzantine legislation. ... [Comparing the *NG* with the *Nomos nautikos* and the *Nomos stratiotikos*], one can assume that the imperative mood was characteristic for customary and national laws (*Volksrecht*) in the epoch of decadence of Justinianic law and of legal scholarship during the seventh and eight centuries". Moreover, these two centuries were marked by "an urgent national need" for economic and military reforms (p. 25, 26, 29). Therefore Panchenko believed that "the barbarian and naively – empirical [character of the *NG*] fits better the period of the greatest decay or legal studies when the period in which the *Ekloge* was compiled". Consequently, Panchenko refuted Zachariä's thesis that the assumed Slavic features of the *NG* indicated its enactment by the authors of the *Ekloge* (p. 30).

Panchenko dedicated a substantial part of his work to analyzing the legal character of the community's land. "Individual ownership of land is named in the *NG* often and clearly in both well defined juristic and vernacular terms ; moreover, the full right of ownership is evident in the very contents of particular provisions. ... Expressions of [the *NG*] are in this case so well defined that no one ... can contest the existence of individual property of farmers' shares" (p. 75). "If we ask : is there evidence of communal occupation in the *NG* and to what extent, we must answer the first question affirmatively in the sense that [collective ownership] existed within a territory of a village next to individual ownership. But this fact [by no means] proves submission of individual rights to those of the collective. Collective ownership had a secondary, subordinate meaning and bore the character of a preliminary, temporary status ..." (p. 84).

Panchenko identified the collective and individual forms of ownership with the notions of undivided and divided land. "These two categories ... did not refer to two distinctive stages in the life of a rural community, [as Zachariä claimed]. Coexistence of undivided and and individually owned shares has been the most common phenomenon [in agrarian history, to mention only villages of the Germanic West]" (p. 33). "We cannot imagine a situation in which [land cultivating] peasants had no shares ; nor can we understand Zachariä's idea about individual exploitation ..., [an idea] which contradicts Zachariä's own theory of a full collectivity (*volle Gemeinschaft*)" (p. 33). "Let us

approach together with Zachariä the cornerstone of the [supposed] collectivism : Art. 81 of the *NG* expounding both the rights of a resident who builds a mill on the undivided property of the village, and the rights of the landowner, namely *ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κοινότης* to buy out the mill from its builder" (p. 33). "The phrase *ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κοινότης* did not define [as Zachariä maintained] a collective character of landholding but a juristic person, the village [as owner] of the territory that had not yet become the full and inheritable property of individual farmers. Such a situation as presented in Art. 81 ... might occur in any of the Roman colonies and in any of the German *Gemeide* as well" (p. 54). However, referring to the classical principle of *superficies solo cedit* (the landowner's ownership of everything built or planted on his property) Panchenko noted that Art. 81 indicated some modifications of this institution during the time represented by the *NG*. "If we consider that ... according to Roman law the same community could take away the building without any compensation for the expenses, we would see that Art. 81 of the *NG* also meant to protect the investor. The same intention is clearly expressed in Art. 32 about a tree grown on the undivided territory" (p. 54). Hence, concluded Panchenko, it was obvious that "the principle for the sake of which the *NG* introduced this change ... would in its logical development lead not to a triumph of collectivism but to a system of individual possession" (p. 35).

"Following Zachariä, we came to the question of the rights which a farmer enjoyed on the allotted land, and of the origin of farmers' shares (*i.e.* the division of land) according to the *NG*. Zachariä made us believe that these farmers occupied strips or shares of common land ... and he [seemed to disregard the fact] that a farmer could handle his share as it suited him : to plant it with trees, to build a mill on it, to leave it, and that the community had no right to touch his land if he paid his taxes (Art. 19). Instead, with reference to Art. 8, Zachariä claims the possibility of redistributing [the farmers' shares]. Thus we face an unsolvable contradiction. How was it possible that, not during the time of settling a village but after a period of its existence, the farmers, called by law masters (*κύριοι*) of their own (*ἴδια*) fields, orchards, forests, could be deprived of everything due to a claim of a single farmer ? ... If any grown son of any farmer could demand a new redistribution, neither any ownership not any lease could take place [within the farmer community]" (pp. 36-37).

"In light of [these arguments] we have to state that a general, total distribution of the village territory ... did not exist in the normal life of a community in the epoch reflected by the *NG*. ... Art. 8 shows the possibility of [individual] occupation of the common, noncultivated, and undivided lands of the village, and provides for a division of these lands among farmers into equal parts. ... Its objective is thus to change [the community land] into the temporary property of its members. [Since there was] a possibility of an improper delimitation of such shares, farmers had the right to request a new redistribution" (pp. 37-38). "But when the undivided territory turned into individual property by means of a new, supplementary division ... and where the individual property was once establised, the ownership could never be challenged by any principle of collectivity" (pp. 84-85). "The articles [about a mill, a tree, leases, exchanges, and mortages of land] that logically complement each other ... proved the full noninterference of the community in the once separated shares" (p. 35). "An owner's right on his land could only be limited, as it was in Roman law, by the rights of a neighbor. The neighbor's rights, indicated in Art. 31 and 80 of the *NG*, can be regarded as the last proof of the individual character of land ownership : they aimed to protect individual property from damages, and thus constituted no limitation [of the owner's rights] for the sake of collectivity" (p. 77).

Panchenko had no doubt that the community had a legal personality, and always referred to this institution as to "a juristic person", "a corporation", "an owner of undivided land". However, he emphasized several times that *NG* provided no data about the administrative structure and prerogatives of the farmer community : who executed the judicial power over them, how their self-government was organized, "who was above them", how they related to other social classes, [or] how the community related to the state (p. 33). Even the term *κοινότης* itself "will remain a puzzle to us ... until new data are available ([27]). ... *Κοινότης* does not mean only the collective possession by certain individuals but also the property of a governmental community, thus of the state. ... Hence this term means not only *communis* but also *publicus*. [Yet], with regard to a village which did

(27) According to the Coptic papyri, the term *koinotes* was applied in the 5th cent. Egypt to designate a rural community. Cf. A. STEINWENTER, *Das Recht der koptischen Urkunden* (München, 1955), pp. 17-18.

not represent a political object but [as the *NG* shows] was exclusively [of an agrarian character], the notion *publicus* should be altered accordingly to designate the undivided property of a village. ... The entity of the farmers of a given village appeared to be the owner of *κοινοὶ τόποι*" (p. 66, 67). In other words, "the village as ideal personality was an owner of the undivided territory, as we declared while analyzing Art. 81" (p. 69).

Panchenko believed that the Byzantine rural community was of Roman origins, and that its fiscal responsibility was implemented by means of the *ἐπιβολὴ τῶν ἀπόρων* (pp. 39-40). Analyzing the *Sentence of Magister Kosma* of the tenth century in the context of the collective liability for taxes, Panchenko noted that this source "had no relevance [to the times represented in the NG]. ... The existence of the *ἐπιβολή* was not compatible with collective liability ; these two institutions represented two different financial systems. ... *Ἐπιβολή* was conducive to inequality while the collective liability, which replaced the intolerable oppression of the *ἐπιβολή*, developed only later, along with the equalization of the tax-burden recommended by Kosma, the judge" (p. 38, 40).

"An analysis of Art. 18 and 19 relating to payments due from land abandoned by its owner, and to the rights of cultivating and exploiting this land, presents substantial difficulties. The older Ferrini's version of the *NG* is focused on rights to land. The younger Muscovite and Harmenopulos' versions shift the emphasis to the question of fiscal administration : what happens to the land and who is to pay for it ? Art. 18 makes it clear that the abandoned land might be usufructed ... by those who paid taxes due [from it]. The copyists and compilers of later times could not grasp that an absent owner had retained his ownership. Nor were they concerned with the matter of ownership at all ; the compilers were concerned only how to restore the order upset by a farmer's flight ; [they] acknowledged that the others should pay for him. At the same time they had not defined the institution of *ἐπιβολή* with [consideration of] its genuine structure and clarity, [*i.e.*] on the basis of the next-door neighbor's liability, but on the basis of the factual occupation of the deserted land. [This imprecision on the part of the compilers and copyists] led them to coin an incorrect legal construction : he who possesses – pays ; he who pays – possesses" (p. 15). Eventually, Panchenko concluded that since a returning farmer had the full right to take over his property, "Art. 18 aimed not

to secure the right of an owner, who needed no such protection, but to guarantee the impunity of those who occupied the land during his absence". He stressed, however, that "the usufruct was permitted only to the individual who had the legal duty to pay taxes for the abandoned plot ... on the basis of the *ἐπιβολή*, an institution linked not to collective but to individual ownership of land" (p. 86).

Ieromonakh Mikhail (Pavel Vasil'evich Semenov, 1874-unknown). "Panchenko's work devastates all the contributions of Zachariä, Vasilevskiĭ, and Uspenskiĭ ... and therefore aims to revolutionize all the fundamentals of Byzantine agrarian history. However, we assume that despite all Panchenko's assets, [*i.e.*] his great ability to interpret text and his strong argumentation, he has hardly erased the old from the face of the earth" (p. 587) ([28]).

A firm supporter of Zachariä's, Vasilevskiĭ's, and Uspenskiĭ's theory that the Byzantine farmer community was organized on the principle of communal property of land, Ieromonakh Mikhail admitted the possibility of the distribution of land not yet divided among single farmers for individual use. After a lengthy semantic dispute, the Ieromonakh stated that the term *ἴδιος* referred to "commonly owned, *ἴδιος καὶ κοίνος, obshche-sobstvennyi*, land" (pp. 594-595). "Panchenko attributed the wrong meaning to the term *ἴδιος* and to the term *κύριος*", concluded the author. "Certainly, the defense of the meaning of these terms [to fit in with his theory] was for Panchenko the last chance not to lose the theory itself. Definitely, *ἴδιος* did not mean ownership in the sense of dominium ; nor was the term *κύριος* a synonym of *δεσπότης*. Both these terms were easily applicable to the *paroikoi*" (pp. 602-603).

Arguing with Panchenko's theory that the liability for land taxes on a farmer community rested with individual farmers (*ἐπιβολή τῶν ἀπόρων*), Ieromonakh Mikhail referred to the words of Monnier and his school, and particularly to Testaud. Testaud interpreted the *ἐπιβολή* as an institution linked to *ὁμόχηνσον*, a territorial unit "embraced by the same tax register". When a resident of the unit abandoned his land, the other residents had to cultivate the land and to pay the taxes due (*ἔπιβολή ὁμόχηνσον*). "What Monnier and his disciples

(28) Ieromonakh MIKHAIL, "B. A. Panchenko, Krest'ianskaia sobstvennost' v Vizantii. Zemledelcheskii zakon i monastyrskie dokumenty", a review article in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 11 (1904), pp. 588-615.

wanted to say", concluded the Ieromonakh, "was that the *ἐπιβολή*, whatever form it had originally, led to a community and to collective organization, and around the time of the *NG* the greater part of this process, or even the whole process, was already completed" (p. 596).

Pavel Vladimirovich Bezobrazov (1859-1918). Bezobrazov denied any influence of Slavic laws on either the origin or the organization of the Byzantine farmer community. Conceding to the findings of Western historians, he linked the institution of the community and the principle of collective liability for taxes with Ptolemaic Egypt. "F. I. Uspenskiĭ [considered] the Slavs who [settled on the Balkan Peninsula] not only as a great ethnographic but also as a cultural force (p. 297) ([29]). [Yet, Uspenskiĭ himself] indicated that big villages populated by free farmers are frequently mentioned in Justinianic novels, and hence long before the *NG* (USPENSKIĬ, *Istoriia*, p. 592). One can find such villages even earlier, for instance during the rule of Constantine the Great ... and they evidently had nothing in common with the Slavs" (p. 299). Bezobrazov also denied direct links between the Byzantine community and classical Roman institutions. He maintained instead that "the communal landholding of pre-Justinianic times was easily adaptable to Roman law because it represented a familiar form of tenure for Roman jurisprudence. We know from the Egyptian papyri that communal landholding was not a rarity in the Roman Empire. In A.D. 140 the elders of a village leased a common pasture ; in 202 some villages bought land collectively ; in 305 a collective property of a village was mentioned" (p. 299). Similarly, "the papyri provided new material to study the problem of collective liability for taxes, indicating that the *ἐπιβολή* developed from the compulsory rent of state land, traces of which can be found in Egypt during the Ptolemaic epoch" (p. 301).

However, Bezobrazov claimed that the *NG* did not provide enough evidence to assume that a Byzantine farmer community was organized on the principle of individual ownership of land. Referring to an article by P. Mutafchev, Bezobrazov agreed with his statement that Art. 19 of the *NG* had corroborated the theory of collective landholding ([30]).

(29) P. V. BEZOBRAZOV, "F. I. Uspenskii, Istoriia Vizantiiskoi imperii, t. I", a review article in *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik*, 20 (1913), pp. 294-301.

(30) P. V. BEZOBRAZOV, "P. Mutafchiev, Selskoto zemlevladenie v Vizantija", a review article in *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremannik*, 17 (1910), pp. 336-346 ; P. MUTAFCHIEV,

"This provision", Bezobrazov explained, "is preserved in two versions [which Panchenko failed to analyze carefully enough]. Ferrini's version indicated that if a farmer who deserted his land kept on paying the taxes due, those farmers who occupied and harvested his land paid a penalty equal to twice the value of the crop. Mutafchiev, who rightly noted that a farmer could abandon his share only in case of poverty, and therefore would hardly be able to pay taxes, assumed that this version was incorrect. He found a more correct version in the Muscovite compilation of the *NG*, which read : 'if a farmer escaped from his land, the annual taxes were to be paid by those who harvested his field and occupied it ; and [if they failed to do this] they had to pay twice the amount'. For this reason Panchenko wrote : 'There is in the *NG* no indication either of collective liability of the community ... for an insolvant taxpayer, or of rights of the community to his land', and concluded that the liability for taxes was implemented by means of the *ἐπιβολή*. Institution of the *ἐπιβολή* ... is not sufficiently elucidated by Panchenko. ... Both versions of the articles of the *NG* mentioned above dealt with a farmer who left his share of land, and with the rights of other people to use his share. There was a substantial difference between Art. 19 and the *ἐπιβολή*. *Ἐπιβολή* was a duty, imposed by the government, to take over neglected land. [Art. 19 instead] dealt not with an obligation but with a right ... to use the abandoned land on condition of paying taxes for it. Panchenko claimed that [because there was no indication of collective liability in the *NG*, Art. 19 directly proved his viev]. But since collective liability was also known in Roman and Byzantine law, it [could exist] in this case as well. Assuming the existence of the collective liability also makes understandable the fact that co-residents enjoy the right to [usufruct] the abandoned share. ... On the basis of Ferrini's text, Panchenko concluded that a farmer could abandon his land and still pay tax without getting any income from it. Certainly, it was possible to assume that a farmer left his share not because of extreme necessity but because, for instance, he went to town for a job and paid taxes for his land from his salary. [But] one can make such an assumption only

"Selskoto zemlevladenie v Vizantija", in *Sbornik na narodni umotvorenija nauka i knizhnina*, 25 (1910). I am referring to pagination of the reprint in his *Izbrani proizvedeniia* (Sofia, 1973), pp. 23-14.

in one case: if the [absent farmer's] share did not constitute his property, if the land allotted to him was only for occupancy, if he committed himself in front of his co-residents to [pay taxes], and if he, under this condition, was permitted by them to leave. But to leave one's land, to have no profit from it, and still to pay taxes, would be, in any case extremely stupid. ... Why did he not sell his land ? Did he have the right to sell ?" (pp. 338-339).

"Panchenko's one correct remark became a strong blow [to himself]. 'The fullness of a farmer's individual rights', he says, 'is not quite expressed in the *NG*; there is [no mention] about inheritance and alienation ... [because] the *NG* does not include any general provisions of civil law'. Indeed, the *NG* did not indicate that a farmer had the right to inherit or to sell his share. Hence, Panchenko's method cannot lead to [valid] conclusions because it is incomplete. Thus, to base a scholarly inquiry on the *NG* alone, [with no support of any other materials] means to totter in place instead of going forward, to turn a scholarly investigation into a series of guesses which can be easily denied by other guesses" (p. 340).

Bezobrazov did not share Panchenko's uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the term *κοινότης*. Referring to Roman law, to Justinianic law, and to the *Basilika*, he maintained that this term certainly meant a community (*societas*). However, he had reservations concerning the meaning of the term *ἴδιος*. "Panchenko believed ... that the adjective *ἴδιος* meant 'own' and that the *NG* indicated ownership of farmer's land, ... his own full property. There is no doubt that with respect to an object, *ἴδιος* was applied in laws as opposed to *ἀλλότριος*, 'someone else's' object. ... Yet, [as far as a correct interpretation of the *NG* is concerned] was it possible to apply the term *ἀλλότριος* only in the case when ownership, *δεσποτεία* was involved, or also in case of occupancy ? ... The expression 'lot' indicated a previous division of land, and by no means contradicted the organization reflected in the *NG*. In any case, not the term *κοινότης* but the term *ἴδιος ἀγρός* has remained a puzzle ... and there is, evidently, no obstacle to interpreting the latter term in the sense of ownership as well as in the sense of occupation, lifetime *usus*" (pp. 345-346).

Konstantin Nikolaevich Uspenskiĭ (1874-1917). The last pre-revolutionary Russian byzantinologist who studied the question of the Byzantine farmer community, K. Uspenskiĭ remained unnoticed or ignored by his native colleagues and completely unknown to western

historians ([31]). Linking the Byzantine farmer community with the Ptolemaic *κώμη* and its subsequent evolution on the Byzantine soil, K. Uspenskiĭ vehemently attacked the Slavic theory. A comprehensive survey of both the sources and the western literature relating to demographic developments in the empire led him to a firm conclusion that Zachariä and his followers were wrong. "From the first invasions of the sixth century up to the pogroms and demolition of the eight century, the Slavs or the Avars were active in the regions which they had occupied by the invasions. Therefore [any assumption of a planned] state policy of colonizing these regions by those peoples was out of question ... What we have seen were entirely unorganized, class-unconscious, chaotic masses with no understanding of any settled life or economy. Parts of these rampaging and wandering hordes could, indeed, dwell in Greek regions. Yet, they could not influence the entire social structure of the empire or become a part of one of the most fundamental components in the communal organization, in any event by the ninth century. These hordes were able to devastate, demolish, disperse, frighten, make trouble, and set unrest in the state but nothing more. Therefore it is a great error to claim that the Slavs of the seventh-eighth centuries brought free communal life [patterns to Byzantium] and thus molded and revived the empire" (pp. 161-162).

K. Uspenskiĭ accepted all of Panchenko's theses on the *NG* except those concerning the legal character of the community ([32]). He defined the latter as "obshchinophobia" and discussed it jointly with the views of Mutafchiev. Referring to Mutafchiev's challenge to Panchenko's interpretation of the terms *κοίνος* and *κοινότης* in Art. 81-82 of the *NG*, K. Uspenskiĭ wrote : "It is evident that Panchenko left out of sight [the fact] that [since] the undivided land should be considered the property of the entire group of farmers ..., no one from among them would view this land as 'someone else's'. [Therefore Panchenko's] statement that Art. 81 protected the rights of an investor building a mill on 'someone else's' land is not quite correct. Further on, Art. 81 is followed by [Art. 82 which provided that] if a farmer built a mill

(31) K. N. Uspenskiĭ, "Krest'i͡anstvo imperii VI-VII vv. Vopros o slavi͡anskoi immigratsii", in *Ocherki po istorii Vizantii*, pt. 1 (Moskva, 1917), pp. 153-162.

(32) K. N. Uspenkiĭ, "Tak nazyvaemyi 'Zemledel' cheskii zakon'", in *Ocherki po istorii* ..., pp. 163-197.

on his share resulting from a division of land, no one had any claim to the mill. What was such an article needed for ? What was the reason for the farmers' claim ? Mutafchiev maintained that the whole village also owned the divided land and that every farmer did not own, but only occupied his share. We cannot agree with ... the Bulgarian scholar. If it was [the case], why did article [82] seek to prevent the community from executing its supreme right ? ... But everything becomes clear if we admit that we see in the *NG* not a [primitive] commune but a formation based on individual rights. Nevertheless, the ownership is not the point. [The point is that] the managerial principles and the economic benefits [of such formation] resulted in the trend towards collectivity already in the times of the Late Roman Empire. Hence, there is no reason whatsoever [for Panchenko] to be afraid of the collectivity in the *NG* ; its existence is understandable and necessary, apart from Slavic immigration and Iconoclastic agrarian reform" (p. 176) ([33]).

With reference to Rostovtseff and Vinogradov, K. Uspenskiĭ analyzed the historical evolution of the peasant community in the Late Roman and pre-Justinian's times. He also examined the peasants' rights to the land that they cultivated with particular stress on the institution of emphyteusis. Since that form of land tenure with a tenant's alienable and inheritable "perpetual right" to the land was very similar to the ownership, K. Uspenskiĭ linked the emphyteusis to the term *quasi-dominium*, frequently applied in the *Codex Theodosianus*. "The neighboring ties [among the peasants], cooperation, use of meadows and forests, common interest in maintaining their customary laws, all of this strenghtened their solidarity and eventually led to communal organization, [which] could be traced back to quite early times in numerous regions of the empire" (p. 173). These communities had their own local codes "setting up relationships among the inhabitants of the village. ... One can assume that the *NG* was either one of these codes, perhaps the most typical and most broadly accepted, or a compilation of regulations collected from several rural 'codes'" (pp. 176-177).

(33) These comments refer to Mutafchiev's "Selskoto zemlevladenie ...", pp. 65-72. Sorry to say, K. Uspenskiĭ's text includes quite substantial "interpolations" from Bezobrazov's review of Mutafchiev's work, without quotation marks or any references to its author (Cf. BEZOBRAZOV, pp. 337-338).

V. Conclusion

The pre-Revolutionary Russian contributions to the studies of the Byzantine farmer community were focused on the ownership of land, the juristic personality of the community, and its liability for taxes.

The problem of the right of a community member to the piece of land that he cultivated lacked a comprehensive analysis in the works of the nineteenth century historians, Zachariä vaguely interpreted these rights as a "special property", and Vasilevskiĭ had never commented upon his concept of "an owner" (*sobstvennik*). F. Uspenskiĭ investigated the general meaning and the role of the *NG* in socio-economic history of the peasantry rather that particular provisions of this source. He never attempted any analysis of these articles of the *NG* that might throw light on the legal relationship between a farmer and his share of land. Yet, studying his extensive writings on the history of Byzantine peasantry, one can conclude that Uspenskiĭ attributed a social rather than a juristic meaning to the term "an owner". He seemed to contrast the notion of "an owner" with the notion of "a tenant", that is, a dependent peasant belonging to a lower stratum within the social class of the rural population. On the other hand Pavlov, who studied the provisions of the *NG* relating to the contracts that involved transfer of rights to farmers' shares, entered an area in which the legal factor was of principal importance. In light of this analysis, it become obvious that the assumption of the simultaneous existence of two subjects of ownership on one and the same object (*i.e.*, the community and the farmer owing the same piece of land) is contradictory to any legal and logical order.

Panchenko was convinced that the *NG* proved individual ownership of land in the meaning of Roman *dominium* with all its legal consequences such as possessory actions and the principle of *superficies solo cedit*. Bezobrazov suggested that the term ἴδιος might refer to the "lifetime usus" – an observation which, undoubtedly, indicated the institution of emphyteusis. Konstantin Uspenskiĭ spotted this suggestion and developed it into an interesting theory concerning origins of the *NG*. The theory was based on the close similarity between the ownership and the emphyteusis which he, due to its right to alienable and inheritable "perpetual possession", identified with "*quasi-dominium*".

Numerous sources, including the papyri and, above all, the *Taxation Treatise Cod. Marc. Gr. 173*, confirmed Panchenko's theory of individual ownership of land in a farmer community. In particular, the new content of the institution of land property, reflected in the *Taxation Treatise*, leaves no doubt about the character of the rights to land in the farmer community. Nevertheless, Bezobrazov's assumption of the potential applicability of the *NG* to both the small land property and to the "perpetual possession" is very inspiring and, certainly, calls for more scholarly attention ([34]).

F. Uspenskiĭ, in one of his last works summarizing the Russian accomplishments in the study of the *NG* stated : "Unfortunately, in his passionate duel with Zachariä and his Russian followers, Panchenko went to the other extreme and denied the [existence] of the farmer community" (*Sotsialnaia evolutsiia*, p. 107). "If Panchenko is right that no single communal unit or juristic person could have existed in that time, he should be reminded that the *NG* did not pretend to [fully control] the life of a community. The *NG* could not be viewed as a complete land property code" (*ibid.*, p. 96). Konstantin Uspenskiĭ offered (or repeated after his great namesake) similar criticism, in which he defined Panchenko's views as "obshchinophobia". From among modern historians, Ostrogorsky challenged Panchenko's concept of the farmer community. "Unfortunately, [Panchenko] went too far in the opposite direction. Like his predecessors, he always thought about a community in terms of an agricultural commune with periodical redistributions of land, and since he rightly found no trace of this in Byzantine sources, he simply concluded that Byzantium had no village community at all. This was in complete contradiction to the sources which certainly did recognize and frequently mentioned them" ([35]). Since neither of the three authors made any reference to Panchenko's text, one can assume that their criticism of his views concerning the legal and administrative character of the farmer com-

(34) D. M. Górecki, "A farmer community of the Byzantine Middle-Ages : Historiography and legal analysis of sources", in *Byzantine Studies / Études byzantines*, 9/2 (1982), p. 194, includes a discussion on close similarities between communities of free farmers and of emphyteutae in connection with the problem of the abandoned land.

(35) G. Ostrogorski, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, 1957), transl. by J. Hussey, p. 120, note 2.

munity was based on his doubts as to the meaning of the term *κοινότης*.

All this criticism derives from two sources : the lack of understanding of the legal institutions to which the authors refer in their comments, and the lack of due attention in reading Panchenko's book. Konstantin Uspenskiĭ did not realize the difference between joint ownership of a few physical persons and the corporate ownership of a juristic person. In his attack on Panchenko's interpretation of Art. 18, K. Uspenskiĭ himself defined the undivided land as co-ownership of "a group of farmers", a concept that by no means applies to corporate property. F. Uspenskiĭ made the same error ; in addition, he confused the community viewed as a juristic person of private law with the community as a unit of state administration. Ostrogorsky was correct on legal issues, but his comments are inaccurate anyway. They seem to disregard any of Panchenko's numerous observations concerning this issue, besides his, above mentioned, uneasiness about the term *κοινότης*. However, Panchenko was the first one to state that the *NG* did not cover either the organizational aspects of the community or the basic provisions of property law. His work, moreover, offers numerous observations dealing with managerial details of the community viewed as a corporate body. Indeed, Panchenko's definition of the *κοινότης* as "collective possession by certain individuals" and of "the ideal personality" might be considered a weak point of his theory. But it was a lapsus. It is, indeed, difficult to understand why Panchenko's critics failed to recognize this quite obvious fact. Undoubtedly, Panchenko's study has its flaws. Repetitiveness is one of them. The work might be reduced to less than one half of its size without jeopardizing the completness of views presented and the arguments offered. He also repeated his definition of a community as "a corporation", "a juristic person" (*iuridicheskoe litso*) innumerable times, thus leaving no doubts as to the full understanding of the community's legal character. As far as the character of the community as a subject of state administration is concerned, Panchenko never aspired to offer a final statement on this issue. On the contrary, he intentionally left the problem of the relationship between the farmer community and the state open for future studies which would be based on broader evidence than the *NG* alone.

Not one of the scholars who believed in collective liability linked this institution directly to the Slavic influence. Zachariä was vague in

his concepts. Vasilevskiĭ was vague as well. He emphasized the overwhelming impact of the Slavs on socio-economic developments in the empire's countryside and denied any Roman impact on collective liability. Eventually he assumed, as F. Uspenskiĭ did, that this liability was based on the *ἐπιβολή*, thus, an institution having nothing in common with Slavic laws and customs ([36]). In general, all these scholars believed that it was the communal character of land property that had determined the collectiveness of liability for land taxes. Panchenko, on the other hand, excluded the system of collective liability from the organization of the community represented in he *NG*. He insisted instead that the community members were individually liable for their next-door neighbors' taxes on the basis of the *ἐπιβολή τῶν ἀπόρων*.

By analyzing these conflicting views against the provisions of the *Taxation Treatise*, one comes to the surprising conclusion that the arguing parties advocating opposite theories were both – in a way – right. According to the *Treatise*, the Byzantine farmer community was organized on a principle that combined the individual liability of a farmer for his next-door neighbor (called in the *Treatise* the *ἀλληλέγγυον*) with the collective liability of the community as a whole for all fiscal obligations of its members (called in the *Treatise* the *ἐπιβολή*) ([37]). However, one has to emphasize that whereas Zachariä and his followers had drawn correct conclusions from false premises, Panchenko insightfully perceived two new basic elements of the Byzantine property law, only dimly reflected in Art. 18 and 19 of the *NG*: that an owner did not lose his ownership of land by an act of *derelictio*; and that the liability of a farmer for his neighbor's taxes presented an established institution of this law, which linked the duty of paying with the right to usufruct. As the *Taxation Treatise* has proven, even if a farmer deserted his land, his ownership of this land lasted for the next thirty years. In this way, the legislator had secured the state taxation system against demographic fluctuation by means of a double liability: of a single farmer, as Panchenko believed, and of the whole community, as Zachariä and his followers believed.

(36) VASILEVSKIĬ, "A. S. Pavlov, ...", p. 326.

(37) J. KARAYANNOPULOS, "Die kollective Steuerverantwortung in der frühbyzantinischen Zeit", in *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 43 (1956), pp. 319-321; GÓRECKI, "A farmer community ...", p. 185.

Discussing the problem of taxes, one has once again come back to Panchenko and his commentators. As mentioned above, his analysis of Art. 18 and 19 of the *NG* (his p. 15) closed with the phrase : "[the copyists and compilers] interpreted the institution of *ἐπιβολή* ... on the basis of a factual occupation of the deserted land. [Such an approach] was conducive to their coining of an *incorrect logical construction* (my emphasis, DG) : he who possesses – pays ; he who pays – possesses". These comments were misinterpreted by historians who regarded the phrase "he who pays – possesses ; he who possesses – pays" as a summary of Panchenko's own views. Translated by Dölger word for word, the phrase was further modified by Ostrogorsky into the statement : "The possessor is thus a taxpayer". Lemerle translated Ostrogorsky's *Besitzer is also der Steuerzahler* as *est propriétaire celui qui paie l'impôt* ([38]). These statements are misleading not only regarding their legal precision but also in respect to the very views these scholars expressed in their numerous works. Certainly, none of them claimed that *every kind of possession* originated the duty of paying taxes, nor that anyone who paid taxes for a piece of land acquired ownership of that land.

What Panchenko stated in his comments, and what was verified by the *Taxation Treatise* a decade later, was that according to Art. 18 and 19 of the *NG*, an owner was to pay taxes on his land whether or not be exercised possession of it. *Only* in the case of the absent owner's insolvency, the neighbor who was liable of *ἀλληλέγγυον* had to take over this duty, along with the corresponding right to usufruct the land. Thus, the Byzantine land property law knew, as Panchenko noted, *only* two individual subjects of land tax duties : the owner and the neighbor liable on the principle of reciprocity. What the *Taxation Treatise* added to Panchenko's findings was a specification of the difference between the owner's and the neighbor's duties : the owner was to pay forever because his right, and thus his duty, were unlimited in time ; the neighbor's obligations terminated after thirty years, along with the expiring of the owner's right on the abandoned land.

(38) F. DÖLGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des X und XI Jh.* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 133 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches in X Jahrhundert", in *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 22 (1927), p. 25 ; P. LEMERLE, "Esquisse ...", p. 36 = *The Agrarian History ...*", p. 46.

With publication of the *Taxation Treatise* in 1915, the studies of the Byzantine free farmer class entered a new era – unfortunately – without Russian scholars. F. Uspenskiĭ in his essay of 1923 called on his colleagues to make good use of the "wealth and diversity of materials" available in Russian archives, to continue the studies on Byzantine peasantry, and to solve the multitude of "still unresolved questions". He added that "Russian scholarship faced a great responsibility to eliminate all emotions and to turn to impartial, methodical principles for building up our knowledge" (Sotsialnaia evolutsiia, p. 107). Yet, in the same essay he seemed to feel that there was almost nobody left to continue this task.

From among the authors covered in this article, only F. Uspenskiĭ survived beyond the first years of the October Revolution of 1917 ([39]). He either overlooked publication of the *Taxation Treatise* or ignored it as a source not connected to the question to which he dedicated the last years of his life. His studies on the Vazelon acts of the monastery in Trebizond, published in 1926, closed the great era of Russian initiative and leadership on the area of socio-economic history of the Byzantine empire ([40]).

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(39) F. USPENSKIĬ, "Notes sur l'histoire ...", p. 21 ff.
(40) Cf. footnote 22 in this essay.

"SOME GREEK AND ARABIC WORDS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD IN THE ARMENIAN *GALEN DICTIONARY*"

By and large, the Greek vocabulary of the Greek-Armenian *Galen Dictionary* (1) is the language of Galen's *Simples*, a lengthy tract dealing with pharmaceuticals, mostly botanic. The Dictionary contains about five hundred Greek terms, written in Armenian script and glossed by their Armenian equivalents. In addition to these Greek terms there are nearly fifty Arabic words (2) of the same semantic ilk, also glossed by their Armenian equivalent.

The dictionary seems to have passed through two or three stages of organization ; we possess the last two but the first stage is entirely lacking. This first stage is suggested through internal evidence, revealed by the way the later stages of the dictionary are alphabetized (3). In addition, it is also clear that certain parts of the dictionary were added later, after the first group of Greek pharmaceutical terms had been glossed. These later additions include, surprisingly, about thirty Greek bird names (4) and the fifty Arabic entries. We know these words were entered later because they are in considerably better orthographic repair than shown in what would be the older portion of the dictionary ; words of that section, the bulk of the vocabulary, are frequently in such a poor state of repair that some entirely evade

(1) *"Bark' Gałianosi" : The Greek-Armenian Dictionary to Galen*, John A. C. Greppin (ed.), Caravan Books, Delmar New York, 1985.

(2) "The Arabic Elements in the Armenian 'Galen' Dictionary", John A. C. Greppin. *Revue des études arméniennes*, XIX, 1985.

(3) Certain words, when reconstructed, prove to be filed in the wrong alphabetical slot. The entry *famaf*, appearing in the section for initial *f-*, was incorrectly copied, and is really Arabic *ithmid* 'antimony'. Its insertion under *f-* implies that the dictionary was alphabetized after *ithmid* was corrupted to *famaf*, for had the alphabetization already existed, its force would have prevented the shift of initial *i-* to *f-*.

(4) "A Bouquet of Armenian Birds for Edgar Polomé", John A. C. GREPPIN, *Language and Cultures : Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*. Mouton, The Hague, 1986.

reconstruction, both on the part of the Armenian gloss, and on the part of the Greek entry.

The original stage of the *Galen Dictionary* might stem from as early a date as the sixth century (5), though a later date is not excluded ; the second stage of the dictionary cannot be dated much earlier than the tenth century, for that was the time when Arabic culture (6) began to assert a strong influence on Armenian medical thought.

In this dictionary there exist some lexical items of special interest : Gk. *νηνία* 'lament' ; *ἀγγούριον* 'cucumber' ; and Arabic *jarjâr* 'horse-bean' and *'alisfâqun* 'sage'. It is these four words that I wish to discuss, for they have a sparse distribution, and one even, in the instance of *jarjâr*, has not been precisely identified before in Arabic.

1. ARAB. *'ALISFÂQUN*

This word appears in the *Galen Dictionary* (7) glossed by Arm. *kʿarajanj* 'sage'. The Arabic word, which is more commonly spelled as *'al'alisfâqun* was originally a loan word from Gk. *ἐλελίσφακος* 'sage'. What is unusual here is the spelling of the Arabic term, for it

(5) Literacy in Armenian has existed since the earliest fifth century, following the translation of the Bible from Greek. In the sixth century, a school called the Hellenizing School made an effort to translate Greek words, frequently secular, into Armenian using an original syntax modeled closely after Greek syntax.

(6) The Arabs had little knowledge of Greek medicine until Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq (d. 873) translated much of Galen into Arabic, bringing about a renaissance in Arabic medical thought. It was following this that the Armenians expressed an interest in Arabic medicine. Av. G. Ter-Poghosian (*Biologiakan mtkʿi zargacʿumə* hayastanum, Yerevan, 1960, pp. 291 ff.) doubts that there was much Arabic influence before 1040 AD. But if the Armenians had been influenced by pre-Galenic Arabic thought, still no influence would have been felt before the late seventh century, and the Armenian recognition of the sovereignty of the Arab caliphate in 651. Here see L. A. OGANESJAN, *Istorija mediciny v Armenii.* Yerevan, 1946, vol. II, 210.

(7) This word appears, as did *ithmid* in note 3 above, in a state of disrepair. All manuscripts which list this word (Yerevan, 533, 534, 535, 540, 268) write *pitrigēn.* Yet we have another example of initial *p-* being the equivalent of *al* (*alrasan* = Gk. *πράσον* 'leek'), a reasonable confusion within the Armenian alphabet. The Armenian *-itri-* is also a reasonable corruption of *-isfa-*, when the Armenian letters are considered. The re-establishing of the correct orthography, and even the identification of the terms was impossible in about 20 percent of the case, so energetically has this lexicon been miscopied.

is well known and commonly used in Classical Arabic, especially in medical texts with the reduplicated beginning *'al'al-*, conforming to the Greek original. However, the form recorded in the Armenian **Galen Dictionary**, *'alisfâqun*, is a logical form, for one can readily see how the first *'al-* was interpreted as the Arabic definite article, and separated from the stem. As it is, the mother term, Gk. *ἐλελίσφακος* is very good Greek, appearing in Galen's *Simples* (Kühn XI.873) ; it is composed of the root *ἐλελίζω* 'to whirl around', a reference to the appearance of 'sage', and *σφάκος* 'sage-apple *Salva calycina* ; moss'. Ar. *'alisfâqun*, found in the *Galen Dictionary*, was hitherto known only from one other source, the Latin version of Serapion Junior's ([8]) (fl. 1070) *Kitâb-ad-adwiya al-mufrada*, known as the *De medicinis simplicibus*. There are a good number of published translations, the first of which appeared in Milan in 1473 ; there we find the following entry :

elisfacos : in latio est salvia

"*Elisfacos*, which is 'sage' in Latin". And in the Venice text of 1552, translated by another medieval scholar, we have :

Aelisfacos, seu elisacos ([9]), *Arabibus, Gk. ἐλελίσφακος, salvia latinis.*

"*Aelisfacos*, or *elisacos* in Arabic and *ἐλελίσφακος* in Greek, is 'sage' in Latin". And in various other editions ([10]) we read the entry :

Aelisfacos in latino est salvia

"*Aelisfacos* is 'sage' in Latin".

(8) Serapion Junior is known in Arabic as Yûhanna ibn Serâbî and it is thought that he was a Christian, though there is no proof. The *Kitâb-al-adwiya al-mufrada* was unquestionably more successful in its Latin version than in the original Arabic, and it was considered for some time that the *De medicinis simplicibus* was not originally an Arabic work. However, George Sarton (*Introduction to the history of Science*, Baltimore, 1931, vol. II, 229) states that Arabic fragments are known.

(9) The spelling *elisacos* is, I think, a typographical error for *elisfacos*.

(10) The National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, holds a goodly number of editions of this popular work : Milan, 1473 ; Venice, 1479 ; London, 1525 ; Venice, 1530 ; Strassburg, 1531 ; Venice, 1550 and Venice, 1552. The entry for *(a)elisfacos* is item 154, though the 1473 edition is not only unpaginated, the items are unnumbered. I wish here to thank the librarian of the History of Medicine Room, Mrs Dorothy Hanks, for her intelligent help.

And in as much as these Latin translations of Serapion Junior's *De medicinis simplicibus* consistently for each entry give the Arabic first, followed by a Latin gloss and then a discussion of the value of the *materia medica*, we can acknowledge that the initial term, a variant of the more common *'al'alisfâqun* and spelled in Latin script as *elisfacos* and *aelisfacos*, was an accepted form for the Arabic word for 'sage' in the tenth century and following. The Armenian *Galen Dictionary* provides a second citation for this word outside the *De medicinis simplicibus* of Serapion Junior and thus provides support for this variant of *'al'alisfâqun* hitherto known only in a single text.

2. GREEK *NHNIA* ([11])

The uncommon Greek word *νηνία* 'lament', known in various Latin authors from Plautus to Sextus Festus, appears in the *Galen Dictionary*([12]) glossed by Arm. *sug.* 'grief' ([13]). Its use in Latin is straightforward and revealing. Cicero in the *De legibus* and Horace in his *Odes* are of particular value. In the *De legibus* (2.24.62) we read :

> *cui nomen nēniae, quo vocabulo etiam apud Graecos cantus lugubres nominantur*

"The word *nēneia* is given to this (song), a word that among the Greeks signifies a funeral song".

And in Horace (*Car.*, 2.1.38) :

> *sed me relictis, Musa procax, iocis*
> *Ceae retractes munera nēniae*

"But, shameless Muse, lest play be abandoned and you turn to the gifts of the Cean dirge".

The word is clearly marked as Greek, and Horace places it squarely on Ceos, in the Cyclades. In the Loeb edition of Cicero's *De legibus*, C. W. Keys, the editor, says that the Greek word is "unknown to us",

(11) An extended paper on this entry will appear in the *Annual of Armenian Linguistics*, vol. 7, 1986.

(12) Gk. *νηνία* appears in Armenian letters as *ninēs* (Y. 268) and *nenes* (Y. 4149, 534, etc.), quite close indeed to the expected *nēnia*.

(13) Other than the gloss *sug* 'grief', we have readings of *sut* 'truth' (Y. 4149, 535) and *sag* 'goose' (Y. 536, 529, 2335), but there is no way to twist *ninēs/nenes* into a word for 'goose', and 'truth' would not be a sensible part of this dictionary.

a statement he would not have made had he looked in E. A. Sophocles' *Greek Lexicon to the Roman and Byzantine Periods* ([14]), where we find a reference to John of Lydia, a 6th century bureaucrat under Anastasius, Justinian and perhaps Justin II, during whose reign he died in 570 AD. There we read ([15]) : *λέγεται δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐπιτάφιον νηνία, ἐξ Ἑλληνικῆς μᾶλλον ἐτυμολογίας, ὅτι νήτην τὴν ἐσχάτην τῶν ἐν κιθάρᾳ χορδῶν Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν.* "The funeral dirge is called *nēnia* by (the Romans), which rather has a Greek etymology, because the Greeks call the last chord on the cithara *νήτη*.

The use of *νηνία* is not of great value here, for one would think, from our knowledge of John of Lydia's life ([16]), that he might well have come across *νηνία* in his Latin readings, rather than as a part of his normal Asiatic Greek speech.

But the use of *νηνία* in the Galen Dictionary (and it is surely known from the earliest level of the Dictionary), seems to be fairly clear evidence that *νηνία* 'lament', though it does not appear in the Galenic corpus, was a part of Asiatic Greek medical vocabulary ([17]).

Words that would appear to be cognates of *νηνία* crop up in sources that would suggest an ultimate Phrygian origin. Hesychius lists : *νηνίατος ... Φρύγ[ε]λιον μέλος* ('a Phrygian song'). And in the scraps of the sixth century BC poet Hipponax we read : *τὸ δὲ νηνίατος ἐστι μὲν Φρύγιον* "but *νηνίατος* is Phrygian".

There is no Indo-European root *nēn-* (or *nen-*) listed in Pokorny's *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, and the word is also unknown among the Phrygian scraps left to us. But *νηνία* appears to be likely a word of eastern origin, and possibly through loan a part of Asiatic Greek. Its appearance in the *Galen Dictionary* lends weigth to this.

(14) Second edition, Cambridge, 1887. Reprinted Ungar, New York, 1957.

(15) In : Ioannes Lydus, *On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State*, Anastasius C. Bandy, ed., Philadelphia, 1983. The quote is found in Book I, sec. 33 ; in this edition, p. 50. In the Bonn 1837 edition, the passage is found on p. 146 of the *De magistratibus*.

(16) John of Lydia was the foremost classical scholar of his era, and we can assume that, because of his work on the Roman Empire, he was familiar with the works of Cicero, Horace and others.

(17) For surely grief is an emotion of a physician's patients that the physician must learn to deal with.

3. ARABIC *JARJÂR*

Though Moritz Steinschneider made, between 1897 and 1899, a thorough study of all Arabic pharmaceutical terms ([18]), and identified in that work numerous words that hitherto had not appeared in any lexicographical study, it is doubtful that he got them all.

An entry in the *Galen Dictionary*, *jarjar*, is glossed by Arm. *manrahat baklay* 'horse-bean (*Vicia faba* var. *equina*)'. Clearly a word with initial *j-* cannot be Greek, but the shape of this particular word implies that it could be a legitimate Arabic form. It appears without spelling variation in eight manuscripts ([19]) ; its Armenian gloss, too, lacks any significant variations, appearing only as *manrbakla(y)* or *mandrbaklay*. Since the orthography is so consistent it is probable that *jarjar* is one of the later additions to the *Galen Dictionary*, and of Arabic origin.

There is support for such a structure internally within the Arabic language. There we find reduplication in numerous plant names : *mišmiš* 'apricot', *qulqul* 'wild-liquorice', *baṭbâṭ* 'knot-grass', *gharghâr* 'wych elm' ; and to these reduplicated forms we could add *jarjar* from the *Galen Dictionary*, which would be Arabic *jarjâr*.

4. GREEK *ΑΓΓΟΥΡΙΟΝ*

Though the Byzantine word *ἀγγούριον* 'cucumber' is infrequently recorded (*σίκυς* [= Classical *σικυός*] was more commonly used), its meaning is well established. It has some obscure cognates, among them being the Hesychian-noted *ἄγγουρα ... ῥάξ, σταφυλή* 'grape, bunch of grapes' ; and the word is continued into Modern Greek as *ἀγγούρι*, also 'cucumber'. In the Cretan dialect *ἄγγουρος* flourishes lewdly as 'young man' and there are, fascinatingly, Middle Eastern correspondences. Persian sports *'angur* 'bunch of grapes' which semantically conforms well with the Hesychian gloss. Arabic has *ʿajūr* 'hairy cucumber (*Cucumis melo* L. var. *Chate* Naud)' ([20]) ; Armenian

(18) "Heilmittelnamen der Araber", appearing in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Vol. XI, 1897, 259-278, 311-330 ; Vol. XII, 1898, 1-20, 81-101, 201-229, 319-334 ; Vol. XIII, 1899, 75-94.

(19) Mss. Y 266, 529, 535, 2335, 3201, 3197, 4149.

(20) In Edward W. Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. 5 (1874), we read that *ʿajūr* also is used for some immature fruits, 'green' fruits.

reports *ačur*, also a 'hairy cucumber', a word in the Western Armenian dialect pronounced [*ǎjur*] and clearly a direct loan from the Arabic.

We thus have two lexical traditions for the stem *a(n)gur-* : 'grape' and 'cucumber' ; the former supported by Hesychius and Persian, while the latter appears in Byzantine Greek, Arabic and Armenian. The Greek word is cited variously, but always late. The earliest certain date is in Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-959), in his *De administrando imperio* ([21]) : *Τεταγγούριν δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ μικρὸν δίκην ἀγγουρίου* "And it is called *τεταγγούρις* because it is long-shaped like a cucumber'.

A second and clearly post-tenth century usage is in the Greek translation of Ahmad ibn Sirim's (fl. 813-833) *Oneirocritica* ([22]), where we have the following dream interpretation : *Εἰ δὲ ἀγγούρια, εὑρήσει πλοῦτον ἄπιστον.* "If it is the cucumber, he will come upon untrue riches".

There is also a medical tract of uncertain authorship that is undatable except for a dedication to Constantine Pogonatus (fl. 668-685). That this represents the date of the composition cannot be surely known ; rather, the name of Constantine Pogonatus might have been attached to the work by the author of the tract, or a later copyist, to enhance the value of the work. One cannot say. The passage reads : *καὶ μᾶλλον ὅταν περὶ τὴν ἕψησιν σκληρότερα γένηται, ἀγγούρια, πεπόνια,* "And all the more when they become still harder from boiling : cucumbers and gourds" ([23]).

The appearance of *ἀγγούριον* in the *Galen Dictionary* cannot be part of its earliest, possibly sixth century level, for *ἀγγούριον* is glossed by *xiar*, an Arabic loan word into Armenian. The entry again must be no earlier than approximately the tenth century. Armenian does not bring us an earlier usage of this word, but rather tends to confirm the lateness of *ἀγγούριον*, making a seventh century citation, through the dedication to Constantine Pogonatus, seem less likely.

(21) In the edition of R. J. H. Jenkins, Dumbarton Oaks, 1967, the term appears on p. 136. In the Bonn edition of 1840 it appears on page 138.

(22) *Oneirocritica*, Regalt, Paris, 1603. Chapter 243, page 223. Found with the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus Dalianus. The original Arabic of Ahmad ibn Sirim's text has been lost.

(23) Found in F. Z. Ermerin, *Anecdota Medica Graeca*, Leiden, 1840. Reprint Hakkert, 1963.

There is a question of the origin of Gk. *ἀγγούριον*, and generally we must think of it as a Mediterranean word ([24]), one that flourished originally with a primary meaning of "*(young) green vegetable', and thus took the value of 'groupe' on the one hand, and elsewhere 'cucumber'.

But if Gk. *ἀγγούριον* and Arabic *ʿajūr* are part of the same system, it remains to explain the differences in the words' phonetic shape. The existence of Greek *gamma* for Arabic *j* does not represent a true problem ; Greek had no [*j*] and *gamma* was a reasonable alternative within the Greek orthographic tradition. And if the word came earlier into Greek from a Semitic language, it could have come before the shift of pre-Arabic **g* to *j* (here note Heb. *gᵉdḏī*, Aram. *gaḏjā*, Akk. *gadū* 'nanny-goat', but Arabic *jady* 'goat') ; then there is no phonetic problem.

It is unlikely that the Arabic word is a loan from Greek, for we would then have to explain how Arabic took the shape *ʿajūr*, and we could in no way derive, from a Greek original, a sound which approached an Arab *ʿayn*.

The sequence *-γγ-* = [*-ng-*] requires the more difficult explanation ; it might have been simply an orthographic effort to match the double consonant in Arabic, or perhaps it was a solution to the question of how to provide a parallel to Arabic initial *ʿayn* ([25]).

We cannot wholly explain how Gk. *ἀγγούριον* is transferred from Arabic, yet it seems most improbable that the loan was the other way around.

(24) There is a goodly amount of Semitic vocabulary in Greek, and part of it is listed in the proper index of Frisk's *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* The problem was first dealt with at length in Heinrich Lewy's *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin, 1895. Different views on this 'Mediterranean' vocabularly are still developing, and the new theories of Thomas GAMKRELIDZE and V. V. IVANOV, *Indoevropejskij jazyk i indoevropejcy*, Tbilisi, 1984 (1985) detail Semitic vocabulary in Indo-European languages on pages 1225-1227 in the index of volume 2.

(25) The word has elsewhere been discussed in P. Kretschmer's review of *Γ. Χατζιδάκις, Μικραὶ συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, in the jourbal *Ἀθηνᾶ*, XLI.3-24, appearing in *Glotta*, 20, 1932, 239-240. Here Kretschmer acknowledges the Hesychian and Arabic cognates. He also tries to draw a parallel from what he calls "entwickelte *γ*" that appears in *ἄγουρον* 'youth', which he sees arising from *ἄωρον* 'unripe'. But few would agree today, if then.

It seems that we have a Mediterranian word, with an original value of '(young) green plant' ; its earliest development as 'grape' is seen in Hesychius and Persian ; there is a later tradition that appears first in Arabic, and extends to Greek and Armenian, all with the value 'cucumber'.

These four words, uncommon within the Byzantine era, are a curious part of the *Galen Dictionary*, and reflect its use of Asiatic Greek vocabulary, and its use of some uncommon Arabic terminology.

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GREEK INTO ARABIC : LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE MONASTERIES OF PALESTINE IN THE NINTH CENTURY ; THE EXAMPLE OF THE *SUMMA THEOLOGIAE ARABICA*

Most western historians of the Christian east seem to think that the Abbasid revolution among the Muslims in the year 750 sounded the death knell for creative intellectual life in the hitherto famous Palestinian monasteries of St. Sabas, St. Charitōn, and the monastery of the Mother of God at Sinai. For the first century or so of Arab rule, everyone admits, Christian culture persisted in the Holy Land, and even achieved notable success, as is evident in the works of Anastasius of Sinai and John of Damascus, to mention only the two writers with the most immediate name recognition among western scholars. But after the Abbasid revolution, when the Islamic world turned its back on the Mediterranean, and Baghdad became the focus of culture in the Arabic speaking caliphate, the conventional view of historians has it that the monasteries of Palestine were wrecked as a result of the social upheavals of the times, the monks fled, and consequently that all intellectual and cultural life at these erstwhile lively centers of Christianity came to a halt (1).

One does not have to look far to discover the roots of this point of view. It was put forward in the first instance by the Byzantine historian, Theophanes the Confessor (d.c. 818) towards the end of his *Chronographia.* Under the heading of the 'Year of the World' 6305, or 805

(1) See, *e.g.*, R. P. BLAKE, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle", *Le Muséon*, 78 (1965), pp. 367-380, and C. MANGO, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes ?", *SRPSKA Academia Nauka, Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*, 18 (1978), p. 14 ; Michael BORGOLTE, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 25 ; München, 1976), pp. 17-34.

A.D., as the author reckoned it, but 812/813 in the correct reckoning, Theophanes wrote :

> In the same year many Christian monks and laity from Palestine and all Syria reached Cyprus, fleeing the boundless evil of the Arabs. For general anarchy had seized Syria, Egypt, Africa, and their entire empire : in villages and cities their people, cursed by God, murdered, robbed, committed adultery and acts of licentiousness, and did all sorts of things hateful to God. The revered sites in the vicinity of the holy city of Christ our God, the Anastasis, Golgatha, and others, were profaned. In the same way, the famous *lauras* of Sts. Khariton and Sabas in the desert, as well as other churches and monasteries, were devastated. Some men became martyrs ; others got to Cyprus, and from it to Byzantium ([2]).

Theophanes' remarks give one the impression that there was no one left in the monasteries of Palestine much after the first decade of the ninth century. And there is no other Greek source available which one might consult to correct this mistaken scenario. From the Byzantine point of view, after the arrival of the final wave of Palestinian emigres in Constantinople in the reign of Michael I (811-813), the patriarchate of Jerusalem seems to have slipped entirely out of mind as a functioning center of Christian thought. There remained only the *loca sancta*, in which Christian governments had a diplomatic interest and which the pilgrims visited. And when these travellers mention the famous old monasteries of Mar Sabas or Mar Charitōn in passing, they leave no record at all of any new Christian culture thriving there ([3]).

The mistake here, of course, is that western scholars have been slow to take into account what can be learned about the fortunes of Christian culture in the Holy Land, and elsewhere in the caliphate,

(2) Carolus DE BOOR (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia* (2 vols. ; Lipsiae, 1883 & 1885), vol. I, p. 499. The English translation is adapted from Harry TURTLEDOVE, *The Chronicle of Theophanes ; an English Translation of anni mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813), with Introduction and Notes* (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 178. Unfortunately, Turtledove's version must be used with care, and only with reference to the original, due to the translator's unpredictable omissions, and misreadings.

(3) See, *e.g.*, H. DONNER, "Die Palästina-beschreibung des Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 87 (1971), p. 71. Cf. also John WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977). On the diplomatic interests see now M. BORGOLTE, *Der Gesandtenaustausch*, with its full bibliography.

from the abundant testimony of contemporary Christian texts in Arabic, which survive from the very monasteries whose demise the historians have often proclaimed, as a result of reading only Greek sources. Accordingly, the purpose of the present communication is somewhat to redress the balance of historical inquiry in this area by discussing an important Christian text in Arabic which was written in its present form at the monastery of Mar Charitōn in the year 877 A.D. As will become clear in the course of the discussion, the religious challenge of Islam was one of the primary motivating influences for the author of this work, which I call, with some justification in the text : *Summa Theologiae Arabica.*

The political and religious hegemony of Islam had by the end of the first Abbasid century brought about a civil culture in the Oriental Patriarchates, in which Arabic was the standard language, and everywhere the signs and symbols of the Islamic society held the public eye (4). This socio-political reality, in which Christians, Jews, and other religious minorities held a subordinate role as "protected people" (*ahl adh-dhimmah*), left them free to argue with one another about religion, but it presented them with the need to apologize for their faith in a language already laden with a bias for Islam – a situation vastly different from anything with which the citizens of Byzantium were yet familiar (5). So perhaps it is no wonder that even the Holy Land pilgrims from the west, who at least saw the famous monasteries of Palestine in those times, failed to mention the burgeoning scholarly activity going on in them because it was quite simply beyond their comprehension both linguistically and conceptually. But the result of their inattention has been that western historians have for the most part been content to allow the Christian history of the Holy Land to end with the eighth century, not to begin again until the time when Byzantine armies once more appeared in the area in the reigns of the emperors Nicephoros Phocas (963-969) and John Tzimisces

(4) Cf. Sidney H. GRIFFITH, "Theodore Abū Qurrah's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105 (1985), pp. 53-73.

(5) Protected, second-class citizenship for Christians, Jews and others under Islamic domination was theoreticaly governed by the "Covenant of Umar". Cf. A. S. TRITTON, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects, a Critical Study of the Covenant of ʿUmar* (London, 1930) ; A. FATTAL, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beyrouth, 1958).

(969-976), and one could read about their exploits in Greek. A century later the crusaders from the patriarchate of Rome arrived, and then for a time the Holy Land became yet again a part of the history of the west, a story told in Greek and Latin chronicles. But still the story of the indigenous Christian communities remained largely untold. Nowadays, with attention paid to Christian Arabic texts, even we westerners can see that Christian culture continued to grow in Syria/Palestine in the ninth century and beyond, and found a new voice, in a new *lingua franca*, suitable for the life within *dār al-islām*. The *Summa Theologiae Arabica* which is the focus of this communication is a striking case in point, coming as it does from the very earliest period of Christian literature in Arabic. As we shall see, by the time the *Summa* was written, Christians living in the caliphate had been writing in Arabic for a century or more. So it is an appropriate document to put forward as an example of a new trend in the life and letters of the Palestinian monasteries.

The *Summa Theologiae Arabica*, which was written in its present form in the year 877 A.D. at the monastery of Mar Charitōn in the Judean desert, is preserved in its entirety in *British Library Oriental MS* 4950 ([6]). This manuscript also contains another original composition in Arabic by a Christian author, namely, Theodore Abū Qurrah's (d.c. 825) apologetic tract on the Christian practice of venerating images of Christ and the saints. John Arendzen published this text, with a Latin version, in 1897, so it has long been available to scholars ([7]). The *Summa*, on the other hand, has not yet been published in its entirety, but it will appear in the not too distant future in an updated edition of the Arabic text prepared originally by Msgr.

(6) A. G. ELLIS & Edward EDWARDS, *A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts Acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894* (London, 1912), p. 69. The contents of the *Summa* are described in George GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (5 vols.; Città del Vaticano, 1944-1953), vol. II, pp. 16-19.

(7) Cf. I. ARENDZEN, *Theodori Abu Kurra de Cultu Imaginum Libellus e Codice Arabico nunc Primum Editus Latine Versus Illustratus* (Bonn, 1897). A new edition of the text, on the basis not only of *BM* 4950, but also *Sinai Arabic MS* 330, which contains the only other known text of Abū Qurrah's tract, is now ready for publication, along with an English version and notes by the present writer. Ignace Dick has also prepared a new Arabic edition to appear in the series, Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien.

Georg Graf. Now it will be accompanied by an English version and explanatory notes by the present writer.

Before discussing the *Summa* in any further detail, it is first necessary to describe, at least in cursory fashion, the historical and cultural milieu in which both works contained in *BL* 4950 first appeared.

The most prominent feature of *BL* 4950, aside from a consideration of the merits of the two works it contains, is the fact that linguistically speaking it belongs to a family of Arabic manuscripts, all of which were written in Syria/Palestine in the ninth and tenth centuries. The texts which belong to this family of manuscripts share a set of linguistic and scribal idiosyncrasies, which altogether describe a certain state of the Arabic language, which has been seen to represent a stage in the growth of what the scholars of linguistics call "Middle Arabic" ([8]). While there is some controversy involved in the precise significance of such a characterization of this group of Christian Arabic manuscripts ([9]), the very existence of this definable archive of literary material from the Holy Land monasteries from the ninth and tenth centuries, affords the historian an opportunity to refer to these texts in his search for information about what constituted the scholarly activities of "Orthodox" or "Melkite" oriental Christians at this period, and what were their intellectual preoccupations, once the

(8) The state of the Arabic language displayed in these texts is described in Joshua BLAU, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic* (CSCO, vols. 267, 276, 279 ; Louvain, 1966-1967). Blau's point of view, with reference to the Christian Arabic texts of Palestine, is also put forward in the following publications by the author : "The Importance of Middle Arabic Dialects for the History of Arabic", in U. HEYD (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization* (Scripta Hierosolymitana, 9 ; Jerusalem, 1961), pp. 205-228 ; "Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert", *Le Muséon*, 75 (1962), pp. 101-108 ; "Über einige alte christlich-arabische Handschriften aus Sinai", *Le Muséon*, 76 (1963), pp. 369-374 ; *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic ; a Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic* (Scripta Judaica, 5 ; Oxford, 1965 ; "Sind uns Reste arabischer Bibelübersetzungen aus vorislamischer Zeit erhalten geblieben ?", *Le Muséon*, 86 (1973), pp. 67-72 ; "The State of Research in the Field of the Linguistic Study of Middle Arabic", *Arabica*, 28 (1981), pp. 187-203.

(9) See Kh. SAMIR (ed.), *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes, Goslar, septembre 1980* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 218 ; Rome, 1982), pp. 52-68. See also the review of this publication by J. GRAND HENRY, *Le Muséon*, 96 (1983), pp. 341-346.

regular contacts with Byzantium were broken. Furthermore, the manuscripts and their few surviving colophons also give one the opportunity to gain some understanding of the origins of the writers themselves, and some sense of the scope of their influence among the Christians living in the caliphate. For all of these issues, the list of "Old South Palestinian" texts studied by Joshua Blau for his *Grammar of Christian Arabic* may serve as the register of the primary documentary sources for the historian's quest ([10]).

Here, of course, is not the place for a detailed rehearsal of the historical information which one may acquire from the texts listed by Blau. But it is appropriate to highlight some general historical observations, based on such a detailed study ([11]). They will serve to provide a framework within which to appreciate more fully the significance of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica.*

The first general historical observation of importance is one which Blau himself has emphasized. Of the sixty some works in "Old South Palestinian" Arabic which he studied, only five or six of them are original compositions in arabic ([12]). Leaving aside some saints' lives, which Blau did not consider to be Arabic originals, but which may indeed have been so ([13]), all of these original works are doctrinal in character, with a controversial, or apologetical dimension. The *Summa* is preeminent among them. For the rest, the preponderant majority of known Christian Arabic texts from Palestine in the ninth and tenth centuries are translations from Greek or Syriac, and they

(10) BLAU, *Grammar*, vol. 267, pp. 21-33. Blau's list is not, of course, complete. One must also take into account the manuscript studies of Samir Khalil and J.-M. Sauget.

(11) More substantive study of the historical information which can be drawn from the "Old South Palestinian Texts" will appear in Sidney H. GRIFFITH, "Greek into Arabic : the Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic". For the broader context in which such issues must be studied, see Samir KHALIL, "La tradition arabe chrétienne et la chrétienté de terre-sainte", in D.-M. A. JAEGER, *Papers Read at the 1979 Tantur Conference on Christianity in the Holy Land* (Studia Oecumenica Hierosolymitana, 1 ; Jerusalem,1980), pp. 343-432.

(12) BLAU, *Grammar*, vol. 267, pp. 21-23. The *Kitāb al-burhān* usually ascribed to Eutychius of Alexandria, cf. GRAF, *GCAL*, vol. II, pp. 35-38, is probably also the composition of a Palestinian monk. See now the remarks of Michel BREYDY, *Études sur Saʿīd ibn Baṭriq et ses sources* (CSCO, vol. 450 ; Lovanii, 1983), pp. 88-94.

(13) See Sidney H. GRIFFITH, "The Arabic *Vita* of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ an-Nağrānī al-Ghassānī", *Le Muséon*, in press.

belong to the category of "church-books", or texts which Christians require for the ordinary conduct of their internal religious affairs, as opposed to works of scholarship or apology. There is a group of some thirty-five items, consisting mainly of homilies, saints' lives, martyrdoms, and selections from the writings of the fathers ; while twenty-one pieces are Arabic versions of parts of the scriptures ([14]). The simplest construction to put upon these facts is that in the ninth and tenth centuries in Syria/Palestine, the Melkite community increasingly required Church books in Arabic because this language had already become the daily language of most of the Melkites.

All of the Melkite "church books" in the "Old South Palestinian archive" are translations from Greek and Syriac. The earliest documentary reference to a date for such a translation project is the notice appearing in both *Sinai Arabic MS* 542 and *British Library Oriental* MS 5019 in regard to the translation of the account of the Sinai martyrs, which is usually ascribed to one Ammonios. The notice says, "This document was translated into Arabic from Greek ... in the year two hundred and fifty-five of the years of the Arabs" ([15]) – that is to say, in the year 772 A.D. Otherwise the earliest dated manuscript now available containing translations of "church books" into Arabic is almost a century later. Bišr ibn as-Sirrī says in the colophon to his translation of the Pauline epistles, "These fourteen epistles have been rendered from Syriac into Arabic ... in the month of Ramaḍān, of the year two hundred and fifty-three, in the city of Damascus" ([16]) – that is to say, in the year 867 A.D. The next oldest dated Christian Arabic

(14) BLAU, *Grammar*, vol. 267, pp. 23-33.

(15) See *British Library Oriental MS* 5019, f. 58v, and *Sinai Arabic MS* 542 (Kamil, 576), f. 15r. Both texts are quoted in Sidney H. GRIFFITH, "The Arabic Account of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ an-Naǧrānī al-Ghassānī", to appear. For the quotation of the text in *BL* 5019, see H. ZAYAT, "Shuhada' an-Naṣrāniyyah fī l-Islām", *al-Machriq*, 36 (1938), p. 462 ; J. BLAU, "The Importance of Middle Arabic", p. 219, n. 40 ; *idem*, "Über einige christliche-arabische Manuskripte", p. 103 ; *idem*, *The Emergence ... of Judaeo-Arabic*, p. 5, n. 7. For Ammonios and his narrative see the notice in H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Byzantinisches Handbuch ; Munich, 1959), p. 413.

(16) Harvey STAAL, *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151 ; I, Pauline Epistles* (CSCO, vols. 452 & 453 ; Lovanii, 1983), vol. 452, p. 248; n. 23 (Arabic) ; vol. 453, p. 260, n. 23 (English). On *Bišr ibn as-Sirrī*, cf. J. NASRALLAH, "Deux versions melchites partielles de la Bible du IXe et du Xe siècles", *Oriens Christianus*, 64 (1980), pp. 203-206.

manuscript is *British Library Oriental MS* 4950, which contains the *Summa Theologiae Arabica.* As mentioned above, this manuscript was written at the Judean monastery of Mar Charitôn, in 877 A.D., by Stephen of Ramlah ([17]). For the rest, the "Old South Palestinian" archive, as it appears in Blau's list, features some twenty-five items dated to the ninth century. Most, but not all, of them lack more specific information, and they are assigned to the ninth century chiefly on the basis of paleographical considerations ([18]).

The year 772 A.D., one should note at this juncture, comes close to what must have been the beginning of the literary career of the earliest Christian Arabic writer known by name, Theodore Abū Qurrah (d.c. 825) ([19]). And a significant fact about the works of Abū Qurrah is that one knows of them in four languages. Some fourteen works survive in Arabic, and forty-three in Greek ([20]). Abū Qurrah

(17) See n. 6 above, and Sidney H. GRIFFITH, "Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in Ninth-Century Palestine", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 35 (1985), pp. 23-45.

(18) See Blau's brief discussion of each item, *Grammar,* vol. 267, pp. 21-33.

(19) See I. DICK, "Un Continuateur arabe de saint Jean Damascène : Théodore Abuqurra, évêque melkite de Harrān", *Proche-Orient Chrétien,* 12 (1962), pp. 209-233, 319-332 ; 13 (1963), pp. 114-129 ; Sidney H. GRIFFITH, "The Controversial Theology of Theodore Abū Qurrah (c. 750-c. 820 A.D.), a Methodological, Comparative Study in Christian Arabic Literature", (Ph. D. Dissertation ; The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1978), Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms International, no. 7819874.

(20) The published works of Abū Qurrah in Arabic are : I. ARENDZEN, *Theodori Abu Kurra de Cultu Imaginum Libellus e Codice Arabico nunc Primum Editus Latine Versus Illustratus* (Bonn, 1897) ; C. BACHA, *Les œuvres arabes de Théodore Aboucara évêque d'Haran* (Beirut, 1904) ; *idem, Un traité des œuvres arabes de Théodore Abou-Kurra, évêque de Haran* (Tripoli, Syria & Rome, 1905) ; G. GRAF, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Qurra, Bischofs von Ḥarran (ca. 740-820)* (Forschungen zur christlich Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte, Band X, Heft 3/4 ; Paderborn, 1910) ; L. CHEIKHO, "Mīmar li Tadūrūs Abī Qurrah fī Wuǧūd al-Ḫāliq wa d-Dīn al-Qawīm", *al-Machriq,* 15 (1912), pp. 757-774 ; 825-842 ; G. GRAF, *Des Theodor Abu Kurra Traktat über den Schöpfer und die wahre Religion* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen, Band XIV, Haft 1), Mūnster, Westphalia, 1913) ; I. DICK, "Deux écrits inédits de Théodore Abuqurra", *Le Muséon,* 72 (1959), pp. 53-67 ; S. H. GRIFFITH, "Some Unpublished Arabic Sayings Attributed to Theodore Abū Qurrah", *Le Muséon,* 92 (1979), pp. 29-35 ; I. DICK, *Théodore Abuqurra, Traité de l'existence du Créateur et de la vraie religion ; introduction et texte critique* (Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien, 3 ; Jounieh & Rome, 1982). For Abū Qurrah's works preserved only in Greek, see *PG,* vol. 97,

himself says that he wrote thirty treatises in Syriac ([21]), but none of these are known to have survived. Finally, some of Abū Qurrah's works have come down to us in Georgian. For the most part the latter are translations from Greek, done in the twelfth century ([22]). But it is worth noting that Euthymius, a Georgian monk who died c. 1028, worked the other way around, translating a now unknown work by Abū Qurrah from Georgian into Greek ([23]). The original could have been either Arabic or Syriac. In fact, there are several other well known instances, such as the *Life of St. Romanos the Neomartyr*, in which early Christian Arabic compositions have been preserved only in Georgian translation ([24]). And this circumstance reminds the historian both of the isolation of the oriental patriarchates from Byzantium in the ninth century, and of the continued presence of the Georgians among the Melkites of Syria/Palestine throughout the period ([25]).

cols. 1461-1610. For the manuscripts of unpublished works attributed to Abū Qurrah, see GRAF, *GCAL*, vol. II, pp. 7-16, and J. NASRALLAH, "Dialogue islamo-chrétien à propos de publications récentes", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 46 (1978), pp. 129-132.

(21) BACHA, *Les Œuvres arabes*, pp. 60-61.

(22) See M. TARCHNISVILI, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Studi e Testi, 185 ; Vatican City, 1955), pp. 208-209, 370-371 ; R. GVARAMIA, "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien : auteurs chrétiens de langue géorgienne", *Islamochristiana*, 6 (1980), pp. 290-291. See also *GCAL*, vol. II, pp. 20-21.

(23) TARCHNISVILI, *Geschichte*, p. 129, and GRAF, *GCAL*, vol. II, p. 21.

(24) See P. PEETERS, "S. Romain le néomartyr (1 mai 780), d'après un document géorgien", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 30 (1911), pp. 393-427 ; R. P. BLAKE, "Deux lacunes comblées dans la passio monachorum Sabaitorum", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68 (1950), pp. 27-43 ; Gérard GARITTE, "Un extrait géorgien de la vie d'Étienne le Sabaite", *Le Muséon*, 67 (1954), pp. 71-92.

(25) See G. PERADZE, "An Account of the Georgian Monks and Monasteries in Palestine", *Georgica*, 1 (1937), pp. 181-246 ; R. P. BLAKE, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 23 (1922-1923), pp. 345-413 ; 124 (1924), pp. 190-210, 387-429 ; 25 (1925-1926), pp. 132-155 ; G. GARITTE, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du mont Sinai* (CSCO, vol. 165 ; Louvain, 1956) ; Michel VAN ESBROECK, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens* (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 10 ; Louvain-La-Neuve, 1975) ; Kh. SAMIR, "Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens et les versions patristiques arabes", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 42 (1976), pp. 217-231.

Abū Qurrah's surviving works show that Greek, Syriac, Georgian, and Arabic were all languages of the Melkite community in the Holy Land at the turn of the ninth century. Of the four of them, Georgian was not an indigenous language, and neither Abū Qurrah nor any other person of Syro-Palestinian origin is known to have employed it. It was the language of a group of foreign monks who generation after generation came on permanent pilgrimage to the Holy Land. But neither do translations prove their active involvement in the Melkite community life there.

For reasons put forward elsewhere, it seems unlikely to the present writer that Abū Qurrah himself ever wrote in Greek. Like his works preserved in Georgian, those which have survived in Greek may all be considered to be translations from Syriac or Arabic ([26]). For, Theodore Abū Qurrah was the harbinger of the new thing that was coming into its own at the turn of the ninth century. From the modern historian's point of view his is the prominent name associated with the first efforts to put Byzantine orthodoxy into Arabic. This project was the long range undertaking which in due course was responsible for the production of all the items in the "Old South Palestinian" archive. So while Abū Qurrah may well have known Greek, and have done his research in this traditional scholarly language of his Melkite community, he did his writing in his native Syriac, and in the new *lingua franca* of the caliphate. Years later, Michael the Syrian recorded the memory of Abū Qurrah preserved in the Syrian Orthodox community, "Because he was a sophist, and engaged in dialectics with the pagans [*ḥanpê*, *i.e.*, the Muslims], and knew the Saracen language, he was an object of wonder to the simple folk ([27])".

Greek, of course, had long been the language of the Jerusalem patriarchate. Although since the fourth century there had been the need in some circumstances to translate at least the lessons of the divine liturgy into the Aramaic vernacular of Palestine, and a relatively small collection of other Church books were also produced in that language ([28]), Greek remained the ecclesiastical language of the

(26) See GRIFFITH, "Stephen of Ramlah", n. 17 above.

(27) J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le syrien ; patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)* (4 vols. ; Paris, 1899-1910), vol. 3, p. 32 (French) ; vol. 4, pp. 495-496 (Syriac).

(28) See the famous passage from Egeria's travel journal in which she tells of the role of the Syriac interpreter at the liturgies she attended, John WILKINSON, *Egeria's*

Chalcedonian communities and the usual medium of scholarship. By the ninth century, however, there were persons associated with Mar Sabas monastery who had difficulties with the mastery of Greek. For example, toward the end of his account of the twenty martyrs of this monastery who suffered at the hands of the "Saracens" in the year 797, Stephen of Mar Sabas told the story of a Syrian priest who only with great difficulty had learned the recitation of the Psalter in Greek, and who now wanted to learn to speak the language idiomatically. As the story goes, his prayer was fulfilled in a dream, in which he had a vision of one of the martyred monks ([29]). One may suppose that the situation of this Syrian priest, who felt an acute lack of ability in Greek, was not uncommon in the early ninth century in Chalcedonian circles in Syria/Palestine. Such a circumstance would go a long way to explain how it came about that Michael Synkellos found it necessary around the year 810, before he joined the Palestinian emigre community of Constantinople, to compose his now well known basic introduction to Greek grammar and syntax. Michael was a monk of Mar Sabas, who had been born in Jerusalem around the year 761. Citing his own letters, one of his biographers described Michael as having been born of Persian-stock (*περσογενής*) ([30]). Perhaps this epithet means only that Michael's ancestors were originally east Syrian Christians. Many of them are known to have made pilgrimages to the Holy Land ; some

Travels to the Holy Land (Revised ed. ; Jerusalem & Warminster, 1981), p. 146. See also M.-J. LANGRANGE, "L'origine de la version syro-palestinienne des évangiles", *Revue Biblique*, 34 (1925), pp. 481-504 ; M. Goshen GOTTSTEIN, *The Bible in the Syropalestinian Version ; Part I : Pentateuch and Prophets* (Jerusalem, 1973), esp. pp. VIII-XV ; B. M. METZGER, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 75-82. Many useful bibliographical entries are recorded in J. BARCLAY, "Melkite Orthodox Syro-Byzantine Manuscripts in Syriac and Palestinian Aramaic", *Studi Biblicii Franciscani, Liber Annuus*, 21 (1971), pp. 205-219.

(29) See the story translated from Greek into Latin in J. BOLLANDUS et al., *Acta Sanctorum Martii* (vol. III ; Paris & Rome, 1865), p. 176.

(30) *περσογενὴς δὲ ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ προγόνων, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαῖς διαγορεύων γράφει. Vita Sancti Michael Syncelli*, in Th. N. SCHMIDT, *Kahriedzami, Izvestija-Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe, 11 (1906), p. 227. Russian title transliteration from F. HALKIN, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 8A ; Bruxelles, 1957), vol. II, p. 123. See also P. O. VAILHÉ, "Saint Michel le syncelle et les deux frères Grapti, saint Théodore et saint Théophane", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 9 (1901), pp. 313-332, 610-642.

even stayed there ([31]). Furthermore, if one may believe the information transmitted in the title paragraphs of some of the manuscripts of Michael's treatise on Greek grammar and syntax, he composed this work at Edessa, on the request of a deacon named Lazarus ([32]). So one may suppose, on this basis, that Michael, like others at Mar Sabas, enjoyed regular contacts with the church at Edessa. Theodore Abū Qurrah, for example, was born there ([33]).

Michael Synkellos' Edessa connection, the fact that he was of Persian stock, the fact that he could serve as a translator from Arabic into Greek for Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem, as he did in the instance of Abū Qurrah's letter against the Monophysites of Armenia ([34]), are all items which invite one to observe that Michael shared more than tri-lingualism with Theodore Abū Qurrah, his fellow monk of Mar Sabas. They both had a role to play in a new Melkite scholarly project which came to the fore in the monasteries of Palestine during the first Abbasid century, when Greek was losing its hold over the community. The scholars were required to turn their efforts on the one hand to the task of teaching Greek as a foreign language, and on the other to the project of translating the "church books" from their original Greek and Syriac into Arabic. The apologists were faced with the task of making a renewed statement of Christian religious claims, in the *lingua franca* of the new Islamic socio-political hegemony.

A fact not to be missed in the study of this Melkite *risorgimento* in Arabic, and one which is amply borne out in the contents of the "Old South Palestinian" archive, is the community's continued reliance on its Syriac heritage, a reliance which has been long overshadowed in the minds of western scholars by the community's habitual production of theological and liturgical books in Greek. But when the first Abbasid century brought about the circumstances which required the Melkites to adopt Arabic as an ecclesiastical language, they translated the

(31) See J. M. FIEY, "Le pèlerinage des nestoriens et Jacobites à Jérusalem", *Cahiers de civilization médiévale, X^e-VIIe siècles*, 12 (1969), pp. 113-126.

(32) The most common form of the title paragraph says that the treatise "was written in Edessa of Mesopotamia, at the request of the deacon, Lazarus". For the complete text of the title, with its variations, see D. DONNET, "Le traité de grammaire de Michel le Syncelle, inventaire préalable à l'histoire du texte", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 40 (1969), pp. 38-39.

(33) See DICK, "Un continuateur arabe", 13 (1963), pp. 121-122.

(34) See the title to Abū Qurrah's Greek *opus*, IV, *PG*, vol. 97, col. 1504D.

scriptures and other Christian classics from Syriac as well as from Greek, including works of Ephraem and James of Sarūg, along with those of the Cappadocians and John Chrysostom ([35]). It is true, of course, and J.-M. Sauget has shown, that the earliest Arabic versions of works attributed to Ephraem in the Palestinian archive are translated from Greek, and not from Syriac ([36]). But this circumstance once again highlights the dual allegiance of the Melkite community. And in the instance of the Arabic versions of the works of the other classical Syriac poet, James of Sarūg, the matter is the other way about ([37]). Moreover, even the Arabic diction of the original writers in Arabic in this period, such as that of the Edessan, Theodore Abū Qurrah, preserves many idiosyncrasies of the Syriac speaker, when one can read the texts unaffected by the "improving" attentions of later copyists ([38]). Some scribes of the period went so far as to present their Arabic texts construed with the customary punctuation employed by writers of Syriac ([39]). It is clear therefore, here and elsewhere, that

(35) John Chrysostom was a favourite Greek author for the translators, and for the author of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica.* They provided more versions of homilies attributed to him, then to any other Greek father. Some sense of the range of the patristic works quoted in the Palestinian archive may be had simply by consulting the indices of Aziz S. ATIYA, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai ; a handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Baltimore, 1955). A full examination of the patristic texts preserved in the Palestinian archive has yet to appear.

(36) See J.-M. SAUGET, "Le dossier Ephrémien du manuscrit arabe Strasbourg 4226 et de ses membra disiecta", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* 42 (1976), pp. 426-458. For further bibliography on Arabic Ephraem, see also Samir KHALIL, "L'Ephrem arabe, état des travaux", in *Symposium Syriacum 1976 célébré du 13 au 17 septembre 1976 au Centre Culturel "Les Fontaines" de Chantilly* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 205 ; Rome, 1978), pp. 229-240.

(37) See Khalil Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels entre les églises syriaques et arabes : Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe", in *III 5e Symposium Syriacum 1980. Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar, 7-11 septembre 1980)* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 221 ; Rome, 1983), pp. 213-245).

(38) Compare the diction of the words of Abū Qurrah published in BACHA, *Les œuvres arabes,* with that of the treatise on the veneration of images, from *BL Or.* MS 4950, in ARENDZEN, *Theodori Abu Kurra de Cultu Imaginum.* The former has been much "improved" ; the latter is characteristic of the older Palestinian texts.

(39) For such conventions employed by the writer of Sinai Arabic MS 542, see S. H. GRIFFITH, "The Arabic Account of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ an-Naǧrānī al-Ghassānī", to appear.

Syriac was a language of the Melkite community, and not a monopoly of the non-Chalcedonian churches, as is sometimes thought ([40]).

One might reasonably ask about the fate of Greek Christian literature in Syria/Palestine from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. And the reply is that for all practical purposes during these centuries compositions in Greek ceased to be written in the Oriental Patriarchates, for the lack of an audience to appreciate them. Greek Christian classics survived, of course, in the monastic libraries, as the sources which provided the biblical and liturgical texts, and the teachings of the fathers for the new generation of writers in Syriac and Arabic ([41]). But there is no indication of any continued composition in Greek, other than such texts as Michael Synkellos' translation of Theodore Abu Qurrah's letter to the Armenians ([42]), or Michael's own very basic

(40) A growing number of studies emphasize the continued Melkite presence among speakers of Syriac after the Islamic conquest. See A. VAN ROEY, "Le lettre apologétique d'Elie à Léon, syncelle de l'évêque chalcédonien de Ḥarran", *Le Muséon*, 57 (1944), pp. 1-52 ; R. W. THOMPSON, "The Text of the Syriac Athanasian Corpus", in J. N. Birdsall & R. W. Thompson (eds.), *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (Freiburg, 1963), pp. 250-264. Melkite liturgical documents have also survived, *e.g.*, S. P. BROCK, "A short Melkite Baptismal Service in Syriac", *Parole de l'Orient*, 3 (1972), pp. 119-130. In the area of history one might cite *Sinai Syriac MS* 10, and the important studies relating to this document by André DE HALLEUX, "Une notice syro-chalcédonienne sur Sévère d'Antioche", *Parole de l'Orient*, 7 (1976), pp. 461-477 ; *idem.*, "À la source d'une biographie expurgée de Philoxène de Mabbog", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 6-7 (1975-1976), pp. 253-266 ; *idem.*, "Trois synodes impériaux du VIe s. dans une chronique syriaque inédite", in Robert H. FISCHER, *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 295-307 ; *idem.*, "La chronique melkite abrégée du *MS. Sinai Syr.* 10", *Le Muséon*, 91 (1978), pp. 5-44. With some documents it is difficult to tell which was their original language, Greek or Syriac. See S. P. BROCK, "A Syriac Fragment on the Sixth Council", *Oriens Christianus*, 57 (1973), pp. 63-71 ; IDEM., "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 91 (1973), pp. 299-346. See also J. M. FIEY, "'Rūm' à l'est de l'Euphrate", *Le Muséon*, 90 (1977), pp. 365-420.

(41) See, *e.g.*, the appropriate items in the catalogs of the MSS microfilmed from Sinai and the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem. K. W. CLARK, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai ; Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950* (Washington, D.C., 1952) ; IDEM., *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem ; Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949-50* (Washington, D.C., 1953).

(42) See n. 34 above.

Greek grammar mentioned above ([43]). The translation of Abū Qurrah's letter was done at the behest of Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem, presumably for the benefit of the Byzantines, among whom reports of the writer's polemics seen to have been popular. The grammar, on the other hand, is best explained as being itself a testimony to the waning of Greek competence, even among the monks and other church officials, who now seemed to require an introductory textbook to study the language. And facility in Greek became something to boast about, a scholarly accomplishment.

If this assessment of the disappearance of Greek composition in the Oriental Patriarchates is to succeed, some account must be given of several Greek works which do purport to come from the area in the ninth century. They are the letter of the three oriental patriarchs to the emperor Theophilus, allegedly composed at a synod in Jerusalem in 836 ([44]) ; the *Life of Theodor of Edessa*, said to have been written at Mar Sabas by Basil of Emesa (d.c. 860) ([45]) : and the fable of *Barlaam and Joasaph* ([46]), often attributed to John of Damascus, but which at least one modern authority convincingly ascribes to one John, the monk of Mar Sabas named as the translator of the work in the manuscript tradition, whose *floruit* is now assigned to the turn of the ninth century ([47]).

Here is not the place to study these three Greek works, and time and space permit only a clue to be given as to how the present writer is inclined to deal with them in the context of the concerns of this article. In short, the most commendable hypothesis seems to be that in fact all three of these works are products of Byzantium, perhaps

(43) See n. 32 above.

(44) See the text in L. DUCHESNE, "L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IXe siècle", *Roma e l'Oriente*, 5 (1912-1913), pp. 222-239, 273-285, 349-366.

(45) I. POMIALOVSKII, *Zhitie izhe vo sviatykh itca našego Feodora Arkhiepiskopa Edesskago* (St. Petersburg, 1892), pp. 1-220.

(46) Most readily available in G. R. WOODWARD & H. MATTINGLY, with introduction by D. M. LANG, *[St. John Damascene] ; Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Loeb Classical Library ; Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

(47) Alexander KAZHDAN, "Who, Where and When : the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaph ?" Privately circulated research paper ; Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1984. One should be alert for the coming publication of this important paper.

with the active assistance of emigre Palestinian monks living in Constantinople ([48]).

The letter which is supposed to have come from a Jerusalem synod held in 836 is now seen by at least one prominent Byzantinist to be a document produced in Constantinople in support of the iconophile side of the Byzantine controversy over the legitimacy of image veneration ([49]). The *Vita of Theodore of Edessa*, in its present form, is a composite document, a fact which in itself raises questions about its authenticity. Vasiliev argued that the presumed historicity of its report of the Jerusalem synod allegedly held in 836, and its mention of Theodore's visit to emperor Michael I should be taken as evidences of the *Vita*'s authenticity ([50]). But both of these arguments may now be seen to rest on unlikely presumptions. The letter from the Jerusalem synod probably was composed in Constantinople, the visit to the emperor appears to be unlikely on historical grounds ([51]). And as Paulus Peeters argued so long ago, Theodore's career in the *Vita*, in fact seems to be patterned on the biography of Theodore Abū Qurrah ([52]). So the most likely account to give of the *Vita of Theodore of Edessa* in its present form is to maintain that its several parts were assembled in Byzantium, probably at the hands of the emigre monks from Palestine who would have been the persons most likely to have been in possession of the materials from which the work was composed.

Even the Greek version of the fable of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, if it truly belongs to the ninth century, may most easily be explained as a product of Byzantium. On this hypothesis, John, the monk of Mar Sabas to whom the manuscript tradition attributes the translation, may be seen as a member of the Palestinian emigre community in

(48) See J. GOUILLARD, "Un 'quartier' d'émigrés palestiniens à Constantinople au IXe siècle ?", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 7 (1969), pp. 73-76.

(49) See Ihor ŠEVČENKO, "Constantinople Viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period", *Harvard Ukranian Studies*, 3-4 (1979-1980), p. 735, n. 36.

(50) A. VASILIEV, "The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa", *Byzantion*, 16 (1942-1943), pp. 165-225.

(51) See S. H. GRIFFITH, "Stephen of Ramlah".

(52) P. PEETERS, "La passion de s. Michel le sabaïte", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 48 (1930), pp. 80-82.

Constantinople, where there would also have been a ready audience for the work. For the rest, this hypothesis in no way infringes upon the substance of Alexander Kazhdan's dating of the Greek *Barlaam and Joasaph* ([53]). And it leaves unaffected the Georgian tradition of the work, as well as its presumed Arabic origins ([54]). In fact, the Arabic origins of the fable should go a long way toward explaining why its Greek version might appear in Byzantium at the very time when emigre monks were also making Greek versions of extracts from the works of Theodore Abū Qurrah.

Enough has been said to make the point, and one must not tarry much longer before considering the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*, which is the parade example of early Christian Arabic literature to be introduced here. One might summarize what has so far been said about the circumstances in which this literature first appeared by saying that all of it is the product of the industry of the members of the Melkite community in Syria/Palestine in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, who had a Syrian background, and who were well versed in the Christian classics in Syriac, as well as in the Greek liturgy and theology which dominated their church. To judge by what has remained of it the centers for the production of this early Christian Arabic literature were the monasteries of Palestine. But it is clear from the manuscripts themselves that Edessa and Damascus were also important intellectual centers for the community. Moreover, the scribes and writers had associations much wider then this. Their biographies, and sometimes the colophons of the manuscripts they wrote, as well as the translations of their works into other languages, such as Georgian, reveal that their world stretched from Egypt in the south, to Armenia and Georgia in the north, as well as to Baghdad, and the centers of Islamic culture in the east. Moreover, as we learn from Eulogius of Toledo, George of Bethlehem, one of the monks of

(53) See KAZHDAN, "Who, Where and When ...", n. 47 above.

(54) See the introductory essay by D. M. LANG, which argues for the origin of the Greek text from Georgian, in G. R. WOODWARD & H. MATTINGLY, *[St. John Damascene]; Barlaam and Ioasaph.* It seems *a priori* likely that the Georgian "original" would have been a translation from a Christian Arabic text. For the story as it circulated in the Islamic community, see Daniel GIMARET, *Le livre de Bilawhar et Budasf, selon la version arabe ismaélienne* (Paris, 1971), IDEM., *Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būdāsf* (Beyrouth, 1972).

Mar Sabas, even got as far as Cordoba where he died in 852. He told Eulogius that there were 500 monks in his monastery ; and Eulogius himself was impressed that George was proficient in Greek, Latin, and Arabic ([55]).

As for the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*, it is the first of the two works in *BL Oriental MS* 4950. It is composed of twenty-five chapters, which fill the first 197 leaves of the manuscript, 394 pages as we would count them. There is a table of contents at the beginning of the *Summa*, but since the first leaves of the manuscript are missing, the table effectively begins only with the contents of chapter ten. By a stroke of good fortune, however, the writer of the manuscript, Stephen ar-Ramlī, saw fit to repeat the title of the work at the end of the table of contents. He wrote, "Here is complete the naming of the twenty-five chapters belonging to the book, to the Summa (*ǧumlah*) of the ways (*wuǧūh*) of the faith in affirming the trinity of the oneness of God, and the incarnation of God the Word from the pure virgin, Mary" ([56]). By the phrase "ways of the faith", it becomes clear later in the work, the writer means the formulaic ways in which people express their faith ([57]).

The title of the *Summa*, and the table of contents, along with the chapter headings, give one a fair idea of the scope and compass of the work. It would be tedious to repeat all of this information here. But it is worth calling attention to the fact that the obviously apologetical agenda of the writer of the *Summa* prompts him to include in this one work a range of considerations which is well beyond the scope of any other single work in the whole library of Christain apologetical works in Arabic from the frist Abbasid century. In fact, the scope of the *Summa*, in terms of the range of topics it addresses, is comparable only to the complete apologetic bibliography of writers such as Ḥabīb

(55) See EULOGIUS OF TOLEDO, *Memoriale Sanctorum, Documentum Martyriale, Apologeticus Martyrum*, *PL*, vol. 115, cols. 777-792. See also Edward P. COLBERT, *The Martyrs of Cordoba (850-859) : a Study of the Sources* (The Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval History, New Series, vol. XVII ; Washington, D.C., 1962).

(56) *BL* 4950, f. 2 r, ll. 9-11.

(57) See the chapter heading for chapter 14 of the *Summa*, which discusses sixteen ways, *i.e.*, *formulae*, which put their upholders outside of the Christian community, *BL* 4950, f. 86r.

ibn Ḥidmah Abū Rā'iṭah ([58]), ᶜAmmār al-Baṣrī ([59]), or even the usual list of published treatises attributed to Theodore Abū Qurrah ([60]). And, of course, it goes much beyond the scope of the several records of debates between Christians and Muslims which are available from the period ([61]). The scale of the *Summa* is not completely dissimilar to that of the *Expositio Fidei* section of John of Damascus' *Πηγὴ γνώσεως*, produced at Mar Sabas monastery just over a century previously.

In the first chapter of the *Summa* the author provides an apologetically conditioned, historical sketch of the growth and expansion of Christianity among the peoples of the world. He puts into high relief the situation that obtains in his own time and place. This situation is, of course, dominated by the consolidation of the new Islamic socio-political hegemony, and the *de facto* establishment of Arabic as the public language of the caliphate. More will be said about this aspect of the work below. Then, for the next twelve chapters the author's accent is on the discussion of the standard doctrinal issues : the unity and Trinity of God, the incarnation, Christology, salvation history, and scriptural testimonies to these doctrines from the Old and New Testaments. All of this discussion is conducted in a language which reveals a deep concern with the major intellectual issues of the day among the *mutakallimūn*, both Christian and Muslim. Then, in chapter fourteen, the author provides something of a negative summary of the doctrines he has been explicating in the previous chapters. In an heresiographical style he explains sixteen ways of speaking about the faith which in his view should put a person outside of Christianity.

The final eleven chapters of the *Summa* are concerned mostly with practical issues stemming from the doctrines set forth in the earlier chapters. There are discussions of the duties of charity, of the role of

(58) See Georg GRAF, *Die Schriften des Jacobiten Ḥabīb ibn Ḥidma Abū Rā'iṭa* (CSCO, vols. 130 & 131 ; Louvain, 1951).

(59) See Michel HAYEK, *ᶜAmmār al-Baṣrī, apologie et controverses* (Beyrouth, 1977).

(60) See the list of Abū Qurrah's published works in n. 20 above.

(61) See S. H. GRIFFITH, "The Prophet Muḥammad, his Scripture and his Message According to the Christian Apologies in Arabic and Syriac from the First Abbasid Century", in T. FAHD (ed.), *La vie du prophète Mahomet ; colloque de Strasbourg (octobre 1980)* (Paris, 1983), pp. 99-146.

the Virgin Mary in salvation history and Christian piety, and a whole chapter devoted to the solution of difficult passages in the Gospels. Chapter eighteen is concerned with answering challenging questions which Muslims and Dualists pose for the Christians. It is in fact a full dress apologetic catechism for Christians who live in the world of the Muslims. The following four chapters of the *Summa* are essentially concerned with explaining the theoretical and historical relationships which in the author's view have obtained between the Jewish and Christian communities, and the pagans. Finally the author turns his attention to the duties of Christians in prayer, a discussion of how God is present in the world, which is in fact a disquisition on the relationship between faith and reason, and a concluding chapter of scriptural, patristic, and canonical rules which record the church's dispositions for practical life in the world.

Such a quick overview of the contents of the *Summa* hardly does justice to any part of it. But at least it may give some idea of the broad scope of the work. Already it will be clear that the author intends the *Summa* to be a practical manual to instruct the faith of his contemporaries, and he intends it to be a comprehensive catechism available for consultation.

One would have expected the copyist of the *Summa* to have set down the name of the author of the work, at least at the beginning, if not also at the end of the copy. Stephen of ar-Ramlah, for example, the scribe of *BL* 4950, mentioned the name of Theodore Abū Qurrah both at the beginning and at the end of his copy of the author's treatise on the practice of venerating images. But the beginning of the *Summa* is missing. At the end Stephen said only,

> The volume is complete, ..., and the completion of its writing was on the first day of September ..., of the years of the Arabs, Rabīᶜ I, 264. The poor, miserable sinner Stephen, son of Ḥakam, known as ar-Ramlī, wrote it in the *laura* of Mar Charitōn, for his teacher, ... Abba Basil, God grant him long life ([62]).

A number of scholars have proposed that Theodore Abū Qurrah was the author of the *Summa*. Most recently Samir Khalil, S. J., of Rome's Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies has defended this

(62) *BL* 4950, f. 197v ; ARENDZEN, p. XV.

idea ([63]). But for reaons which the present writer has put forward in detail elsewhere, this suggestion really cannot be sustained ([64]).

In 1962 Joshua Blau called the attention of scholars to a line in the text of the *Summa* which, in his judgment, makes the authorship of Abū Qurrah impossible to maintain ([65]). The line in question appears in chapter twenty-one, where the discussion is directed to the Jews, concerning what the author considers to be the proper interpretation of those passages from the Prophets which predict the return of the exiled Jews to their ancestral home in the Holy Land. The text says,

> These prophets of God testify to God's loyalty to you, O community of Jews, in the building of the spotless temple, and in your return altogether from all the far away places, and your settlement in your own country. But subsequently you were exiled and scattered to all the far away places. The temple was destroyed and it has remained in ruins for eight hundred years and more ([66]).

As Blau explained, the "eight hundred years and more" recorded here should date the writing of the *Summa* after the year 870 A.D., and therefore more than fifty years after the death of Abū Qurrah around 825 ([67]). Moreover, Blau found it to be unlikely that the number of years elapsed from the time of the destruction of the temple under the emperor in 70 A.D., would have been adjusted higher by a later copyist of the *Summa*. Therefore, with a *terminus post quem* of 870, and a *terminus ante quem* of 877, contributed by the date of the completion of the writing of the *Summa* in *BL* 4950, Blau was tempted to identify Stephen ar-Ramlī, the writer of the manuscript, as the very author of the *Summa*, with the consequence that the text in *BL* 4950 would be the autography copy.

Elsewhere the present writer had put forward the suggestion that serious consideration should be given to the possibility that Stephen ar-Ramlī himself was the author, or at least the compiler, of the

(63) Khalil ṢAMIR, "Note sur les citations bibliques chez Abū Qurrah", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 49 (1983), pp. 184-191.

(64) See S. H. GRIFFITH, "A Ninth Century *Summa Theologiae Arabica*", *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on Christian Arabic ; Groningen, 1984*, in press.

(65) BLAU, "Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte", p. 102.

(66) *BL* 4950, f. 154r ; *Sinai Arabic MS* 483, ff. 118r-118v.

(67) See DICK, "Un Continuateur arabe", 13 (1963), p. 120.

Summa Theologiae Arabica ([68]). There is evidence of compilation in the *Summa* ([69]). And such a process would also explain how portions of the text which sound so much like Abū Qurrah could be found in a work with so much else that is at variance with what one knows of this writer. One should perhaps think in terms of a school of writers with a base in the Palestinian monasteries, of whom Theodore Abū Qurrah may well have been the earliest and most influential. For now, however, it seems to the present writer, that no more can usefully be said about the authorship of the *Summa*, until the publication of the complete, critical edition of the text.

The very fact that the *Summa* was written in Arabic, and not in Greek, or Coptic, or Syriac, is a testimony to the successful Arabicization, and even the Islamicization, of the caliphate by the 870's when the *Summa* was written. By this time the Melkite community in Syria/Palestine had been producing church books and theological treatises in Arabic for about a century. And the time was ripe for a comprehensive presentation of the Christian point of view, taking into account the new socio-political realities of life under the rule of the Muslims. Among the Melkites, the *Summa* was the fruit of one hundred years of Christian doctrinal development in the Islamic milieu. And as such it is a fitting exemplar of the passage of life and letters from Greek into Arabic in ninth century Palestine.

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(68) S. H. GRIFFITH, "Stephen of Ramlah", n. 17 above.

(69) Chapter eighteen, for example, is made up of two independent pieces. And, as Arendzen pointed out in 1897, there are additions in chapter 25 as well. See ARENDZEN, *Theodori Abu Kurra de Cultu Imaginum*, p. XIV. Other evidences of the composition of the work will be put forward in the full edition of the *Summa*.

NOTE SUR LA PRIÈRE *ΚΤΙΣΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ* DE L'EUCHOLOGE BARBERINI

Copié en Italie méridionale dans le courant du VIIIe siècle, le *Barberinianus gr.* 336 est de loin le plus ancien euchologe byzantin ([1]). Pour se faire une idée précise des sources qu'il a utilisées, il est indispensable d'étudier en détail le texte et l'histoire de chacune des formules qu'il contient. La prière qui fait l'objet de cette note est une bénédiction de l'eau destinée aux malades ([2]) et paraît bien n'avoir été conservée sous sa forme grecque que dans des manuscrits d'origine italienne. L'édition que Goar en a donnée n'étant pas exempte d'inexactitudes ([3]), il convient avant tout d'en présenter une transcription fidèle ([4]).

Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ διακονίας λεγομένη ἐν τῇ ἐνβάτῃ ἐκφωνητικ(ῶς) ([a]).

Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων ([b]), *δημιουργὲ τῶν ἁπάντων, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πάντα ποιῶν καὶ μετασκευάζων* ([c]), *μεταποίησον καὶ μετασκεύασον καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο καὶ ἐνίσχυσον αὐτὸ κατὰ πάσης ἐπικειμένης ἐνεργείας καὶ δὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χριομένοις* ([d]) *εἴτε διὰ πόσεως εἴτε διὰ νίψεως ἢ ῥαντίσεως εἰς ὑγείαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν παντὸς πάθους καὶ πάσης νόσου* ([e]). *Ὅτι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς ὑπάρχεις.*

(a) *ἐκφωνητική* Strittmatter (b) *Judith*, 9, 12 (c) *Amos*, 5, 8
(d) *χριωμένοις* cod. (e) *νόσσου* cod.

(1) Décrit par A. STRITTMATTER, *The «Barberinum S. Marci» of Jacques Goar*, dans *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 47 (1933), pp. 329-367 ; A. JACOB, *Les euchologes du fonds Barberini grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, dans *Didaskalia*, 4 (1974), pp. 154-157.

(2) STRITTMATTER, *«Barberinum S. Marci»*, n° 258, p. 361 ; elle porte le numéro d'ordre 196 dans le ms.

(3) J. GOAR, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum*, 2e éd., Venise, 1730, p. 363 (le texte est en tous points conforme à l'éd. parisienne de 1647, p. 449).

(4) *Barber. gr.* 336, f. 224[r] (p. 452).

Les mots *πόσις*, *νίψις* et *ῥάντισις* désignent trois modes d'emploi traditionnels de l'eau bénite, que le fidèle peut boire ou dont les effets bénéfiques lui sont transmis par le biais d'une ablution ou d'une aspersion. Mais quelle est, dans ce contexte, la signification précise du verbe *χρίειν* («oindre», «enduire»), dont l'acception devrait être plus large et englober celles des trois substantifs en question ? Le problème s'est déjà posé à Goar, qui l'a résolu sans ambages en substituant à *χριομένοις* le participe futur de *χρῆσθαι*, soit *χρησομένοις* ([5]). Ce faisant, il s'est approché tout près du texte primitif, ainsi que nous allons le montrer maintenant.

Dans le rite syrien occidental, la prière *Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων* est récitée à la fin de la consécration solennelle de l'eau le jour de l'Épiphanie ([6]). Tant dans la recension brève que dans la recension longue de cette cérémonie, le syriaque rend le participe grec dont nous nous occupons ici par le verbe *ḥšaḥ*, qui, accompagné de la préposition *b-*, signifie «utiliser», «se servir de». Mais ce n'est pas seulement la version syriaque qui nous a conservé la bonne leçon. On la trouve aussi dans un témoin grec du XIIe siècle, le *Bodleianus Auct.* E.5.13 : *τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρωμένοις* ([7]).

Cela dit, il n'est pas possible de reléguer la variante du *Barber. gr.* 336 au rang d'un banal accident de copie, car nous la voyons réapparaître plus tard dans deux autres manuscrits italo-grecs, le *Cryptensis Γ.β.* VII (X[e]-XIe siècle) ([8]) et le *Barber. gr.* 345 (XIIe siècle) ([9]), non seulement dans le passage que nous connaissons déjà, mais encore dans un développement secondaire qui commence par les mots *ὅπως γένηται ὕδωρ ἀναπαύσεως πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χριομένοις καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν.* À vrai dire, *χριομένοις* est ici une addition

(5) GOAR, p. 363.

(6) John, Marquess of BUTE et E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of the Epiphany. The Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Russian versions, edited or translated from the original texts*, Londres, 1901, pp. 77-78 et 100-101.

(7) F. 104[v]. Cf. A. JACOB, *Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur «in Lingua Phari» de Messine. Le Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 50 (1980), n° 13.8, p. 323.

(8) G. PASSARELLI, *L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X)* (*Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων*, 36), Thessalonique, 1982, n° 160, p. 115. Sur le ms., voir A. JACOB, *Quelques observations sur l'euchologe Γ.β. VII de Grottaferrata. À propos d'une édition récente*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 53-54 (1983-1984), pp. 65-98.

(9) F. 71[v]-72[r]. Cf. JACOB, *Fonds Barberini*, p. 160, n° 19a.

au sein même de l'addition puisque l'euchologe du Saint-Sauveur de Messine, qui reflète un état plus ancien de cet ajout, l'ignore complètement ([10]).

Pour résoudre le problème en respectant le sens primitif du texte, il n'est peut-être pas tout à fait hors de propos de penser au verbe *χρείομαι*, équivalent vulgaire de *χρῶμαι* et homonyme parfait de *χρίομαι*, dont on relève précisément une attestation très claire à un autre endroit du *Crypt. Γ.β.* VII, où, dans le contexte d'une bénédiction de vêtements, il est question de ceux qui les endosseront ou, plus littéralement, de ceux qui s'en serviront : *τοῖς χρειομένοις αὐτοῖς* ([11]). Comme il n'est pas exclu que le *Crypt. Γ.β.* VII et le *Barber. gr.* 345 dépendent en dernière analyse de l'Euchologe Barberini, cette explication peut paraître satisfaisante à première vue. Mais le remplacement de *χρῆσθαι* par *χρίεσθαι* ne se rencontre pas exclusivement dans la prière *Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων* : un cas beaucoup mieux documenté et sans la moindre amphibologie nous invite à poursuivre notre enquête.

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* *

Dans la prière de consécration de l'eau de l'Épiphanie (*Μέγας εἶ, Κύριε*), telle qu'elle nous est transmise par l'Euchologe Barberini, nous retrouvons le verbe *χρῆσθαι* au milieu de la phrase suivante : *δὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς τε ἁπτομένοις, τοῖς τε μεταλαμβάνουσιν, τοῖς τε κεχρημένοις τὸν ἁγιασμόν, τὴν εὐλογίαν, τὴν κάθαρσιν, τὴν ὑγείαν* ([12]).

Par opposition au texte reçu, dont il sera bientôt question, il n'est pas douteux que *κεχρημένοις* soit la leçon primitive, la seule qu'ait connue pendant longtemps la grande église de Constantinople, ainsi qu'en témoignent les euchologes qui nous en ont conservé les usages et dont les plus notables sont le *Parisinus Coisl.* 213 (an. 1027, f. 44^{v}), le *Crypt. Γ.β.* I (XIIe siècle, f. 64^{r}) et l'*Atheniensis* 662 (XIVe siècle ?) ([13]), auxquels il convient d'ajouter des manuscrits anciens d'origine incertaine, comme le *Sinaiticus gr.* 956 (rouleau d'excellente

(10) *Bodl. Auct.* E.5.13, f. 104^{v}.

(11) PASSARELLI, n° 161, lg. 7, p. 115. Bien que le verbe ne soit pas connu des dictionnaires, nous ne pensons pas qu'il faille l'amender dans ce passage.

(12) *Barber. gr.* 336, f. 116^{v} (p. 237) ; l'orthographe du ms. est *καιχριμενοις*. La lecture de Conybeare (*καὶ χριομένοις*) est inexacte : voir F. C. CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, p. 419.

(13) P. N. TREMPELAS, *Μικρὸν εὐχολόγιον*, II, Athènes, 1955, p. 39, dern. lg. de l'apparat, sigle *H*.

facture de la seconde moitié du Xe siècle) ou le *Sin. gr.* 959 (XIe siècle, f. 35^v). Des confirmations ultérieures, s'il en était besoin, viennent de la version syriaque ([14]), de la version bohairique, qui reprend sans le traduire le verbe *χρᾶσθαι* ([15]), et de la version latine publiée par de Puniet ([16]) et probablement effectuée sur un manuscrit italo-grec antérieur au XIe siècle («et da omnibus eam tangentibus, eam accipientibus, eam utentibus ...») ([17]).

Au Xe siècle, apparaît dans le *Sin. gr.* 957 la variante *τοῖς τε χριομένοις* (f. 38^v), à laquelle fait écho la pétition diaconale *Ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτὰ πᾶσι τοῖς χριομένοις ἐξ αὐτῶν πίστει ἢ καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς καθαρισμὸν μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν* ([18]), qui correspond au passage suivant de l'Euchologe Barberini : *Ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτὰ πρὸς καθαρισμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀρυομένοις καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν* ([19])...

Laissant provisoirement de côté la question de savoir dans quel milieu la variante *χριομένοις* a vu le jour, limitons-nous pour l'instant à constater la rapidité de sa diffusion. En Italie méridionale d'abord, où elle semble toutefois avoir connu quelques problèmes d'acclimatation dus à la persistance dans la mémoire auditive des officiants et des copistes du redoublement de *κεχρημένοις*, dont la prononciation est identique à celle de la conjonction *καί*. Les témoignages du *Leninopolitanus gr.* 226 (Xe siècle, f. 93^v) et du *Reginensis gr.* 75 (vers 982, f. 5^r), qui sont les plus anciens, sont révélateurs à ce sujet : ... *τοῖς τε ἁπτομένοις, τοῖς τε μεταλαμβάνουσιν, τοῖς τε καὶ χριομένοις*. À côté de cet assemblage peu correct de particules, qui refait sporadiquement surface tout au long du Moyen Âge (*Crypt. Γ.β.* VI, f. 58^v ; *Crypt. Γ.β.* XII, f. 35^v) et jusqu'en plein XVIe siècle (*Barber. gr.* 471, an. 1542,

(14) BUTE-BUDGE, *The Blessing of the Waters*, p. 74 et 95.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 133. Sur la forme *χρᾶσθαι*, voir S. B. PSALTES, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (*Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, 2), Göttingen, 1913, p. 235.

(16) P. DE PUNIET, *Formulaire grec de l'Épiphanie dans une traduction latine ancienne*, dans *Revue bénédictine*, 29 (1912), pp. 29-46.

(17) *Ibid.*, p. 34.

(18) A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgičeskih rukopisej hranjaščihsja v bibliotekah pravoslavnago Vostoka*, II : *Εὐχολόγια*, Kiev, 1901, p. 7.

(19) CONYBEARE, p. 415. C'est, à quelques détails près, le texte encore en usage aujourd'hui : cf. GOAR, p. 368.

f. 192^{v}), on trouve aussi la curieuse forme de parfait *κεχριομένοις*, comme dans le *Barber. gr.* 329 (XIIe siècle, f. 77^{r}) ou le *Crypt. Γ.β.* III (XIVe siècle, f. 129^{v}). Mais dès la fin du Xe siècle, la variante *τοῖς τε χριομένοις* s'impose telle quelle dans le *Vat. gr.* 1833 (f. 70^{v}), ainsi que dans les *Crypt. Γ.β.* IV (f. 67^{r}), VII ([20]) et X (f. 63^{r}). L'impact de la nouvelle pétition diaconale a été moins violent et nous n'en avons pas relevé d'attestations avant le début du XIIe siècle. Sa transmission semble du reste avoir été parfois indépendante du texte de la prière. Le *Codex Rossanensis* (*Vat. gr.* 1970, XIIe siècle, f. 178^{r}) et le *Bodl. Auct.* E.5.13 (f. 103^{r}), par exemple, conservent la leçon originale de la prière (*κεχρημένοις*), tout en adoptant dans leurs litanies respectives la pétition *Ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτὰ πᾶσι τοῖς χριομένοις κτλ.*

Il est moins aisé de suivre les progrès de la nouvelle leçon en Grèce. La grande église de Constantinople, nous l'avons dit, a maintenu pendant longtemps le texte primitif ; il en est de même pour bon nombre d'euchologes anciens non localisés ([21]). Si le participe *χριομένοις* a fini par s'imposer à l'époque moderne, il le doit sans doute aussi à l'influence des impressions vénitiennes de l'euchologe. La pétition diaconale du *Sin. gr.* 957, en revanche, n'a pas pénétré dans le formulaire actuel. On la connaît pourtant dès le XIIe siècle à Constantinople, dans certains milieux monastiques en tout cas, comme en témoigne le typikon de l'Évergétis ([22]).

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Il est clair, à ce point, que la présence du terme *χριομένοις* dans la prière *Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων* du *Barber. gr.* 336 n'est pas l'effet du hasard, mais qu'elle constitue plutôt la première manifestation d'une tendance qui ne fera que s'accentuer par la suite : l'utilisation du verbe *χρίειν* dans des formules de bénédiction de l'eau, en particulier pour y remplacer le verbe *χρῆσθαι*. À la suite de quelle évolution sémantique un mot traditionnellement lié à l'image de l'huile ou du myron a-t-il fini par être appliqué à un élément aussi peu onctueux que l'eau ? C'est ce qu'il nous faut essayer de comprendre.

(20) PASSARELLI, p. 113, dern. lg. Nous avons par inadvertance corrigé le texte dans le sens de la leçon originale (JACOB, *Quelques observations*, p. 74).

(21) Voir TREMPELAS, II, p. 39, dern. lg. de l'apparat.

(22) DMITRIEVSKIJ, I, p. 380.

À date ancienne, l'huile et l'eau destinées aux malades sont souvent associées dans une même bénédiction. Il en est ainsi au IVe siècle dans les Constitutions apostoliques (23) et dans l'Euchologe de Sérapion (24). Des deux prières contenues dans le recueil égyptien, la première est récitée dans le cadre de la synaxe eucharistique et son texte précise le mode d'emploi de l'huile et de l'eau : ... *ὅπως πᾶς πυρετὸς καὶ πᾶν δαιμόνιον καὶ πᾶσα νόσος διὰ τῆς πόσεως καὶ τῆς ἀλείψεως ἀπαλλαγῇ καὶ γένηται φάρμακον θεραπευτικὸν καὶ φάρμακον ὁλοκληρίας ἡ τῶν κτισμάτων τούτων μετάληψις* (25). La seconde formule, dont le titre mentionne également le pain à côté de l'huile et de l'eau, fait de même : ... *ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦτο, ἵνα γένηται τοῖς χριομένοις ἢ μεταλαμβάνουσιν τῶν κτισμάτων σου τούτων εἰς ἀποβολὴν κτλ.* (26). Il n'est pas exclu que la présence de mots désignant l'onction dans des prières qui avaient aussi l'eau pour objet ait contribué à modifier le sens de *χρίειν*.

Le développement de la pratique de l'apomyrisme n'a pu que renforcer cette tendance. La coutume d'utiliser pour la guérison des malades l'onguent qui coulait des reliques et des sépultures de certains saints, appelés pour cette raison «myroblytes», est bien connue (27). Petit à petit, on a assimilé à cette matière des produits tels que le myron, l'huile et l'eau sanctifiés par le contact qu'ils ont eu avec des reliques, des croix ou des vases sacrés. Dans ce contexte, le verbe *ἀπομυρίζειν* signifie tout à la fois mettre le liquide qu'on désire sanctifier en contact avec la relique ou l'objet sacré et oindre le malade. S'il est vrai, comme l'a remarqué Pargoire, que l'apomyrisme le plus fréquent est celui de l'eau, il est parfaitement possible, en théorie du moins, que *χρίειν* ait été employé en relation avec l'eau, comme équivalent de *ἀπομυρίζειν*. De Meester a cru découvrir des exemples de ce sens («oindre avec de l'eau») dans deux intéressantes rubriques du typikon de Saint-Sabas (28) : le jeudi saint, le supérieur du monas-

(23) *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, éd. F. X. FUNK, I, Paderborn, 1905, p. 532.

(24) *Ibid.*, II, pp. 178-180 et 190-192.

(25) *Ibid.*, II, p. 180.

(26) *Ibid.*, II, pp. 190-192.

(27) J. PARGOIRE, art. *Apomyrisma*, dans *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, I, col. 2603-2604 ; P. DE MEESTER, *Rituale-benedizionale bizantino* (*Liturgia bizantina*, II, 6), Rome, 1930, pp. 474-481.

(28) DE MEESTER, *Rituale-benedizionale*, p. 476.

tère «oint» les moines (*χρίει πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς*) avec l'eau qui a servi au nettoyage de l'autel ([29]) ; le soir, en revanche, c'est au moyen de l'eau utilisée pour le lavement des pieds que sont «oints» les membres de la communauté (*χρίονται πάντες ἐκ τοῦ νίματος τῶν ἀδελφῶν*) ([30]). À la réflexion, ces rubriques, placées en fin de cérémonie et visant l'ensemble des assistants, font plutôt penser à une aspersion collective, sur le modèle de celle qui conclut la consécration de l'eau de l'Épiphanie ([31]), qu'à une série d'onctions individuelles. Le verbe *χρίειν* n'est donc pas employé ici dans son sens primitif, comme le pense de Meester, mais dans un sens dérivé, en tant que synonyme de *ῥαντίζειν* ou *ῥαίνειν*.

La variante *τοῖς τε χριομένοις* de la prière et de la litanie de l'Épiphanie pourrait fort bien revêtir cette acception ([32]), qui ne rend malheureusement pas compte de la même variante dans la prière *Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων*. De l'onction à l'aspersion, le glissement sémantique est considérable et le passage d'un sens à l'autre est loin d'être évident. Pour l'expliquer, il faut, croyons-nous, supposer une signification intermédiaire, que suggère au reste l'équivalence *χρίειν* = *ῥαντίζειν*. Ce dernier mot, qui signifie à l'origine «asperger», a pris aussi très tôt le sens de «purifier» au moyen d'une aspersion ([33]). Dans le cas de *χρίειν*, le processus est inverse. S'il a fini par être utilisé pour désigner l'action d'asperger, c'est fort vraisemblablement parce qu'il signifiait déjà «purifier». La purification de l'âme et du corps est l'une des demandes qui reviennent régulièrement dans les formules de bénédiction de l'huile des malades ou dans les prières où l'onction est évoquée : *ὥστε γενέσθαι τοῖς χριομένοις ἐξ αὐτοῦ ... εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν*

(29) Éd. Venise, 1615, f. 82^{r}, col. A.

(30) *Ibid.*, f. 83^{r}, col. B.

(31) GOAR, p. 372, 375, 377 ; CONYBEARE, p. 420, 427.

(32) Elle est comprise ainsi dans GOAR, p. 371 : «aut ex ea lustratis» (à la p. suiv., Goar rend le verbe *ῥαντίζειν* par *lustrare* : «Et lustrat Sacerdos templum, et cunctum populum aqua»). On notera que les versions slaves n'ont pas saisi le sens dérivé de *χρίειν*, qu'elles se contentent de transposer littéralement : voir J. FRČEK, *Euchologium Sinaiticum. Texte slave avec sources grecques et traduction française* (*Patrologia orientalis*, XXIV, 5), Paris, 1933, p. 646 ; A. VON MALTZEW, *Bitt-, Dank- und Weihegottesdienste der orthodox-katholischen Kirche des Morgenlandes. Deutsch und slavisch unter Berücksichtigung des griechischen Urtextes*, Berlin, 1897, p. 547.

(33) G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961-1968, p. 1215, s.v. ; HUNZINGER, art. *ῥαντίζω, ῥαντισμός*, dans *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, VI, pp. 976-984.

παντὸς πάθους, νόσου σωματικῆς, μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος ([34]) ; *ἵνα ... οἱ χριόμενοι ... μὴ ἔχοντες σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα* ([35]) ; *τοὺς χριομένους ... ἵνα γένηται αὐτοῖς ... εἰς καθαρισμόν* ([36]) ; *τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χριομένοις ... εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν κακῶν* ([37]). Suivant une évolution analogue à celle de *ῥαντίζειν*, le verbe *χρίειν* en est arrivé à signifier le résultat de l'action : «purifier» à la suite d'une onction, puis «purifier» tout simplement.

Si notre raisonnement n'est pas trop forcé, nous pouvons finalement donner de la variante *χριομένοις* dans l'Euchologe Barberini une interprétation acceptable, en traduisant ainsi le passage problématique de la prière *Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων* : «donne-la à tous ceux qui sont purifiés à son contact, que ce soit par absorption, par ablution ou par aspersion, pour la santé de l'âme et du corps, pour la délivrance de toute souffrance et de toute maladie».

* * *

Les attestations relatives à l'emploi de *χρίειν* dans le sens de «purifier» ou d'«asperger» sont rares. À les examiner de près, on a l'impression qu'elles proviennent toutes, en définitive, d'une région bien déterminée. Il ne fait pas de doute que la prière *Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων*, inconnue des euchologes copiés en Grèce ou à Constantinople ([38]), soit d'origine syro-palestinienne, comme l'indique sa présence dans le formulaire syrien occidental de la consécration de l'eau de l'Épiphanie ; c'est de Palestine qu'elle est passée en Italie méridionale, à l'instar de tant d'autres éléments euchologiques ([39]). Quant à la variante *χριομένοις* de la prière *Μέγας εἶ* de l'Épiphanie, nous en avons suivi la propagation en Italie et en Grèce, et souligné

(34) *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, Rome, 1873, p. 186 ; GOAR, p. 335.
(35) GOAR, p. 338.
(36) *Ibid.*, p. 340.
(37) *Ibid.*, p. 341.
(38) L'éd. qu'en donne TREMPELAS, II, p. 52 (apparat), est reprise à Goar.
(39) Voir, par exemple, A. JACOB, *Une prière du skeuophylakion de la Liturgie de saint Jacques et ses parallèles byzantins*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 37 (1966), pp. 53-80 ; IDEM, *L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici in Calabria e in Sicilia dall'VIII al XVI secolo, con particolare riguardo ai riti eucaristici*, dans *Calabria bizantina. Vita religiosa e strutture amministrative ...*, Reggio de Calabre, 1974, p. 55, 60 ; IDEM., *Deux formules d'immixtion syro-palestiniennes et leur utilisation dans le rite byzantin de l'Italie méridionale*, dans *Vetera christianorum*, 13 (1976), pp. 29-64.

le peu d'enthousiasme que la grande église de Constantinople a manifesté à son égard. Il serait évidemment du plus haut intérêt de localiser avec précision le *Sin. gr.* 957, qui l'a adoptée aussi bien dans la prière que dans la litanie. De ce que nous avons dit sur sa diffusion, il conviendrait d'exclure Constantinople et la Grèce, dont vient pourtant son modèle ([40]) ; il est sûr par ailleurs qu'il n'est pas italo-grec ; c'est vers la Palestine que nous oriente, à notre avis, l'onciale utilisée pour les rubriques, les parties diaconales et les lectures. C'est là aussi, nous semble-t-il, qu'a été copié le *Sin. gr.* 958 ([41]), l'un des plus anciens témoins de la byzantinisation liturgique de la région (variante *χριομένοις* dans la litanie et dans la prière, aux f. 73^{r} et 77^{r}). Si ces deux manuscrits ont substitué à la leçon primitive, qui devait être celle de leurs modèles, la variante *χριομένοις*, c'est évidemment que cette dernière était d'un usage courant à l'endroit où ils ont été exécutés. Le témoignage du typikon de Saint-Sabas de Jérusalem couronne cette série d'indices convergents.

En conclusion, il apparaît assez vraisemblable que la transformation sémantique du verbe *χρίειν* s'est produite en milieu palestinien ([42]). Le succès des sens dérivés de *χρίειν* concerne surtout les formules de bénédiction de l'eau. La forme *χριομένοις*, en particulier, a souvent réussi à prendre dans ces textes la place des leçons originales *κεχρημένοις* et *χρωμένοις*. Il y a beaucoup à parier que la ressemblance de ces formes au plan phonétique – on peut leur ajouter *ἀρνομένοις* dans la litanie – a facilité dans une mesure notable la substitution, à tel point qu'on penserait presque à un jeu de mots.

L'examen d'un passage obscur de l'Euchologe Barberini nous a conduit beaucoup plus loin que nous ne l'avions imaginé. Sans parler de l'intérêt que peut parfois présenter l'étude d'une variante, le résultat le plus manifeste de cette enquête est d'avoir mis une fois encore en évidence l'influence considérable que les traditions liturgiques palestiniennes ont exercée sur la formation de l'euchologe byzantin en Italie méridionale.

Rome. André JACOB.

(40) Description dans DMITRIEVSKIJ, II, pp. 1-12.

(41) *Ibid.*, pp. 19-39.

(42) Un dépouillement systématique des sources hagiographiques, dans lesquelles nous n'avons effectué que quelques sondages, serait susceptible de fournir l'un ou l'autre témoignage supplémentaire sur les sens dérivés du mot et de confirmer ou non cette hypothèse.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

13. Some Little-Known Officials (*)

A. Evidence about the *κόμης κόρτης* is scarce. E. Vranousse, in a short monograph on the subject, drew her evidence from a handful of tenth- and eleventh-century sources : the *Tactica* of Leo VI, the *Kletorologion*, two seals, and a letter of 1116 ([1]). The range of sources was not extended by those who wrote on the subject after Vranousse ([2]). What seems to be the earliest, and perhaps most eloquent, evidence, a passage from the Life of George of Amastris, has not – to the best of my knowledge – been used to elucidate this question.

Whether or not the Life of George, preserved in a single manuscript of the tenth century ([3]), was written by Ignatios the Deacon before 842, as V. Vasil'evskij originally supposed and I. Ševčenko and A. Markopoulos agree ([4]), it is certainly a work of the ninth century.

The hagiographer tells a story of how the bishop of Amastris tried to help some Amastrian merchants who had been arrested in Trebizond for breaking customs regulations. He encountered difficulties, says the hagiographer, because the shield-bearer (*ὑπασπίστης*) of the stratelates, or stratarches, urged his master to believe the sycophants and act vindictively. The hagiographer demonstrates his linguistic interests by offering the following clarification of the term *hypaspistes* :

(*) Les notes 9-12 viennent de paraître dans la *BZ*, 1985, 1, pp. 49-55.

(1) E. L. Vranousse, *Κομισκόρτης ὁ ἐξ Ἀρβάνων· σχόλια εἰς χωρίον τῆς Ἄννης Κομνηνῆς* (Ioannina, 1962), 11-15.

(2) A. Ducellier, *L'Arbanon et les Albanais au XIe siècle*, TM 3 (1968), 361 ; E. Vranousse, *Οἱ ὅροι «Ἀλβανοὶ» καὶ «Ἀρβανῖται»*, *Σύμμεικτα*, 2 (1970), 243-45 ; N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 341.

(3) F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique* (Brussels, 1968), 161 f.

(4) I. Ševčenko, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982), part V, 11-17 ; A. Markopoulos, *La vie de s. Georges d'Amastris et Photius*, *JÖB*, 28 (1979), 78 f.

"The shield-bearer of the tent (*τῆς κόρτης*) as he is called in Italian" ([5]). If the hagiographer is right and the term has an Italian origin ; and if we may assume that the Italian word *corte* retains in Greek its meaning of tribuanl ; then the official's involvement in a criminal case in Trebizond is evidence of his natural function and not, as the Life would have it, of malicious meddling.

B. In an article devoted to the office of Chief of Request, R. Guilland asserts that, for the eighth and ninth centuries, all that is known of this office are the names of three of its representatives – Basil, Kosmas and Theophylact – inscribed on their seals ; a fourth officer, Constantine, is known from a seal of the ninth or tenth century ([6]). N. Oikonomides affirms that this office *apparaît* in the *Tacticon of Uspenskij* of about 842, although he mentions some seals of the seventh century that belonged to chiefs or request ([7]). Neither Guilland nor Oikonomides noticed a hagiographical text that not only gives us the name of one of these officials, but also reveals the nature of his activity a decade before the *Tacticon.*

Emperor Theophilos, says the anonymous hagiographer of Antony the Younger, ordered the case of the hermit Antony (former governor of the theme of Kibyrreotes) to be investigated. Antony, charged with illegally confiscating the property of rebels who had supported Thomas the Slav's insurrection, was put in jail by the emperor's representative Stephen, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων* ([8]). Stephen released Antony from jail, on bail, so that he could borrow money from his friends in order to pay for reparation. After five months, Stephen summoned Antony to appear before him and, ordering his servants (*οἰκέται*) to put the "servant of God" on a donkey, he mocked the saint and had him

(5) *BHG*, 668, ed. V. VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Russko-vizantijskie issledovanija*, 2 (S. Petersburg, 1893), 46.15-47.10 ; republished in his Trudy, 3 (Petrograd, 1915), 45.5-16. Another, even earlier, mention of the komes kortes is to be found in a letter by Theodore of Stoudios of, probably, 817/9 (*PG*, 99, col. 1232A) ; the same event is described in one of the versions of Theodore's Life (*PG*, 99, col. 296B) – Leo V sent a komes kortes to flog Theodore (see A. P. Dobroklonskij, Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen studijskij, 1 [Odessa, 1913], 794 f.

(6) R. GUILLAND, *Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire Byzantin. Le Maître des Requêtes*, *Byz.*, 35 (1965), 100 f.

(7) OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes*, p. 322.

(8) *BHG*, 142, ed. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Sylloge (1907), 209.27-28.

driven from the praetorium (where, perhaps, Stephen's office was located) to his private house.

In a triclinium, Stephen once more demanded that Antony repay what he had taken, as the emperor wished. He ordered a servant to flog the saint and, when the servant refused, Stephen himself, "a relentless beast", gave Antony fifty heavy blows, had his legs fettered, and threw him into one of the cells (p. 209.28-210.28).

With a certain satisfaction, the hagiographer tells us that Theophilos eventually became angry with Stephen ; had him beaten and shaved ; exiled him, with all his family, from the capital ; and gave all his fortune to the treasury (p. 211.26-28).

C. N. Oikonomides (p. 316) writes that the office of the "préposé à l'eidikon" was established in the ninth century. Thus a contemporary of St. Evarestos (819-897) John, "member of the Senate and the administrator of the so-called office of idikon" (*BHG* 2153, ed. C. van de Vorst, AB 41 [1923], 316.19-20) must have been one of the first officials in charge of this department.

D. For Oikonomides (p. 341), whose opinion was based on the lists of ranks, the protokankellarios was a low official on the staff of the strategos. A different impression is given in the Life of Gregory Dekapolites. There it is said that a certain George was promoted to the office of deputy strategos, *ἀξίᾳ τῇ κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐκεῖσε στρατηγοῦντος τιμώμενος* ; George is called protokankellarios (*BHG* 711, ed. F. Dvornik [Paris, 1926], 62.22-24). Later, after being persecuted by the caesar (perhaps, as Dvornik thought, by Alexios Mousele, ca. 836), this protokankellarios came to Constantinople and received from the emperor the "office" (*ἀξία*), or rather title, usually called kandidatos (p. 63.8-11).

14. Collective Death and Individual Deeds

It is typical of early martyrs to meet a collective death. Without claiming to provide an exhaustive list of such groups, I can point to at least eigth companies of martyrs executed under Decius (249-251) ; two under Valerianus (253-263) ; one in the time of Aurelianus (270-275) ; twenty-seven under Diocletian (286-305) ; ten under Maximianus (307-310) ; and three under Julian (361-363). And additional four groups are said to have been martyred under the Persian king Shapur II (310-379), and four or five further cases may

be cited for the later fourth and fifth centuries. After this date, the number of collective martyrdoms is very small : sixty (or sixty-three) martyrs murdered by the Hagareness under Leo III (*BHG* 1217-18) ; twenty monks of the St. Sabas monastery murdered, in 797, by the Arabs (*BHG* 1200) ; fourteen Christians martyred in Bulgaria (*BHG* 2264) ; ten (or thirteen) martyrs in Constantinople under Leo III (*BHG* 1195 ; written after 867) ; and, finally, the martyrs "of Amorion" in 845 (*BHG* 1209-1214c – with a wrong date of execution).

Two more groups of saints of the ninth century are known. The three brothers from Mitylene – David, Symeon, and George – were heroes of an unusual 'family' *vita* who, however, were not martyred and who died in different years (*BHG* 494 ; see par. 7-8, *Byzantion* 44 [1984], 185-9). Another group – Andrew, John, Peter, and Antony – suffered martyrdom in Africa under the reign of Basil I (9) without, however, generating more interest than a brief mention in the *Synaxarion.* As for the later period, collective *vitae* are found only occasionally : there are the 'Cretan fathers', roughly of the eleventh century (*BHG* 2336) ; the martyrs of Mount Athos murdered by the Latinophiles under Michael VIII (*BHG* 2333-2333b) ; and a group of martyrs from Cyprus, murdered in 1231 (*BHG* 1198). We may conclude that the genre of collective martyrdom, popular in early Byzantium, all but ceased to exist after the ninth century, and that the *Martyrdom of Amorion* was the last representative of that genre. Let us examine this unique document.

The *Martyrdom* is known in many disparate versions which the editor, P. Nikitin, reduced to two main recensions (10). The first is presented in both a complete version compiled by a certain Evodios and an abbreviated form ; Nikitin (p. 273) asserts that it was produced in 867-887, before the death of Basil I. Evodios's text was drawn on by Theophanes Continuatus and Symeon Metaphrastes. Nikitin's dating rests on suppositions rather than proofs. The first of these is a

(9) *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae,* ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), 72-74.

(10) *Skazanija o 42 amorijskich mučenikach,* ed. V. Vasil'evskij and P. Nikitin (S. Petersburg, 1905). Below all the references without a special indication are to this edition. A version of the *Martyrdom* was published by A. VASILIEV, *Grečeskij tekst žitija soroka dvuch amorijskich mučenikov* (S. Petersburg, 1898) – further referred to as VASILIEV.

guess (*možet byt'*, perhaps) that the author may be the same Evodios who wrote a canon dedicated to Joseph the Hymnographer (p. 233 f.). Then follows the second guess (*Ja predpolagaju*, I guess) that Evodios wrote his *Martyrdom* at the same time that Joseph wrote his canon on the martyrs of Amorion, *i.e.*, when Basil I founded the Church of the Martyrs (p. 279). In fact, all that we really know is that Evodios worked before Theophanes Continuatus, that is, in the second half of the ninth, or in the first half of the tenth century.

Of the versions of the *Martyrdom* belonging to the second recension, some are anonymous while others bear the authors' names in their lemmata. About one of these authors, Sophronios of Cyprus (the so-called version *Δ*), absolutely nothing is known and his name is therefore of no use in dating this version. A second author, Ignatios, who wrote a canon about the martyrs, was identified by Nikitin as Ignatios the Deacon (p. 262). His conclusion was accepted by W. Wolska-Conus, who, however, acknowledges other possible identifications for this author ([11]). Both scholars agree that, since an *idiomelon* by the patriarch Methodius is found in the same *akolouthia* as Ignatios's canon, the canon itself must have been composed between 845, when the martyrdom took place, and the death of Methodius in 847. In the absence of any evidence that the *akolouthia* was compiled during Methodius's life, the logic of this conclusion escapes my understanding.

Ignatios – whoever he was – based his canon on a prose version, or versions, of the *Martyrdom*, and particularly on the version attributed in the lemma to Michael Synkellos. Since Michael died in 846, this might at first seem to support Nikitin's dating of Ignatios's canon to 846-47. If indeed by Michael, and P. Lemerle asserts that "there is no reason to doubt" his authorship ([12]), this version (the so-called version *Γ*) would have been written almost immediately after the martyrdom of 845. Going even further, Nikitin claims that both the Sophronios text and the anonymous version (the so-called version *B*) preceded Michael's and that, therefore, all the versions of the second recension existed by 847. If true, then the second recension would be much earlier than the first, which began with Evodios ca. 900.

(11) W. WOLSKA-CONUS, *De quibusdam Ignatiis*, TM 4 (1970), 334, n. 28.

(12) P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques*, TM 5 (1973), 87, n. 9.

Yet the creation of as many as four versions of the *Martyrdom* within little more than a year after the event is, if not impossible, at least not very probable, particularly considering that the martyrdom took place far from Constantinople. Further, the text attributed to Michael Synkellos describes not only the execution (on 6 March 845) but also events after the martyrdom. After the execution, says the author, the corpses of the victims were brought by the monks of a monastery on the Tigris to the *proestos*, who saw to their burial. The sick who came to their tombs were healed (p. 35.32 = 36.2), and the martyrs liberated some captives (p. 36.12). Rumors of this sort needed some time to spread and to reach Byzantium. In any case, the author nowhere claims to be writing about a recent event. And why should we believe he was ?

The Sophronios version of the *Martyrdom* must also date some time after the event took place, since the martyrs are praised for their help during barbarian rebellions ([13]), during famine and plague, and in the time of disputes that tore apart the body of the Church (p. 54.9-11 ; also in VASILIEV, 16.28-30). It is likely that Sophronios alludes here to the struggle between Photios and Ignatios, providing us with a *terminus ante quem non* of 858.

If the text attributed by Nikitin to Michael Synkellos is not, in fact, by him ; if the date of Ignatios's (the Deacon ?) hymn cannot be ascertained ; and if Sophronios wrote after 858 ; there is little reason to believe in an early chronology of the second recension. There is not even enough evidence to suggest that it precedes Evodios's version, from which the first recension springs. We can consider all of the texts as representing independently developed legends based on an oral tradition and produced – very approximately – around 900.

There is a point of difference between Evodios and Sophronios that we have to take into consideration : Evodios is very critical toward the emperor Theophilos, whose name, 'God-loving', he proclaims to be

(13) The word *ἐπανάστασις* obviously means invasion, not rebellion. See also the lives of Lazarus of Mt. Galesios (*BHG*, 979, ed. AASS Nov. III, 515A) and of Elias the Younger in South Italy (*BHG*, 580, ed. G. Rossi-Taibbi [1962], 32.405-6). The word is used with the same meaning in PSELLOS, *Chronographie*, 2 (Paris, 1928), 8, to describe the Russian invasion of 1043. E. Renauld's translation "soulèvement" is therefore biased, and G. Litavrin's interpretation of the passage (Psell o pričinach poslednego pochoda russkich na Konstantinopol' v 1043 g., *Viz. Vrem*, 27 [1967], 71-75) finds a new support.

a sham (p. 64.30) and whose Iconoclast policy he considers to be the cause of the adversaries' military successes (p. 65.1-2). This attitude is 'natural', corresponding to the Iconodulic position of the majority of hagiographers and historians alike, and especially to the position of Constantine VII and his courtiers. By contrast, Sophronios emphasizes Theophilos's victories over the Hagarenes (p. 40.24-42.1 ; see also VASILIEV, p. 10.13-18), and the anonymous version B calls Theophilos "the great autokrator", describing him as a noble and energetic man who often invaded and plundered the land of the Arabs (p. 11.23-26). It is very hard to imagine that, shortly after the restoration of icon veneration, a laudation of an Iconoclast emperor would have been produced. There were obviously, however, some circles interested in Theophilos's rehabilitation. The author of the *Vita* of the empress Theodora, wife of Theophilos described a vision of the saintly empress : she saw the Virgin with the Child in her arms and a group of handsome angels who flogged Theophilos for having offended the holy icons ([14]). We can assume with Markopoulos (p. 255) that the Life was written after the murder of Michael III (23 Sept. 867) and even after 872. It seems probable, however, that after the *Vita* of Theodora an anonymous *Narratio de Theophilo* was composed ; this text stresses, not the punishment of the Iconoclast emperor, but the forgiveness that God granted Theophilos due to the prayers of the Orthodox Fathers and Theodora ([15]) – Theophilos's name miraculously disappeared from the list of heretics (p. 37.4-6). In another anonymous work Theophilos was, surprisingly, praised as a just and perfect judge who condemned those who abused the poor (p. 40.13-17). Nobody was unfair in his reign ; nobody sufferd from unfairness (p. 43.9). Again we have no precise dating and are doomed to guess-work, but the stress laid on just treatment of the poor fits the tenth-century situation rather well. We may consider the possibility that Theophilos's rehabilitation served as a kind of counter-propaganda against the policy of Constantine VII, although I do not envisage a convincing resolution to this problem.

There is another important difference between Evodios's text, on the one hand, and that of Sophronios on the other, Evodios's is a

(14) A. MARKOPOULOS, *Βίος τῆς αὐτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας*, *Σύμμεικτα*, 5 (1983), 264, par. 8.6-12.

(15) W. REGEL, *Analecta byzantino-rossica* (S. Petersburg, 1891), 32-37.

theoretical treatise, aiming to account for the infidels' success and to show how the eternal truth of Christianity triumphs, despite all temporary setbacks. He demonstrates, in a long historical introduction, that the heterodoxy of emperors always led to military defeat, and he provides us with a lengthy account of the martyrs' theological disputes with the Arabs. The theological approach allows us to consider Evodios as an exponent of the same apologetical trend found in the Life of Theodore of Edessa (*BHG* 1744), a hagiographical romance of about 900 ([16]).

The heroes of Evodios's *Martyrdom of Amorion* are forty-two martyrs acting as a single personality : the 'hagioi' reject the enemy's tempting proposals and refute Islam with a single voice (p. 66.14, 69.5, 70.24, 73 f.) ; they meet their collective execution as one man : "equal in glory to the most noble of any and every time, adorned by the divine reason, dexterous in both the soul and the body, they showed themselves mysteriously, through the superabundant duality, as similar and equal to it and to the holy period of forty days ; they acted perfectly during forty days of fasting and shortly before the day of ancient martyrs to whom they joined in both the time and the faith and the exploit and the crowns" (p. 76.26-77.2). Evodios alludes here to the mysterious coincidence between the number of days of Lent, as well as to that between the date of their martyrdom (6 March) and that of the forty martyrs of Sebaste (9 March). The whole tenor of his language strongly emphasizes the physical and spiritual unity of his heroes.

By contrast, both Sophronios's text and that attributed to Michel Synkellos present the hero in a different way. In the latter, the actual hero of the story is a certain Kallistos. Sophronios also mentions spatharios Kallistos whom he considers as a member of the Melissenoi family (p. 50.5-6). We are unable to check this assertion : no other source identifies Kallistos as Melissenos ; moreover, Pseudo-Symeon (p. 639.1-3) lists separately the tourmarch Kallistos and a certain Melissenos. At any rate, 'Synkellos' does not name Kallistos by his family name.

Only 'Synkellos' provides us with a biography of Kallistos : he was born to noble parents ; educated in Constantinople ; was admitted to

(16) A. ABEL, *La portée apologétique de la "Vie" de St Théodore d'Édesse*, BS 10 (1949), 231.

the army in the basis of his physical strength, fine looks, and the good reputation of his relatives, and became the *komes* of the *tagma* of the Scholae (p. 23.15-24). 'Synkellos' finds difficulty when describing Kallistos's military career under Theophilos : the emperor was usually the "evil Iconoclast" for hagiographers, and nonetheless he eagerly promoted Kallistos. Theophilos is said to have sent Kallistos to punish the monks of the monastery of Pelekites (p. 25.27-31), and yet not to have reprimanded Kallistos for his refusal to do this. On the contrary, we see Kallistos promoted to the high post of *doux* of Koloneia shortly thereafter (p. 27.33-34, 29.36). Here the local Manichaeans took Kallistos and brought him to Karbeas ; then, on the caliph's order, he was transferred to Syria and joined the captives of Amorion (p. 29.23-32). Thus, up to that point, the story of Kallistos is independent of the other martyrs.

During the captivity, Kallistos again played a central role : he, "the famous man and first among the friends (*ἀρχιεταῖρος*)", encouraged the others in prison (p. 33.4-33). The passage (quoted above) in which Evodios emphasized the collectivity of the martyrs is transformed, in 'Synkellos', to express Kallistos's personal position : Kallistos, seeing in dismay that one of the captives had turned traitor, called upon a former *droungarios* of his contingent who, obeying forthwith "the voice of his lord", made up the number of forty-two martyrs, a number interpreted as joining forty "light-carrying days" with the two divine natures (p. 34.6-19). Nikitin (p. 259) believing the passage in Evodios to be a later version, insists that he borrowed this numerical symbolism from 'Synkellos'. I do not find this convincing because, first, this symbolism is too obvious to suit Byzantine taste, and secondly, it may well derive, in both texts, from a common – oral or written – tradition. In assessing the relation between these texts what matters is the difference of approaches : collective personality in Evodios versus consistent individualism in 'Synkellos'.

Sophronios has a different hero – Theodore Karteros. Evodios mentions him in passing as Theodore Krateros (p. 75.20-21) ; he is given the same name – Karteros – in version *B* (p. 13.29-30), and – Krateros – in some chronicles ([17]). 'Synkellos' refers to him only

(17) LEO GRAMMATICUS (Bonn, 1842), 224.20-21 ; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS (Bonn, 1838), 115.12, 639.2-3, 805.16-17. I wish to indicate a misprint in R. GUILLAND, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 1 (Berlin, Amsterdam, 1967),

as Theodore, "an invincible *stratarches*", but he retains Theodore's family name as a pun, describing him as "steadfast (*καρτερός*) in his soul and upright in his views". Despite his alternate spelling of Theodore's name, a similar pun (*καρτερόφρων*) is found in Evodios (p. 76.12). Although Nikitin did not dwell on this point in his commentary, it is fuel for a discussion about the relationship between Evodios's and other versions of the *Martyrdom*: did Evodios carelessly retain the pun after 'distorting' the name of Theodore or, on the contrary, was the name altered by Sophronios (and version *B*) in order to accord more closely with the pun ?

Sophronios says that the caliph ordered "one of the saints, the invincible Theodore called, therefore, Karteros, brilliant protospatharios and eunuch" be brought before him (p. 46.28-29). This description is generously expanded in Vasiliev's version of Sophronios's text (p. 13.9-15). Here the hero is compared to the eunuch Kandakes (*Acts* 8 : 27-31), and the compiler remarks that Theodore was baptized not by water, but by blood. While the passage in Vasiliev is obviously a later addition it, remarkably, introduces two deliberate puns on the hero's name (*φερονύμως*, as the compiler put it) : Karteros is called "the strong (*κραταιάν*) rock of the Faith" and "steadfast (*κραταιούμενον*) in spirit". Needless to say, the later author had found the spelling "Karteros" in his model. But he did not hesitate to associate it with the root KRAT, as these roots were closely related in the Byzantine mind. It seems likely that, by a reverse process of association, Evodios produced the pun *καρτερόφρων* on the basis of the name "Krateros", although other solutions of the problem remain possible.

The title of protospatharios is given to Theodore by Sophronios and some of the chroniclers (George the Monk's continuator and pseudo-Symeon) ; no title for him appears in either version *B* or Evodios. 'Synkellos' instead promotes him to the rank of patrikios (p. 32.34), in a charge which implies a relatively late, rather than early, date for this text. However, this detail may only reveal Synkellos' careless copying from a source used also by Evodios, for in Evodios

172 – Kamateros. GENESIOS (Berlin, New-York, 1978), 34, knows only another Krateros, strategos of Kibyrreotai, whom the Arabs executed on a cross ; the story is related in other chronicles as well.

we read that "Krateros was concerned about the patrikios" (p. 76.4-5), meaning his fellow captive the patrikios Constantine (p. 72.2).

Sophronios recounts that the caliph urged Theodore to accept Islam (p. 46.31-48.1. Same phrase in VASILIEV, p. 13.16-17), promising to grant him "great honors and wealth" (p. 48.1-2). Vasiliev's version develops this episode further : "You are a eunuch", inveigles the caliph, "and have no responibility for either wife or children". And he promises to make Theodore one of his megistanes (p. 13.19-21). The topic of Theodore's castration may have been mentioned in the original : 'Synkellos' observes that the Arabs thought it would be easy to attract Theodore to their side "since he was a eunuch and an old man" (p. 32.3). Evodios also preserves this reference to Theodore's condition, but reinterprets its significance to suit his own theoretical approach and theological interest. According to him, the Arabs accused Theodore of having been a priest, having rejected his vocation and, taking up the spear, having become a murderer. He, who long ago had renounced Christ, should not now pretend to be a Christian (p. 75.21-24).

Sophronios's, and especially Vasiliev's, versions, describe the *agon*, the dispute between Theodore and the caliph which took place through an interpreter (There is a curious difference between the two versions : Sophronios makes Theodore assert "I do not want to side with the Jews, as you do" [p. 48.6] ; whereas Vasiliev's version, omitting any mention of Jews, has Theodore denounce the caliph's ties to demons (VASILIEV, p. 13.23]). Only Vasiliev's version describes the anxiety of the interpreter, who was reluctant to translate all of Theodore's insults (*ὕβρις*) and tried to convince the martyr to believe him and "the emperor". "If I did not give in to the *basileus*", retorted the saint, "why should I give in to you ?". Finally the interpreter decided to reveal the 'insolence' of the martyr to the caliph who, outraged, ordered that Theodore is decapitated (VASILIEV, p. 13.24-32).

Both versions present the scene of execution. Theodore was killed alone ; the executioners tore off his clothes and cut off his head (p. 48.9-11 ; VASILIEV, p. 13.33-35). Again, some additions are found in Vasiliev's version : Theodore lay on the ground like a bright star that had come down from heaven ; later, when the caliph had sailed away, he – unexpectedly – said to his counselors : "You have seen the

fortitude (*καρτερίαν*) of this braggart" (VASILIEV, p. 14.4-10). All this is absent in Sophronios.

'Synkellos', whose version is, on the whole, concise, nonetheless introduces a colorful detail : it was a caliph himself who cut off the head of the saint (p. 32.35). Version *B*, developing this motif, depicts the exceptional character of Theodore's execution : the caliph and his retinue threw Theodore down to the ground from his mule. Theodore was in chains, his hair had been pulled out ; the infidels beat him and trampled him under their feet while the caliph looked on from his boat. Then the caliph ordered that Theodore be beheaded, and the godless hastened to fulfilled his command. The head of the martyr, and his holy body, were thrown into the Tigris (p. 15.21-33). One could see, continues the compiler, the saint (in the singular) floating on the water like a brilliant beacon giving out sun-like rays. He lays emphasis on Theodore's courage, in that Theodore, all alone, fought against a throng of barbarians, and he praises the man's adherence to God (p. 16.3-10). Theodore's example inspired the other captives who, longing for the same fate, tried to burst out of prison and rush to the divine stadium (p. 16.18-28).

We should try to draw a (very hypothetical) series of conclusions about the development of this legend. On 12 August 838 the Arabs seized Amorion. A group of influential captives was put in jail in Samarra and executed on 6 March 845. The first rumors of this execution could have reached Byzantium during the exchange of prisoners on 16 September 845 ([18]). The steps by which this news became a legend existing in very diverse forms are not clear : the prototype may have been oral, although there is no way of proving this. The chronological sequence of the various written versions deriving from this (oral ?) prototype cannot be established. Evodios' version placed strong emphasis on the historical and theological significance of this collective sacrifice : even though he mentions individual martyrs (Theodore Krateros, Basoes, the patrikios Constantine ([19])), these are overshadowed by the collective whole.

At the same time (?), poetic creativity began to single out individual saints from the faceless solidarity of forty-two martyrs. Neither the

(18) On this, A. VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 1 (Brussels, 1935), 201.

(19) Constantine is the only martyr mentioned in Basil II's *Menologion* (PG, 117, col. 341B).

patrikios Aetios, strategos of the theme of Anatolikon and commandant of Amorion (THEOPH. CONT., p. 126.8-9), not the patrikios Constantine became the individual heroes of the collective martyrdom. Instead, by a process which worked independently and in different directions, two other persons vied for the honor. One was Theodore, protospatharios and eunuch, whose family name appears in two variants – Karteros and Krateros – in the written versions. The other was Kallistos, who may or may not have belonged to the Melissenoi family. He did not participate in the defense of Amorion, joining the martyrs only later and by chance.

I am inclined to consider the *Martyrdom of Amorion* as the last representative of the genre of collective martyrdom. The differences in narrative approach between its various versions show that, around 900, the Byzantine mind no longer accepted the idea of the solidarity of martyrs so important earlier, and was in search of the individual hero.

15. SAINTS' LIVES AND BYZANTINE LAW

Byzantine saints' lives do not contain abundant information about law. They are, however, important for the study of law : their usefulness in regard to law derives from their practical character : when they do – rarely – relate legal facts, these are drawn from real experiences rather than textbooks. I do not claim to have gathered exhaustive data ; that would have required a book-length study and a legally oriented mind. My goal is very modest : to break the ice with a certain number of examples, and thus attract the attention of historians of law to a neglected type of evidence.

References to property law in saints' lives are meager, yet some of them provide us with unusual insight into the complex problem of Byzantine property. It is a topos that the saints gave away all their property before taking the monastic habit : Michael Maleinos, for instance, distributed all his liquid assets along the poor and transferred ownership of his fixed assets to his brother Constantine (*BHG*, 1295, ed. L. Petit, Revue de l'Orient chrétien, 7 [1902], 558.1-2). By contrast, Theodore of Edessa gave an inspecified portion of his inheritance to his sister, and the rest, distributed among the poor, is described as consisting of boths fields and precious metals (*BHG*, 1744, ed. I. Pomjalovskij [1892], 7.3-6). Cases of land acquisition are

also reported : a certain Samuel bought territory in Kokorobion (a region of Constantinople, in the Lykos valley) and donated it to Nicholas of Stoudios, declaring him owner – *κύριος καὶ δεσπότης* (*BHG*, 2153 : *Vita Evaresti*, ed. C. van de Vorst, AB 41 [1923], 308.22-25). The problem, however, is whether a plain transaction really did confer ownership.

Valuable evidence on this point is in the *Life of Cyril Phileotes*, where the hagiographer, Nicholas Kataskepenos, reproduces a conversation between Cyril and Alexios I (*BHG*, 468, ed. E. Sargologos [1964], chap. 47.8). Cyril told the emperor that he and his brother had, by their own efforts, founded a monastery on the site of a small chapel which they had inherited. Alexios asked : "Did the land now possessed by the monastery belong to the church or is it yours ?". The question seems pointless, since Cyril had already said that the chapel itself had been his by inheritance. He did not, however, find the question odd, and explained that only a small part of the property consisted of former ecclesiastical *stichoi*, whereas the main share had been acquired by the brothers themselves. Alexios summed up the monk's explanation in a quite unexpected way : "You may say that the land is the state's". And he announced that he granted the land to the monastery and cancelled the rights of the 'treasury' on it.

We face a typical Byzantine dichotomy : on the one hand, the individual had an unrestricted right to buy and sell fixed and liquid assets ; on the other, acquisition did not constitute real ownership, at least in the case of land, and could be legitimized only through imperial grant. As a consequence, the state's right to confiscate was not an issue of vague theoretical interest, but a very real problem. Antony the Younger (see on him par. 13B) told the Emperor Theophilos that after Thomas the Slav's rebellion he punished "the enemies of his majesty your father", seized their estates, and gave these to supporters of the regime (p. 209.21-24). In this case, of course, we are dealing with the repression of a dangerous mutiny, but it is worth noting that no legal procedure was required – Antony, at that time a governor, simply made a decision and carried it out. Confiscation by the state emerges in other *vitae* as a fact of daily life, if one condemned by hagiographers. Gregory Dekapolites refused to accept a gift from the heirs of the late Merkourios who, as the saint says metaphorically, strangled many orphans. Merkourios, a *praktor* of the State treasury, had seized for the fisc "proprties and inheritances" described as

deserted (*ἐρήμους*) or not disposed of in a will (*τὰς ἐξ ἀδιαθέτων*) (*BHG*, 711, ed. F. Dvornik [1926], 55.20-24). An example of this practice is in the Life of Nilus of Rossano (*BHG*, 1370, ed. AASS Sept. VII, 286 EF) : when a rich miser dies, "all his property was seized by the fisc", even though he had a living heir.

Time and again in the *vitae* we come across examples of the uniquitous control exerted by the state (or fisc) over all forms of civil activity. Luke the Younger, for instance, was severely punished when he tried to sail away ; the harbor master (*ὁ τὴν τῶν λιμένων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπιτετραμμένος*) had been ordered to prevent ships going to Greece (*BHG*, 994, ed. *PG*, 111, col. 453 AB, G. Kremos [1874], 40). The motive in this case was clearly political – Greece being invaded by an enemy – but similar restrictions are also found in peacetime situations : the *Life of Gregory Dekapolites* (*BHG*, 711, ed. Dvornik, 54.2-6) mentions an imperial ordinance, *πρόσταξις*, in which it was forbidden to provide any stranger with accomodation. Gregory, arriving at Prokonnesos, found accomodation in the home of a poor man who was later rewarded for his hospitality. Despite Gregory's good luck, the episode reveals a high level of state control over private arrangements.

The *Life of Gregory Dekapolites* informs us also about an institution that acquired special importance in the tenth century – the right of neighborhood. In Thessaloniki a monk, Zacharias, was in conflict with a woman who lived closeby the Church of St. Menas, which he had built. The nature of this conflict is described as "of proximity" (*τοῦ γειτονήματος ἕνεκα*). Gregory insisted that Zacharias should let the woman alone, since there was nothing illegal (*ἄτοπον*) in her being close to the church. But Zacharias, far from backing off, even tried to tear down the neighbor's poor hut. Of course, the disobedience was punished : he fell ill, possessed by a demon (*BHG*, 711, ed. Dvornik, 63.22-64.3). The nature of the right of neighborhood is not clearly defined in this text : it would seem that in ninth-century Thessaloniki the church employed this right with regard to the neighboring hut of the poor woman, whereas tenth-century legislation put greater emphasis in the privileges of poor neighbors. If we can trust the evidence of the *Life of Gregory*, then we may suggest that legal concern about proximity did not begin with the prudent emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, but already existed, at least as *consuetudo*, in the ninth century.

Certainly, the Byzantines possessed the right of succession ; some of *vitae* touch on specific questions of inheritance. Thus, Antony the Younger, having lost his mother, received her property (*τῆς μητρῴας κληρονομίας*) when his father remarried (*BHG*, 142, ed. Papadopulos-Kerameus, 193.15-17). The *Life of Michael Maleinos* presents a case of inheritance *ab intestatu*: Michael's father Eudokimos died suddenly, leaving no will (*ἀδιάθετα*). The property apparently went to the wife of the deceased. This "good mother", however, divided the property among her children and lived serenely for the rest of her life (*BHG*, 1295, ed. Petit, 557.20-27).

Vitae delineate certain groups of persons with different legal status. Frequently they mention slaves – we cannot, however, be sure that the terms *δοῦλοι* and *οἰκέται* always designate slaves as understood in Roman law. Some *vitae*, such as that of Maria the Younger (*BHG*, 1164), characterize everyday relations between slaves and their lords – I will omit this sort of information and concentrate only on several points regarding slaves' legal status.

First, a slave could be sold : Basil the Younger advised the eunuch John to sell his female slave who tried to steal his gold (*BHG*, 263, ed. A. Veselowskij, 1 [1889/90], 72.11-12). Unlike Basil, Elias Speleotes disapproved of the slave trade : an *emporos* in the village of Armon (South Italy) bought and sold "human bodies" ; the saint tried to dissuade him from this, but the merchant's desire for gain rendered him deaf to this appeal (*BHG*, 581, ed. AASS Sept. III, 855 C). Secondly, some slaves had families, like Theodora, a bondwoman in the house of a high-ranking official in Constantinople (*BHG*, 264b, ed. S. Vilinskij, [1911], 300 f.) ; her union, however, was not considered to be a legitimate marriage, and therefore, after her death, Theodora was not charged with the adultery she had committed during her 'pseudo-married' status (*BHG*, 263, ed. Veselovskij, 1, 32.13-18), although she had two children from her bed-companion. Thirdly, the master bore responsibility for the crimes of his slaves, as it is emphasized in the *Life of Theokletes* (*BHG*, 2420, ed. A. Sgouritsas, Theologia, 27 [1956], 537.16).

Slaves sought to escape : Luke the Younger was once arrested (on his way from Phokis to Thessaly) by soldiers assigned to catch fugitive slaves. They asked Luke whether he was a slave, and when he responded that he was the *doulos* of Christ they beat him and put him in jail (*BHG*, 994, ed. E. Martini, AB 13 [1894], 86.20-35, G.

Kremos, 29). Michael Maleinos made a similar reply to the hegoumenos of the monastery he wished to enter. When the hegoumenos, worried about his status, enquired whether he was someone's *doulos*, Michael said : "I am nobody's slave but God's" (*BHG*, 1295, ed. Petit, p. 553.11-15). Apparently, the admittance of slaves to monastic communities was restricted, if not entirely prohibited.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that hagiographical sources praise manumission. More important, from the legal point of view, is the evidence of *legata* (*ληγᾶτα*) : pious people are said to have provided their manumitted slaves with *legata* ([20]). The term would, probably, designate not charters, as Ch. Loparev understood it (see n. 20), but a sort of property transferred to the freedman.

Cases of selling free people into slavery are reported in several *vitae*. A false monk, frenzied by drunkenness and avarice, sold young Blasios to a 'Scythian' (*BHG*, 278, ed. AASS Nov. IV, 660F). Since the deal took place in Bulgaria, it might be considered as evidence of Bulgarian rather than Byzantine practice, but contemporary *vitae*, make frequent reference to similar occurrences within the Empire. In the *Life of Nikon Metanoeite* we read of robbers who seized the son of a peasant in order to sell him into *douleia* (*BHG*, 1366, ed. S. Lampros, NE 3 [1906], 207.1-2). A monk tried to sell young Lazarus, the future stylite of Mt. Galesios, to an Armenian *naukleros* in Attaleia (*BHG*, 979, ed. AASS Nov. III, 511F). The peasants of the village of Petros did not permit the monk Basil to take his younger brother, the orphan Paul, away with him – they suspected that he intended to sell the boy (*BHG*, 1474, ed. H. Delehaye, AB 11 [1892], 23.9). In the same Life we find Paul's own plea to be brought to a far-away place, to be sold, and to have his price distributed among the poor (p. 158.4-5).

Other categories of dependent population are mentioned as well. Hagiographers used the term *misthotos*, referring to John 10 : 12, in order to indicate an untrustworthy person ([21]). The real status of the *misthotos* is depicted in the *Life of Irene of Chrysobalantos* where we

(20) THe lives of Nilus of Rossano (*BHG*, 1370, ed. AASS Sept. VII, 294D), of Michael Maleinos (*BHG*, 1295, ed. Petit [1902], 557.31), of Theodore of Edessa (*BHG*, 1744, ed. I. Pomjalovskij [1892], 7.7), of Theophanes the Confessor by Methodius (*BHG*, 1787z, ed. V. Latyšev [1918] : see Ch. LOPAREV, *Vizantijskie žitija svjatych VIII-IX vv.*, *VizVrem*, 17 [1910], 94).

(21) Among others, the lives of Euthymius (*BHG*, 651, ed. P. Karlin-Hayter [Brussels, 1970], p. 115.10) and of Ignatios (*BHG*, 817, ed. *PG* 105, col. 497B).

are told the story of a certain Nicholas (*BHG*, 952, ed. AASS July VI, 621BC). This Nicholas was a *misthotos* who worked in the vineyard of the nunnery. He complained that the abbess had evicted him from his house, put him in chains and treated him as a slave. The hagiographer denies the truth of these accusations, but his tale indicates that masters would treat their 'hirelings' like that or, at least, could do it. Yet the *Life of Cyril Phileotes* defines a *misthios* as a free man, including this category in a general list of dependent people which encompasses both *douloi* and 'vassals', *hypospondoi* (*BHG*, 468, ed. Sargologos, chap. 9.2). The hagiographer of Elias the Younger of Damascus tells us that the saint, at the age of twelve, became a *misthios* in the house of a craftsman ; as an apprentice, he did not only learn the handicraft but also waited upon his master's table. The master treated him badly, refused to pay his salary, and Elias fled to another city. When he mastered the craft and returned, his former master suggested that they open a common shop (*BHG*, 579, ed. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Sylloge [1907], 45-47).

The important late-Byzantine social terms *paroikoi* and *proskathemenoi* are not *termini technici* in middle-Byzantine hagiography : the Life of Peter of Atroa uses the term *proskathemenoi* to designate servants in general (*BHG*, 2365, ed. V. Laurent, Vita retracta [1958], 143, par. 94.1-2, see also p. 137, par. 89.6). The term *paroikoi* usually has the biblical sense of 'stranger' ([22]). The *Life of Nikon Metanoeite* seems to be more specific although not sufficiently clear : the young Nikon, who had been given the task of inspecting his father's estates, was struck by the toil of the *paroikoi* (*παροικικῶς βιοῦντες*), and felt compassion for the life of the poor (*BHG*, 1366, ed. Lampros, 134.19-25).

Various forms of obligations are mentioned, specially the contract of hire : some relevant data on the latter has already been gathered by A. Rudakov ([23]). The *Life of Antony the Younger* provides an example of the making of a pledge : Antony, who pretended to be a physician, made an agreement with a rich landowner according to which he pledged that he would cure the landowner's wife of barrenness. When

(22) *E.g.*, *Ephes.*, 2 : 19. See P. LEMERLE, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium* (Galway, 1979), 56, n. 2.

(23) A. RUDAKOV, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* (Moscow, 1917), 143 f.

the *stipulatio*, or *symphonia*, was made, Antony said : "Bring a piece of parchment". None being found, they cut out some of the last pages of a Gospel book. With these, Antony made a *tomos* long enough to wrap around a person, on which he wrote the prayer whose power would heal the landowner's wife (*BHG*, 142, ed. Papadopulos-Kerameus, p. 196.7-23).

The topics of debt and insolvency are also frequent in saints' lives. The *Life of Gregory Dekapolites* mentions a monk who borrowed a golden nomisma from a school boy. Gregory ordered him to pay his debt as soon as possible, since the young creditor was about to die, and the monk was in danger of becoming *ὑπόχρεος*, an insolvent borrower (*BHG*, 711, ed. Dvornik, p. 62.5-9). It is curious that pious church builders time and again refused to pay their workers : Nikon Metanoeite announced that he had no money with which to pay the construction workers, and suggested to them that they put him in chains and drag him – "like a slave" – through the whole city (*BHG*, 1366, ed. Lampros, p. 169.25-29). Germanos of Kosinitza hired a team of *technitai* to build a church and promised them a hundred gold coins for their work ; when the construction was finished and the builders began to demand payment, it turned out that Germanos had only ten coins. The workers bound him with ropes and dragged him to the neighboring city of Drama (*BHG*, 698, ed. AASS Mai, 9*BE).

A very specific kind of contract is mentiond in the *Life of Luke the Stylite* : a certain Euthymios, says the hagiographer, a clergyman of the New Church, was ill and therefore he decided to sell the *tagma* that was apportioned to his rank, *tagma* meaning here, most probably, an established payment. He received some sum in gold as an *arrhabon*, but St. Luke convinced him to return this and to keep his *tagma* (*BHG*, 2239, ed. H. Delehaye [1923], 223.3-4, 16-18).

The topic of marriage is a frequent one in hagiographical works, but little of the data has legal implications. The possession of concubines, albeit prohibited by law, remained an everyday reality : an example is given in the *Life of Andrew the Fool*, in which a certain Rafael, a deacon, left his legitimate spouse and had a liaison with a girl-slave (*BHG*, 117, ed. *PG*, 111, col. 797C, 800A). A detail concerning marriage customs is to be found in the *Life of Antony the Younger* : when he married a noble girl he, with his friends and domestics, prepared the wedding banquet, and not his fiancée's parents (*BHG*, 142, ed. Papadopulos-Kerameus, p. 200.27-31).

Finally, the Lives supply us with some material about legal procedure ([24]). The written text, even when not a legal document, was accorded an extraordinary, almost religious, authority : in a charter of 1196, the *Life of Paul of Latros* was cited as evidence in a case, as if it were itself a legal testimony (*MM*, 4, p. 306.24-307.5). This passage has been used to determine the authorship of the Life, but has not attracted the attention of historians of law. An even more important legal significance was ascribed to the typikon. The *Life of Lazarus of Mt. Galesios* shows this : Lazarus was already on the verge of death when the *grammatikos* Nicholas urged him to wrote a *diatyposis* ; Lazarus dictated the text to Nicholas, but was too weak to sign it before he died. The monks' dismay and apprehensions about the future consequences that might result from the lack of typikon were relieved by a miracle. When Lazarus's body was brought to the chapel, the corpse opened his eyes ; the monk Cyril lost no time in providing him with a calamus, and guided his fingers in signing the typikon ([25]). The founder's signature, however, did not suffice : only the imperial seal – *boulle* – made the *diatyposis* a genuine legal document (*AASS*, Nov. III, 576BC).

It would seem that the Byzantines paid less attention to oral witnesses than to written texts, as legal evidence. At least, Elias the Younger ridiculed the Muslims because they required witnesses at every step ; and not one witness only, but two, or even more (*BHG*, 580, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi [1962], 36.459-61).

A trial is detailed in the *Life of George of Amastris* (see par. 13A) : some Amastrian merchants were arrested in Trebizond and accused of fiscal misdemeanor. The case was serious ; the strategos himself seemed interested in it ; the possibility of execution was not excluded. George sailed at full speed to Trebizond and solved the case in a Byzantine manner – as soon as he cured the wife of the strategos the defendants were released and the case closed. Another case is reported in the *Life of Antony the Younger* (see par. 13B). The emperor

(24) The data collected from late-Roman lives is analyzed by J. MAGOULIAS, *Crime and Punishment as Viewed in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries, Byzantina*, 11 (1982), 373-92.

(25) *BHG*, 979, ed. AASS Nov. III, 585B-587B. The episode is included also in the abridged version – the manuscript in the *Historical Museum in Moscow* 369/353, fol. 220-220v.

Theophilos ordered Antony to return some porperty he had confiscated from supporters of the rebel, Thomas the Slav. Antony's brother David rushed to Constantinople, fell at the emperor's feet and begged him to grant a *dioria* so that Antony could be found and present an account of his actions (p. 209.5-11). The term *dioria* – fixed interval or appointed time according to Liddell-Scott – appears here as a legal *terminus technicus*. Moreover, the case shows a brother's responsibility for his brother's crime : David needed a *dioria*, as it was his obligation to find Antony and bring him to trial. Basil the Younger is said to have dealt successfully with a case of theft in a noble house in Constantinople, but before he intervened the lady of the house had intended to address the city eparch who was to send the logothete of *praitorion* with the "executioners-judges" in order, by flogging and turture, to make the slaves of the household name the thief (*BHG*, 263, ed. A. Veselovskij, 1 [1889/90], 72-75).

A very unusual case is described in the *Life of Nilus of Rossano*. Aloara, princess of Capua, murdered one of her counts with the help of her two sons. Having repented of her crime, and being desirous of conciliation, she turned to Nilus for advice. His advice, however, was based neither on the principle of Christian mercy (although his speech was ornamented with biblical quotations) ; nor on that of Roman justice ; but on barbarian law : the Greek saint insisted that Aloara give one of her sons to the count's relatives, for them to do with as they pleased (*BHG*, 1370, ed. AASS Sept. VII, 308D).

Another deviation from Roman principles of jurisdiction was the recognitin of the private power of Church authorities. A very eloquent episode is related in the *Life of Athanasios of Athos* : Athanasios ordered that some monks who had broken the monastic rule be excommunicated (on this Life see par. 1 : *Byz.*, 53 [1983], 538-44 ; *Vita* B, ed. L. Petit [1906], 65.3-9). They entreated him to grant them forgiveness, saying : "You, being our father, have the power to forgive us". In version A, these words become : "You are the law, the rule and the canon ... and you are not liable to any law" (ed. J. Noret, par. 184.25-28). The change is polemical in intent, for the hagiographer now applies to the abbot the formula elaborated for the emperor. Athanasios's reply serves to mitigate this daring statement : he asserts that all 'shepherds' are obliged to obey the laws and rules of fathers (par. 184.34-35). How ecclesiastical authority worked in real life is demonstrated in the *Vita of Elias Speleotes* : once the bishop of Patras

came to Elias's spiritual teacher, the monk Arsenios, and accused Elias of sacrilege. The bishop was accompanied by a crowd who dragged a witness, hands tied behind his back and showing signs of having been beaten. He testified that, together with Elias, he had stolen holy vessels ; and he claimed that Elias had persuaded him to steal these things, sell them, and divide the money (*BHG*, 581, ed. AASS Sept. III, 859BC). Thus the case of theft was both discovered and resolved by an ecclesiastical authority, without any involvement of the secular powers.

It is natural that saints' lives contain data on the important ecclesiastical privilege of asylum. The *Vita of the patriarch Tarasios* presents a lively picture of this institution in action : a criminal ran into a church, followed by guards who, immediately surrounding the altar, prevented the criminal from getting food or relieving himself. Tarasios, entering from "the right doors" took the man to the privy and brought him back to the altar. The soldiers finally lost their tempers. Entering the altar area from another side, they seized the man and dragged him to the palace. The angry Tarasios excommunicated the soldiers (*BHG*, 1698, ed. I. A. Heikel [1891], 407.26-408.11. See G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET, *Byz.*, 24 [1954/5], 227).

These are a sampling of selected cases intended to whet, rather than satisfy, the appetite of historians of Byzantine law whom I call up on not to overlook this mine of information, however scanty its ore may be.

16. A FEMALE ST. GEORGE

The *Life of Elizabeth the Thaumaturge* was recently published by F. Halkin on the basis of a manuscript of the fourteenth century. The heroine is said to have been a nun who eventually became *kathegoumene* of the convent of the St. George on the Mikros Lophos in Constantinople ([26]). Her most impressive exploit was her victory over a dragon who dwelt in some ruined buildings of the imperial villa at Hebdomon : the holy woman simply spit on the beast's head and then trampled it to death (p. 259.3-17). Although the hagiographer knew how to place Elizabeth in a fifth-century setting (both Leo I and the

(26) *BHG*, 2121, ed. F. Halkin, *Sainte Élisabeth d'Héraclée, abbesse à Constantinople*, *AB* 91 (1973), 257.2-3.

patriarch Gennadios are mentioned), the *Life* must be much later than this in date. The image of devastated Hebdomon hardly could be produced before the eleventh century when it was frequented by the imperial court according to the *Book of Ceremonies* ([27]). In 1025 Basil II was buried in a church in Hebdomon (SKYL., p. 369.18). Moreover, the idea that a dragon had its lair on the grounds of a ruined imperial villa accords better with a thirteenth-century date than with any earlier one.

We can reach the same conclusion starting from another observation. It is feasible to suggest that the image of Elizabeth, as depicted in her life, was modelled on that of St. George himself. Since it is generally assumed that St. George's miracle with the dragon does not date earlier than the twelfth century, a date for Elizabeth's Life sometime in the thirteenth century may well be appropriate. The brief notice about Elizabeth in both the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarion* (ed. H. Delehaye [Brussels, 1902], p. 625-27. See also *AASS* Apr. III, 274 f.) and Basil II's *Menologion* (*PG*, 117, col. 421BC) only serve to confirm the late composition of the Life, as these accounts do not mention her connection with the convent of St. George nor describe how she killed the dragon : according to the *Synaxarion* she did away with a serpent (*ὄφις*) by her prayer.

4a. SAINT LUCIA : a correction

I should have mentioned (*Byzantion*, 53 [1983], 556) that the Life of saint Lucia was published and analyzed by G. Rossi Taibbi in his *Martirio di santa Lucia. Vita di santa Marina* (Palermo, 1959).

Dumbarton Oaks. A. P. KAZHDAN.

(27) See evidence collected in R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), 139 f., 446-49 : the area seems to have played an important part continuously from the fourth through the tenth centuries.

NOUVELLES DONNÉES SUR L'ÉGLISE SAINT-THÉODORE PRÈS DE BOBOŠEVO (BULGARIE)

L'église Saint-Théodore se trouve à 2 km en amont du village de Boboševo, sur les bords de la Struma, à quelque 80 km au sud de Sofia, sur la route de Blagoevgrad. C'est un édifice de dimensions modestes – 7,25 m × 6,40 m – en croix grecque inscrite, flanqué d'une abside à l'est et surmonté d'une coupole.

C'est K. Jireček qui le premier mentionne cette «église rectangulaire en brique avec une belle coupole et des restes d'une peinture rouge grossière sur fond sombre ; à côté des visages de saints il y avait des inscriptions slaves, mais nulle part aucune indication quant à sa construction et à sa peinture» (1). L'église était déjà à l'époque bien délabrée. La coupole, la conque de l'abside, le mur ouest ainsi qu'une partie des murs et des voûtes nord et sud se sont effondrés.

À l'intérieur on trouve trace de deux, voire trois couches de peinture et il est difficile d'affirmer par endroits que les peintures visibles appartiennent bien à la même couche.

Dans la partie inférieure des inscriptions qui accompagnent les peintures sont en vieux slave alors que dans la partie supérieure elles sont en grec (2).

(1) *Pătuvanija po Bălgarija*, Plovdiv, 1888, réédition Sofia, 1974, p. 670.

(2) D. PANAJOTOVA, *Cărkvata «Sv Todor» pri Boboševo*, in *Izvestija na instituta za Izobrazitelno Izkustvo*, VII, 1964, indique que les inscriptions sont en vieux bulgare et que, par endroits, là où elles furent restaurées pendant la période turque, on trouve des inscriptions en grec. Ces inscriptions ne concernent pas, selon l'auteur, les peintures étudiées dans son article (note 2, p. 109). En fait dans les deux bandes inférieures de la décoration les inscriptions sont en slave. Dans la partie supérieure elles sont en grec.

La décoration de l'église a été attribuée au XIVe siècle et, bien que certains doutes aient été émis quant à cette datation ([3]), elle a jusqu'à présent été acceptée ([4]).

Il convient cependant de revenir sur certains détails, en particulier iconographiques, qui n'ont pas jusqu'à présent retenu l'attention des spécialistes.

L'Annonciation (fig. 1) selon une formule ancienne est divisée en deux parties se faisant face ([5]). Dans la partie médiane du mur nord du bêma est figuré l'Archange portant un loros orné de perles sur une dalmatique (?) marron-pourpre. Ses ailes largement écartées du corps sont de la même couleur. Il a le bras tendu en avant. Le visage est détruit. Tout à gauche de la scène apparaît le nimbe doré d'un personnage de petite taille dont il ne reste rien à l'exception du rouleau qu'il tient et sur lequel on distingue les fragments d'une inscription en grec ([6]) :

ΠΟΙ
ϚΟΝ
ΘΗ
ΓΑΤ[ΕΡΚΙΔΕΚΑΙΚΛΗΗΟΗΤΟΟΥϚῳ]

Il s'agit du Psaume XLIV, 11 :

Écoute, (ma) fille, vois et
tend l'oreille,
[Oublie ton peuple et la
maison de ton père ...]

Le personnage qui tient le rouleau est donc David qui exhorte la vierge à écouter la voix de l'ange. C'est l'Annonciation qui illustre le psaume

(3) T. VELMANS, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris, T. 1, 1977, p. 181, pense d'après les reproductions publiées par D. Panajotova, que les peintures sont postérieures au XIVe siècle.

(4) A. BOSCHKOV, *La peinture bulgare*, Recklinghausen, 1974, p. 19.

(5) En général l'Annonciation est alors représentée à l'arc triomphal, à l'arc de l'abside, au-dessus de l'iconostase, de part et d'autre de l'entrée de l'abside, etc. de manière à ce que le geste de l'ange soit bien en direction de la Vierge. À Bobošević le geste de l'ange est dirigé vers l'abside et c'est à travers l'abside qu'il s'adresse à la Vierge. Cette disposition se retrouve à Crnapesti de Glomboç en Albanie, dans la chapelle de l'Annonciation où la Vierge et l'Archange sont debout, face à face dans l'espace étroit d'une niche (cf. T. VELMANS, *op. cit.*, p. 177).

(6) Cette inscription est identique à celle qui figure à la Pantanassa de Mistra, cf. G. MILLET, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris, 1910, pl. 139, 1.

XLIV dans nombre de Psautiers et ce à date ancienne ; par contre dans la peinture murale l'apparition des prophètes dans les scènes du Nouveau Testament est, comme nous allons le voir, plus tardive (7).

Faisant pendant à l'Archange, la Vierge (inscription *ΘΥ*) se trouve au mur sud (fig. 2). Sur un fond très simplifié divisé en trois bandes : large bande bleu foncé en bas, étroite bande ocre au milieu, et à nouveau large bande bleu foncé en haut. La Vierge est debout au centre, toute droite, seule sa tête est légèrement inclinée en avant. Elle porte un chiton bleu sombre et un maphorion cramoisi foncé orné d'une bande dorée sur l'épaule et la tête. Dans sa main gauche elle tient un fuseau. Juste derrière elle, dans la bande ocre du fond un coussin qui, placé à la bonne hauteur, semble indiquer qu'elle est assise alors que toute son attitude indique qu'elle est debout. Les proportions de la Vierge sont surprenantes : elle est filiforme et le rapport entre la tête et le corps est de 1 à 10. Cette proportion est unique dans l'église et on ne la retrouve ni pour les saints en pied, ni pour les personnages des différentes scènes. L'Archange de l'Annonciation, par exemple, a un rapport de 1 à 6,5. Par sa pose et ses proportions elle rappelle la Vierge de l'icône à double face de Poganovo (8).

Derrière la Vierge dans l'angle droit de la scène et faisant pendant au roi David figure un personnage couronné et nimbé : portant une chlamyde bordée de perles, le bras droit tendu et avant, il tient, derrière lui, un rouleau déployé (fig. 8). On a cru reconnaître dans ce personnage une représentation de la Sibylle, mais si l'on déchiffre l'inscription on peut lire (9) :

ΠΟ
ΛΕ
ΘΗ
ΓΑ
ΤΕ
Ρ [ECEKTH]

(7) Par exemple dans le Pantocrator 61, le British Museum 40 731 (Bristol) cf. S. DUFRENNE, *L'illustration des Psautiers Grecs du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1966 ; dans le Psautier Chludov, cf. M. V. ŠEPKINA, *Minijatury Hludovskoj psaltyri*, Moscou, 1977 ; dans le *Londres Add.* 19 352, cf. S. DER NERSESSIAN, *L'illustration des Psautiers Grecs du Moyen Âge*, II, Paris, 1970.

(8) Reproduction en couleur dans K. PASKALEVA, *Ikoni ot Bălgarija*, Sofia, 1981, p. 81.

(9) D. PANAJOTOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

Il s'agit d'un extrait des *Proverbes* XXXI, 29 :

> «Bien des filles se sont montrées vaillantes,
> [mais toi, tu les surpasses toutes !»]

Il ne s'agit donc pas de la Sibylle, mais du roi Salomon : iconographie que l'on retrouve dans les monuments tardifs ou bien souvent remaniés à date tardive comme la Pantanassa de Mistra (première moitié XVe s.) ([10]), le Catholicon de Hilandar (XIVe s., mais restauré au XIXe siècle) ([11]) ; tandis qu'à Dochiariou (1568, restauré au XIXe s.) on trouve l'Archange et David, la Vierge et Isaïe ([12]). G. Nandris ([13]), note à ce propos : «The designs which illustrated the text of the psalms influenced later Byzantine compositions in the sense that they began to introduce images of prophets into some of the scenes ; this was practised in the 16th and 17th centuries especially. From this, the custom of including prophets in the Annonciation, arose, among these figures David and Salomon, Aaron and Moses, Zacharias and Habakhuk». En Bulgarie même on retrouve l'Ange et Salomon, Marie et David dans l'église du monastère d'Iskrec (début XVIIe s.) ([14]) ainsi que sur de nombreuses portes d'iconostase tardives ([15]). Comme à la Pantanassa et à Daphni ([16]) le roi Salomon est représenté imberbe.

La *Nativité* qui se trouve au-dessus de la Vierge de l'Annonciation est en grande partie détruite, il ne reste que la partie droite de la scène. On peut voir en bas, juste sous la partie détruite, un grand bassin sur lequel une femme – jupe verte, tunique marron, bas blancs, chaussures ocres, long foulard blanc tombant dans le dos – est penchée. Autour d'elle des moutons et un bélier. Derrière elle deux bergers qui mènent le troupeau. Juste au-dessus des deux bergers un ange à cheval. Le

(10) G. MILLET, *op. cit.* ; sur le problème de la datation et de remaniements postérieurs cf. S. DUFRENNE, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris, 1970, pp. 9-10.

(11) G. MILLET, *Monuments de l'Athos*, Paris, 1927, p. 65, 1-2.

(12) IDEM., p. 224, 1-2.

(13) *Christian Humanism in the Neo Byzantine Mural-Painting of Eastern Europe*, Wiesbaden, 1970, p. 185.

(14) D. KAMENOVA, *Stenopisite na Iskrenskija manastir*, Sofia, 1984, p. 47 et ill. p. 43.

(15) L. PRAŠKOV, *Carkva Roždestvo Hristovo v Arbanasi*, Sofia, 1979, ill. 148 et 151 ; D. PASKALEVA, *op. cit.*, ill. 31 (fin XVIe) ; 45 (XVIIe) ; 63 (1620) ; 81 (XVIIe).

(16) Pour la Pantanassa voir G. MILLET, *Monuments de Mistra*, pl. 84. Pour Daphni P. LAZARIDES, *The Monastery of Daphni*, Athens, S-A, p. 25.

cheval est presque perpendiculaire au sol, disproportionné, avec un gros ventre rebondi et une toute petite tête bien dessinée, des oreilles en pointe, le mors aux dents, la bride au cou. Son cavalier est tout petit, il est monté sur l'encolure du cheval. Il porte une tunique marron. Son bras droit est tendu vers le ciel comme celui des bergers. Il est nimbé. Pointant derrière son bras levé, les ailes de l'ange, marron et blanc ([17]) (fig. 3).

La représentation de l'ange à cheval est rare dans l'art byzantin ([18]) et nous pensons immédiatement au monastère de Marko près de Skopje où l'on trouve deux représentations de l'ange à cheval, une première fois dans la Nativité ([19]), une deuxième fois dans l'hymne acathiste ([20]).

On trouve, toujours au XIVe siècle, un ange dans le cycle de l'acathiste du Psautier serbe de Munich ([21]). Mais c'est surtout dans l'art post-byzantin que cette formule se répandra. C'est l'ange Gabriel, messager de Dieu, qui guide les rois mages eux aussi à cheval.

On rencontre cette iconographie aux Météores : ancien Catholicon de la Transfiguration (1483), Catholicon de Varlaam (1548 ?) ; et dans le monastère de Saint Jean Lampadistis, à Chypre (fin XVe s.) ([22]).

On trouve également l'ange cavalier guidant les mages à l'Athos, dans la chapelle Saint-Nicolas à Lavra (1560) et au réfectoire du monastère de Hilandar (1621) ([23]).

(17) Par un effet involontaire on dirait que le cheval est ailé, car les ailes bicolores de l'ange sont de la couleur du vêtement de l'ange et de la robe du cheval. Un examen attentif de la peinture ne laisse cependant aucun doute sur le fait que seul l'ange porte des ailes.

(18) À propos de l'ange dans l'art byzantin voir M. GARIDIS, *L'ange à cheval dans l'art byzantin*, dans *Byzantion*, XLII, 1972, pp. 23-59.

(19) G. MILLET-T. VELMANS, *La peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, IV, 1969, pl. 100.

(20) IDEM., pl. 85 (159).

(21) J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Miniaturen des Serbischen Psalters*, Vienne, 1906, p. 78, pl. LIV ; réédition du psautier en fac-similé sous la rédaction de H. BELTING, *Der Serbische Psalter Faksimilé-Aussabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliotek München*, Wiesbaden, 1983 ; Commentaires et étude critique de S. DUFRENNE, Sv. RADOJČIĆ, R. STICHEL, I. SEVČENKO, Wiesbaden, 1978.

(22) M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

(23) G. MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 258, 3 pour Lavra et pl. 100, 2 pour Hilandar ; ainsi que M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*, 39.

En Valachie l'ange cavalier figure dans le cycle de l'acathiste de l'église de Staneşti (1537) ([24]) et dans celui de l'église de Dobreni (vers 1646) ([25]). On le voit également au monastère de Megali Panayia (fin XVIe) dans l'île de Samos et à Kastoria dans l'église de la Vierge Apostolaki (1606) ([26]). On le trouve aussi dans l'église de la Nativité du Christ à Arbanassi en Bulgarie (deuxième moitié XVIIe s.) ([27]).

Notons encore la présence de l'ange cavalier à Arilje (1296) ([28]) mais il s'agit là de l'archange Michel – chef des Armées célestes. On le voit aussi dans l'arbre de Jessé des Saints-Apôtres de Thessalonique (peu après 1315) ([29]). Cette composition de saint Michel montrant devant lui la Nativité ou l'échelle de Jacob sera reprise dans les compositions monumentales de l'arbre de Jessé au monastère de Lavra au mont Athos (Réfectoire 1535) ([30]) et dans les peintures extérieures des grandes églises moldaves : Saint-Georges de Suceava (1522-1534 ou 38) ([31]), Humor (1535) ([32]), Moloviţa (1537) ([33]), Voroneţ (1547) ([34]), Sucevita (vers 1600) ([35]).

Enfin dernière scène intéressante du point de vue de l'iconographie *l'Ascension* (fig. 4) figure dans la partie est de la voûte nord. La partie sud de cette voûte ainsi que le mur nord sont détruits. La peinture est en très mauvais état. Au centre : la Vierge orante. De part et d'autre : les apôtres. À droite de la scène on voit six nimbes, une partie des

(24) I. D. STEFANESCU, *La Peinture religieuse en Valachie et en Transylvanie, depuis les origines jusqu'au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1932, pl. 102 ; pl. 47 ; M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

(25) M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

(26) *Ibidem.*

(27) I. PRAŠKOV, *Cărkvata Roždestvo Hristovo v Arbanasi*, Sofia, 1979, p. 89, ill. 73 et p. 90, ill. 74.

(28) G. MILLET-A. FROLOW, *La peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, II, Paris, 1957, pl. 103, 3 ; M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

(29) A. XYNGOPOULOS, *Les Fresques de l'église des Saints-Apôtres à Thessalonique*, dans *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*, Venise, 1971, p. 87, ill. 19 ; M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

(30) G. MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 151, 3 ; M. GARIDIS, p. 35.

(31) M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 36, d'après une reproduction de la photothèque Millet (E.P.H.E., V[e] section).

(32) *Ibidem.* (scène non reproduite dans V. DRAGUT, *Humor*, Bucarest, 1973).

(33) M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

(34) *Ibidem.*

(35) *Ibidem.*

vêtements ainsi que la main gauche et un pied du premier apôtre. De l'autre côté on aperçoit seulement des traces de vêtements. Au-dessus de la Vierge le Christ dans une gloire circulaire qui coupe la partie supérieure du nimbe de la Vierge. Le Christ est représenté en buste. Sur la droite on distingue le nimbe et les ailes d'un ange. À gauche la peinture est détruite. Le Christ est vêtu d'un chiton brun foncé et d'un himation ocre jaune dont un pan est rejeté en arrière par dessus son épaule gauche. Les vêtements des apôtres sont bleu foncé, bleu ciel, rouge, blanc et brun. Le fond est divisé en trois bandes horizontales : bleu foncé, ocre, bleu foncé. L'élément le plus intéressant ici est la représentation du Christ en buste. Cette représentation est en effet très rare durant la période byzantine. Une petite icône (8 cm × 4,3 cm) gravée de Tver (XIVe-XVe) en offre un rare exemple ([36]). Par contre cette iconographie est courante dans l'art du XVIIe siècle en Bulgarie. Un des traits caractéristiques de l'iconographie de l'Ascension durant cette période est la division en trois parties de la scène. Celle-ci est située le plus souvent sur l'arc triomphal : d'un côté la Vierge et un groupe d'apôtres, de l'autre côté un ange et les autres apôtres, le Christ en buste est, soit au sommet de l'arc comme à Alino ([37]), soit sur la voûte comme à Iskrec ([38]) et Arbanassi ([39]).

En dehors de ces trois détails iconographiques, notre attention est également retenue par quelques détails vestimentaires :

– Dans *La Trahison de Judas* (fig. 5) on aperçoit, juste derrière le Christ, un homme portant une fine barbe et une moustache grise et qui brandit dans une main une torche, dans l'autre une arme. Il porte un turban sur la tête. On retrouve ce turban mais d'un type plus élaboré dans les peintures de Poganovo (1500) ([40]). A Saint-Nikita près de Čučer (restauré fin XVe s.) ([41]) c'est dans le Chemin de Croix que l'on peut voir un soldat portant un turban semblable à celui de Boboševo.

(36) G. V. POPOV, A. V. RYNDINA, *Živopis' i prikladnoje iskusstvo Tveri*, Moscou, 1979, pp. 580-581, n° 22 et ill. 22, p. 612 ; deux analogies dans l'art russe l'une sur une icône miniature gravée, de Zagorsk, l'autre sur le cercueil de Dionisii (p. 581, note 3).

(37) E. FLOREVA, *Alinskite stenopisi*, Sofia, 1983, p. 31.

(38) D. KAMENOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

(39) L. PRAŠKOV, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71, ill. 53-54.

(40) A. GRABAR, *La Peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, Paris, 1928, pp. 345-346.

(41) MILLET-FROLOW, III, Paris, 1962, pl. 53, 4.

– Dans *Jésus devant Pilate*, le soldat qui se tient derrière le Christ, porte un casque rond à larges bords retournés (fig. 6). Ce casque est identique à celui du garde qui arrête Jésus dans la Trahison de Judas. On retrouve ce type de casque à Poganovo par exemple, et A. Grabar ([42]) indique que ces casques «appartiennent au type de coiffure militaire le plus répandu dans la peinture italienne du XIVe siècle». Aux pieds il porte des poulaines qui furent les chaussures à la mode en Occident aux XIVe-XVe siècles ([43]).

– Enfin, dernier détail important, l'un des bergers de la *Nativité* porte un grand bonnet à poils (fig. 7). Ce bonnet est typique du costume russe des XVIe-XVIIe siècles ([44]) et n'est pas caractéristique des coiffures des Balkans quelle que soit l'époque. Les bonnets balkaniques sont en effet soit moins hauts, soit coniques ([45]).

En résumé l'on peut dire que l'apparition des prophètes dans l'Annonciation est surtout caractéristique de l'art du XVIIe siècle, même s'ils apparaissent bien avant dans l'art byzantin ([46]). L'ange à cheval apparaît dans l'art byzantin à la fin du XIVe siècle, mais est surtout fréquent aux XVe-XVIe siècles ([47]). Le Christ en buste dans l'Ascension est caractéristique de l'art du XVIIe siècle, mais est typiquement inconnu jusque là.

Les détails vestimentaires que nous avons relevés n'apparaissent pas – eux non plus – dans l'art byzantin avant le XVe siècle. De plus nous avons déjà observé que la plupart des inscriptions de l'église sont en grec, ce qui, là encore, laisse supposer une période tardive, les autres

(42) *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

(43) Cf. K. K. STAMEROV, *Narisi z istorii kostjumiv*, Kiev, 1978, I, p. 103.

(44) IDEM., p. 145. On trouve un bonnet presque identique mais en feutre avec une décoration en cordonnet dans une icône du XIXe siècle, sur un berger de la Nativité, voir K. PASKELEVA, *op. cit.*, ill. 94. Ce type de bonnet semble être l'un des attributs de saint Georges Kratovac, puisqu'il en est coiffé aussi bien dans une peinture de 1561 au Patriarcat de Peć que dans l'église de la Mère de Dieu à Studenica (1568) cf. Sr. PETKOVIĆ, *Zidno slikarstvo na području Pečke Patriaršije*, 1557-1614, Novi-Sad, 1965, ill. 8 et 26.

(45) H. VAKARELSKI, *Etnografija nba Bălgarija*, IIe édition, Sofia, 1977. Photo en couleur de ces types de coiffure dans A. BOSCHKOV, *Die Bulgarische Volkskunst*, Recklinghausen, 1972, p. 296, ill. 150.

(46) Par exemple à Saint-Nikita près de Čučer (début XIVe, mais l'Annonciation et d'autres scènes ont été restaurées en 1483/84) (MILLET-FROLOW, III, pl. 51, 11).

(47) Cf. M. GARIDIS, *op. cit.*

églises du XIVe siècle dans la région : Zemen ([48]), Rila ([49]), Răždavica ([50]), etc. ayant toutes des inscriptions en slave.

Il est également intéressant de noter qu'A. Grabar dans son ouvrage sur la peinture médiévale en Bulgarie ([51]), passe sous silence l'église Saint-Théodore près de Boboševo. Il connaît pourtant bien cet endroit puisqu'il s'attarde dans le même travail sur les peintures de Saint-Démétrius à Boboševo.

L'iconographie de Saint-Théodore de Boboševo est trop riche en éléments tardifs pour appartenir au XIVe siècle. S'il est incontestable que l'on puisse trouver presque chacun des éléments analysés dans des monuments du XIVe siècle, il devient impossible de trouver deux de ces éléments combinés dans un même monument au XIVe siècle. Par contre ces exemples sont fréquents dans l'art du XVIIe siècle.

Il était admis jusqu'à présent qu'il y avait deux couches de peintures dans l'église, la première étant presque entièrement dissimulée sous la seconde ([52]).

En fait, il est fort probable qu'il y a trois couches si l'on considère l'épaisseur de l'enduit en particulier dans les parties hautes de l'édifice. A la limite du registre des Fêtes et des Archanges des voûtes, on peut voir un raccord grossier. La différence entre la partie basse et la partie haute est de plusieurs centimètres. Or, dans la partie basse, il y a déjà deux couches superposées. On a donc restauré une partie de la décoration, en rajoutant par endroits une couche supplémentaire d'enduit, ailleurs en repeignant directement par-dessus les peintures existantes. Cela est très net dans les parties supérieures où, malgré les différences de niveau, le fond est de la même couleur ; il n'y a aucune cassure et les inscriptions – qu'elles soient en grec ou en slave – sont à cheval sur les deux couches.

Tous ces éléments nous inclinent à penser que les peintures de l'église Saint-Théodore de Boboševo sont une restauration du XVIIe siècle s'inspirant de modèles balkaniques plus anciens, modèles qui ont également servi aux peintures des autres régions de la Bulgarie aux XVIe-XVIIe siècles.

Patrick LECAQUE.

(48) Cf. A. GRABAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 186 et suiv. et L. MAVRODINOVA, *Zemenskata cărkva*, Sofia, 1980.

(49) L. PRAŠKOV, Hrel'ovata Kula, Sofia, 1973.

(50) J. IVANOV, *Severna Makedonija*, Sofia, 1906, p. 405.

(51) *Op. cit.*

(52) D. PANAJOTOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

WHY DID SYNESIUS BECOME BISHOP OF PTOLEMAIS ?

In a lecture to the Roman Society ([1]) T. Barnes has thrown the accepted chronology ([2]) of the life of Synesius into confusion by arguing that Synesius returned from his embassy to Constantinople not in 402, but in 400. This provides two extra years for the events of the later part of Synesius' life and has made 407, Seeck's date for Synesius' consecration more attractive ([3]). It is therefore worthwhile to examine the evidence for the date of Synesius' consecration once more.

Ep. 13 is the only source giving an explicit date. The letter accompanies what seems to have been the first Paschal letters to be sent by Synesius as bishop. The Easter date announced is 19 Parmuthi, that is 14th April ([4]). This date would fit either 407 or 412 ([5]).

The choice between the two dates could be decided by *Ep.* 12 – if only the interpretation of that letter was certain. It is addressed to 'brother Cyril', who ought to be a fellow bishop, and concerns the death of our 'common father', who ought to be an ecclesiastical

(1) Letters of Synesius have been cited in the numeration of R. HERCHER, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris, 1873), pp. 638-739, which was followed by A. Fitzgerald in his translation, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene* (Oxford, 1926). The numbering of J. P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca, LXVI* (Paris, 1864), where different, is given in brackets. Column references are to MIGNE. The numbering of A. GARZYA, *Synesii Cyrenensis Epistolae* (Rome, 1979) is given where it differs from Hercher. Where helpful, page and line references to Garzya are given in brackets. Where my dating of letters differs from Garzya's this is deliberate. The lecture of T. Barnes will appear in a fortcoming volume of J.R.S. The ref. to Aurelian as consul in *Ep.* 61 is the key evidence.

(2) C. LACOMBRADE, *Synésios de Cyrène Hellène et Chrétien* (Paris, 1951) see table at end.

(3) O. SEECK, 'Studien zu Synesius', *Philologus*, LII (1983), pp. 442-83, esp. 461-2.

(4) A. CAPELLI, *Chronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo* (Milan, 1930), p. 82.

(5) E. BICKERMAN, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London, 1968), p. 48.

superior of both Cyril and Synesius. If this deduction is right it is not easy to think of anyone who this could be if not Theophilus the patriarch of Alexandria ([6]). This is confirmed by the fact that Synesius describes the deceased as *τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ θεοφιλῆ πρεσβύτην* which would be a pun on Theophilus' name (as in *ep.* 105 near end). Theophilus died on 15th October 412. So on the face of it, it is likely that Synesius was bishop in 412 ([7]).

It would still be possible to concede that Synesius was consecrated in 407 if there is evidence showing him in office before 411 ([8]). *Ep.* 66 (67 Garzya) was written in the first year of Synesius' episcopacy ([9]). In it Synesius asks Theophilus how he should behave towards one Alexander, a bishop who had been driven from his see in Bithynia as a follower of John Chrysostomus, and had not returned even though there has been an amnesty and a reconciliation ([10]). Three years have passed since this possibily of return had been offered to Alexander. What was the year of the 'amnesty' ? Synesius writes that the reconciliation was initiated by pamphlet which Theophilus sent to 'the blessed Atticus', although he seems not to have been absolutely sure of this ([11]). Now if 'the blessed Atticus' was Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople, the amnesty must have been later than Atticus' consecration in March 406. In that case the earliest possible date of *Ep.* 66 would be March 409, and there could be no question of Synesius having been consecrated in time to send out the Paschal letter of 407.

But Seeck, on the basis of Synesius' uncertainty as to the addressee of the pamphlet and his use of the epithet '*μακάριος*', argued that Theophilus' pamphlet had been sent to a deceased bishop, and proposed that in the letter Synesius had written Atticus in mistake for Atticus' deceased predecessor at Constantinople, Arsacius ([12]). If Arsacius was in fact the bishop concerned, *ep.* 66 could have been

(6) So C. LACOMBRADE, *Synésios*, p. 269.

(7) Since we have no figure for the length of Synesius' episcopate it would still have been possible for him to have been consecrated in 406/7.

(8) Cf. C. LACOMBRADE, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11.

(9) GARZYA, p. 127, 3.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 122, 12.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 122, 8.

(12) O. SEECK, *op. cit.*, 461-2.

written as early as say September 407 ([13]), and would be reconcilable with 406 as the date of Synesius' consecration. But Seeck', argument is weak. The epithet *μακάριος* was sometimes given to living bishops ([14]), so Synesius could have applied it to the current bishop of Constantinople. Even if Synesius' memory deceived him, and Theophilus pamphlet had not been addressed to Atticus, it is quite arbitrary to conclude that it must have been addressed to Arsacius. It could have been addressed to any bishop. We have no other evidence that certainly refers to the amnesty and reconciliation mentioned in *ep.* 66. The fact that persecution of the followers of Chrysostom seems to have intensified in the course of 404 ([15]) makes it rather unlikely that the attempted reconciliation was as early as this ([16]). There is, moreover, evidence that precisely Atticus did attempt a reconcilation. He succeeded in making peace with some Thracian bishops ([17]). 'Martyrius' *Life of John Chrysostom* seems to be a warning to Chrysostom's followers not to accept Communion with Atticus ([18]). The author had heard reports of Chrysostom's death but was still uncertain of their truth. Chrysostom die on 14th September 407. The months after Chrysostom's death would seem a suitable time for an initiative to bring the dispute to an end ([19]). If so Alexander may well have been offered a return to his see in 408 which would put *ep.* 66, written three years later in 411.

(13) Arsacius died on 11.11.405 (SOCRATES, VI, 20, 1), and thus could have initiated a reconciliation between autumn 404 and autumn 405. In which case *ep.* 66 could have been written in autumn 407, and Chrysostom might have been bishop just early enough to have sent a Paschal letter for Easter 407.

(14) BASIL, *ep.* 225 (*P.G.*, XXXII, 841) refs. to Gregory of Nyssa, 'blessed' applied to living Athanasius of Alexandria : *P.G.*, XXV, 364 C, 372 A, 372 B ; to bishops in general *ibid.*, 301 A, 407 C.

(15) See my 'The Deposition of John Chrysostom', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, XXIX (1985), pp. 1-31, esp. 23-6.

(16) There was pressure on all followers of Chrysostome to recognise Arsacius, and later Atticus, and some individuals yielded, *e.g.* the bishops of Tarsus and Aegae (JOHN CHRYS., *Ep.* 204, the Goths on estate of Promotus refused, *ibid.*, 206-7). But individual acts of submission could not be described as 'reconciliation' or 'amnesty'.

(17) PALLADIUS, *Dial.* 71 (p. 127, 17-19).

(18) See fragment of 'Martyrius' printed *P.G.*, XLVII, xlvi-liv.

(19) On 13th June 407, even before death of Chrysostom a synod of African bishop petitioned Pope Innocent I to resume communion with Theophilus of Alexandria – unsuccessfully (MANSI, IV, 502 nr. lxviii = *P.L.*, XX, 618, nr. xxi).

A final approach to the dating of Synesius' consecration makes use of references to nomadic invasions of Cyrenaica. Sometime after Synesius had become a bishop the dux Anysius had inflicted a decisive defeat on the invaders, and put an end to seven years of exhausting war. Anysius won the province one year's respite ([20]). Then there came another and devastating invasion. Can the beginning of the 'seven years war' be dated ? In *ep.* 130 Synesius complains that the corrupt general Cerealis had demoralised the army, and that knowledge of this had attracted the invaders. In *ep.* 132 and 133 we realize that Synesius is organising the defence of his locality against the nomads. *Ep.* 132 was written in 405, after Cerealis had taken over the command, *ep.* 133, earlier in 405 ([21]). If these letters describe the start of the war which was temporarily ended by Anysius, this would give a date for Anysius of late 411 or early 412 ([22]). The fact that the nomads, had come north to invade the coastal area suggests that the time of year was spring or early summer. This is confirmed by reference to a record plague of locusts ([23]). To sum up, the evidence if not absolutely conclusive, nevertheless, strongly suggests that Lacombrade was right and that Synesius began his episcopate in 411, probably in spring of that year.

SYNESIUS' OBJECTIONS TO CONSECRATION

When Synesius was elected bishop he was not in orders or even baptised. This was not, however, the reason why he was so reluctant to accept consecration. The causes of his hesitation were more complex. Even when he was close to giving in he made his acceptance depend on the fulfilment of certain conditions. First he must be allowed to go on living with his wife. Then he stated in advance that

(20) SYNESIUS, *Catastasis*, *P.G.*, LXVI, 1568A.

(21) *Ep.* 130, 132 and 133 are numbered one less in *P.G.*, 133 was written after the consulate of Aristaenetus, *i.e.* 404 AD.

(22) This was not the first invasion. There was war when Synesius returned home from Constantinople in 400 (or 402) (*Ep.* 61 end). Was that the invasion of PHILOSTORGIUS, XI, 8, — which struck Egypt as well as Libya ?

(23) On nomadic migrations : W. B. FISCHER, *The Middle East* (7th Ed., London, 1978), p. 554. Locusts : *Ep.* 57 = GARZYA, 41 (p. 55, l. 15), 58 = GARZYA, 42 (p. 71, l. 2). On their season : L. CARLSON, *Africa : Land and Nations* (New York, 1967), p. 90.

he would not preach dogma in which he did not believe. In fact he would not teach doctrine at all. He would let his congregation believe what they believed already. He felt that he as a philosopher was closer to the truth than ordinary members of his congregation could ever be. 'Now you know that philosophy rejects many of those convictions which are cherised by the common people. For my own part, I can never persuade myself that the soul is of more recent origin than the body. Nor would I admit that the world and the parts which make it up must perish. This resurrection which is an object of common belief, is for me nothing but a sacred and mysterious allegory' ([24]). Synesius did believe that popular religion was a separate and inferior entity ([25]). The reason for this was that ordinary people lacked education and a trained faculty of reasoning ([26]). The attitude was common place among educated members of the upper class. From a Christian point of view the attitude was arrogant and sinful. Nevertheless, even Christians found it difficult to shake off. Augustine abandonned it only gradually, as he designed a new Christian scheme of education based on the bible and research into its many layers of meaning ([27]). John Chrysostom through his close contact with Syrian ascetics saw quite clearly that Christian wisdom was independent of education and social status. He proclaimed it often enough – but even for him it remained a paradox ([28]). Synesius, although as I would insist, a practising Christian ([29]), was much less emancipated from traditional attitu-

(24) Synesius' doubts : *Ep.* 105, 57 = GARZYA, 41, 11. Translation of *Ep.* 105 from A. FITZGERALD, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene* (London, OUP, 1926), p. 200. On Synesius' philosophical outlook see A. BREGMAN, *Synesius of Cyrene, Philosopher and Bishop* (Berkeley, 1982).

(25) Differing from P. BROWN, *The Cult of the Saints* (London, 1981), pp. 12-21.

(26) Synesius believed that ordinary people could not understand philosophy and that it should not be presented to them. They should be taught through myth and allegory as recommended by PLATO, *Rep.*, III, 21. See SYNESIUS, *Ep.* 143 (142), 137 (136). In contrast, for Augustine research into the many levels of meaning of the Bible, accessible through allegorical interpretation, was open to all whether educated or not. See AUG., *Ep.* 137, 18 cited by E. AUERBACH, *Literary Language and its Public* (London, 1958), pp. 48-51, cf. P. BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo* (London, 1967), pp. 252-5, 259-63.

(27) P. BROWN, *op. cit.*, chaps. 12-16 traces Augustine's development.

(28) *E.g. Panégyriques de S. Paul*, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris, 1982), iv, 10.

(29) Cf. my review of A. BREGMAN, *op. cit.*, n. 222-3, p. 24 above in *J.H.S.*, CIV (1984), pp. 222-3.

des ([30]). Indeed there is no indication that he felt any need for emancipation.

Synesius' unwillingness to become a bishop derived from more than reluctance to separate from his wife and to have to teach theological dogma. Beneath the formulated objections we can recognise a deep unwillingness to take on the full-time, life-consuming professionalism of the bishop's office. Men of the highest social rank were not accustomed to full-time, life-long careers. The empire was governed by a large professional civil-service, but the heads of department had not normally been promoted from the career grades, and held office for only a comparatively short time ([31]). A bishop was consecrated for life. The fabric of Synesius' life was woven out of study and recreation, the latter provided by sociability and hunting. Study of philosophy to raise his soul from defilement to purity through knowledge and understanding was the real centre of his life ([32]). Visits to the city for whatever business forced him back to earth, covered with more stains than anyone could imagine ([33]). In contrast the role of a priest, above all that of a bishop, required on one hand 'a man above human weaknesses, a stranger to every kind of diversion, even as God himself' ([34]), and on the other one who was prepared to undertake an enormous amount of business of a kind that Synesius could only endure within strict limits, administration, patronage and involvement in law suits and disputes of every kind. 'How shall I who have devoted my youth to philosophic leisure and to the idle contemplation of abstract being, and have only mingled as much in the cares of the world as to be able to acquit myself of duties to the life of the body and to show myself a citizen – how, I say, shall I ever be equal to a life of daily routine ? Again if I deliver myself over to a nest of practical matters shall I ever be able to apply myself to the fair things of the mind which may be

(30) Cf. P. BROWN, *op. cit.*, 113 on Augustine at Cassiciacum.

(31) Traditional senatorial and equestrian offices were held for relatively short periods and not consecutively. The career posts of the civil service of the Later Empire were originally of much lower social standing, thought the status of some of them rose rapidly from the later 4th century. See A. H. M. JONES, *LRE*, pp. 521-601.

(32) *Ep.* 105 (1484 A).

(33) *Ibid.* (1485 C).

(34) *Ibid.* (1484 B). Translations here and in following notes are Fitzgerald's.

gathered in happy leisure alone ? Without all this would life be worth living to me, and to all those who resemble me' ([35]) ?

Thus Synesius could write that he should have preferred many deaths to the bishopric ([36]). But it would be a mistake to conclude that he did not respect the office or bishop or recognise its validity. Quite the opposite : he was deeply concerned that it should be held by a man as unsuitable as he felt himself to be. 'The city ought to be understand the imprudence it commited towards me in appointing one to the priesthood who had not sufficient confidence in his mission to enable him to go to God and pray on behalf of the whole people, but one who has need of the prayer of the people for his own salvation' ([37]). In other words he feared that his lack of qualifications would make any prayer he might offer on behalf of the community unacceptable to God. Worse, he feared punishment and when his consecration was immediately followed by a long series of disasters : the governorship of Andronicus, the great Asurian invasion, and finally the deaths of his own children Synesius saw his worst forebodings confirmed. These calamities came upon him and his community because he was unworthy to handle the 'mysteries of God', *i.e.* the eucharist, – that surely is the implication of the way the sequence of events is represented in *Ep.* 57 ([38]).

Synesius as bishop

Synesius reluctance was overcome and he was duely consecrated by Theophilus as metropolitan of Ptolemais ([39]). No sooner had he taken over his duties than his worst fears were realised ([40]). Apart from holding service he had to combat heresy ([41]), to deal with delicate matters of diocesan diplomacy, to consecrate one bishop, to confirm the position of another inspite of a technical defect in his consecration,

(35) *Ep.* 11.
(36) *Ep.* 96 (95).
(37) *Ep.* 13.
(38) *Ep.* 57 (1389 B) = Garzya, 41 (p. 59, 1.13). See also *Ep.* 67 (1432 C) = Garzya, 66 (p. 122).
(39) *Ep.* 57 (1392 C) = Garzya, 41 (p. 62, 1.11), Ptolemais described as *πατρίς*.
(40) C. Lacombrade, *Synésios*, pp. 209-11.
(41) *Ep.* 5.

to decide to what diocese a particular church belonged ([42]). But besides his ecclesiastical functions he continued to perform the whole range of political duties which he had performed as a layman, – only they had become more numerous, difficult and invidious. He had prayed that the priesthood might not seem a descent from philosophy but rather a step up to it ([43]). He soon discovered that his consecration as metropolitan was a long stride into the world of politics.

That a bishop was expected above all to be an effective protector and patron of his community is vividly illustrated by Synesius account of his visit to the village of Palaebisca in western Cyrenaica. This village was part of the diocese of Erythrum, but as the bishop was old and weak and incapable of protecting them, the villagers seceeded, and managed to get a separate bishop consecrated for their village, choosing Siderius, a retired officer, a man who had the reputation of being able to injure his enemies and aid his friends. At the time the consecration seems to have been recognised by Theophilus of Alexandria. One sees how ecclesiastical administration could bring about the break-up of large civic territories. Theophilus wished to continue the arrangement after Siderius' death and nominated a successor to be bishop of Palaebisca only. But the villagers had put themselves back into the diocese of Erythrum which was now governed by the popular bishop Paul. Synesius was given the invidious task of persuading the villagers to foresake Paul and to accept the nominee of Theophilus. He failed ([44]).

While Synesius was inclined to think that dogma should be interpreted allegorically, he was quite certain that the Churches rulings on heresy and heretics must be enforced, irrespective of what his own feelings might be. Thus Synesius publicly boycotted Alexander, the follower of John Chrysostom who was refusing to return to his see. He clearly did not like doing this and continued to entertain Alexander in the privacy of his house. But he was evidently ready to stop this too if Theophilus ordered him to do so ([45]).

Synesius, philosopher that he was, fully joined in the war of words against 'the godless heresy' of Eunomius whose followers are said to

(42) *Ep.* 67 (1425 ff.) = GARZYA, 66 (p. 105 ff.) ; cf. also *Ep.* 76.
(43) *Ep.*, 96.
(44) *Ep.* 67, 1412 ff. = GARZYA, 66 (p. 105 ff.).
(45) *Ep.* 66 = GARZYA, 67 ; also *Ep.* 67 (1432) = GARZYA, 66 (p. 120).

be using influence at court to 'sully' the Church. Their 'false teachers' were 'spreading their net' to catch weaker brethren. Their elder were an 'adulterous generation, modern apostles of the devil'. It was well known which estates haboured these bandits ([46]). Synesius was evidently in no doubt that Church discipline, what he calls the law of the Church, must be maintained, and that after he had argued his view of the matter, the last and decisive word must be that of Theophilus of Alexandria, his ecclesiastical superior ([47]).

Quite soon after entering Ptolemais as bishop, that is as I have argued in spring 411, Synesius faced conflict with a new governor, Andronicus. Andronicus is represented as a monster but we have only Synesius' version of the dispute and the issues are not really made clear. Andronicus was a citizen of Cyrene, and a man of low birth – or so Synesius claims, but presummably a decurion, and evidently one who had been a political opponent. Synesius seems to have opposed him from the first. He protested against the appointment, arguing that it was illegal since no man was allowed to govern his home province ([48]). Andronicus cannot have been governor very long when Synesius held a synod of bishops to excommunicate him. We have the letter which was to proclaim the excommunication ([49]), and a sermon, the *Contra Andronicum*, which Synesius delivered, or at least intended to deliver, before the public reading of the letter ([50]). At this point Synesius was unable to put the excommunication into effect. He was persuaded to put Andronicus as it were on probation. Eventually the excommunication was reimposed and Andronicus deposed from

(46) *Ep.* 5 = GARZYA, 4.

(47) *Ep.* 66 (end) = GARZYA, 67.

(48) Adronicus appointed soon after Synesius consecration : *Ep.* 57 = GARZYA, 41 (p. 59, l. 15). Protest at appointment of fellow citizen and political opponent : *Ep* 73. Andronicus had been in office for some time but was only now on way to Ptolemais by sea. CJ I, 41 is a later restatement of law that no one may govern his home province.

(49) *Ep.* 58 = GARZYA, 42.

(50) *Ep.* 57 = GARZYA, 41. In favour of view that letter was not written a very long time after Andronicus had taken office : 1. Anysius had not yet won his victory 1385 C = GARZYA, p. 56, l. 2 (assuming the general refered to is Anysius). 2. Synesius still hopes that the people might elect another bishop in his place 1397 B = GARZYA, p. 69, l. 14. 3. Synesius has lost only one son 1392 B = GARZYA, p. 61, l. 15. 4. We are still in the year in which Synesius had taken over the bishopric *Ep.* 72 (1436 B) = GARZYA, p. 128, l. 6.

office. We can't date this precisely, but the interval of 'probation' was long enough for many rich to be exiled or reduced to beggars ([51]).

The original, and ecclesiastical, justification for excommunication had been that Andronicus had refused to recognise the Church's right of asylum. The bulk of Synesius' charges against Andronicus were however secular, and of the kind that had always been made against corrupt governors whether by prominent provincials or prosecutors in the capital. Andronicus had obtained his office by bribery. He had exercised it cruelly and greedily, beating and torturing his victims. Some men, forced to sell property in order to pay debts to the state had been compelled to sell to nominees of Andronics. The context, as so often, was collection of taxes. Andronicus introduced unprecedented forms of torture to extort, among other levies, the tironicum ([52]). Needless to say Synesius' account is completely one-sided. Andronicus imprisoned a man in order to induce him to prosecute Gennadius, the previous governor. The implication is that he was simply jealous of Gennadius ([53]). Another is said to have suffered imprisonment and torture because he was preventing a marriage which Andronicus ([54]), and perhaps the woman concerned ([55]), wanted. He had the decurion Magnus beaten to death ([56]). He refused to release the presbyter Evagrius from curial service ([57]). In most of these cases the bishop's role appears to have been no different from that of a traditional secular patron, and his basic grievance was that the intercession on behalf of so many victims of the administration had been unsuccessful.

In order to have his way as bishop, Synesius continued to exploit the traditional instruments of a powerful patron. He tried to use influence in the capital to get Andronicus removed from office. Unfortunately his connections were not men of first rate impor-

(51) *Ep.* 72 (1436 C) = GARZYA, p. 129, l. 2 ff. Garzya's *paulo post epp.*, 41 et 42 is too brief.

(52) Debts incurred in paying for office : 73 (1140 A). Forced sales to nominees : *Ep.* 72 (Magnus) ; *Ep.* 79 (1448 B) ; 57 (1392 C-1393 A) = GARZYA, 41 (p. 62, l. 14) on Leucippus. Taxes : *Ep.* PL 78 (1448 B).

(53) *Ep.* 73 (1440 B).

(54) *Ep.* 58 (1401 A) = GARZYA, 42 (p. 73, l. 2).

(55) *Ep.* 73 (1440 B).

(56) *Ep.* 72.

(57) *Ep.* 79.

tance ([58]), and one of them, Anastasius ([59]), the tutor of the imperial children, seems actually to have favoured Andronicus ([60]). Andronicus, for his part, seems to have striven for the support of the all-powerful praetorian prefect Anthemius, who was not one of Synesius' correspondents ([61]).

Synesius influence was much more formidable at home. As a mere magnate he had once compelled a would-be prosecutor to drop a treason charge against Julius ([62]). As bishop Synesius was able to compel soldiers to surrender a prisoner, admittedly one whom they had arrested on Synesius' own complaint ([63]). More significantly Andronicus decided to keep the accused Leucippus in a fortress so that Synesius should not be able to rescue him ([64]). Synesius did not rescue Leucippus, but some time later when Andronicus himself had been deprived of his post, and faced prosecution, Synesius removed the ex-governor from the tribual which was to try him ([65]).

As bishop, Synesius could give fugitives from the governor refuge in his church. We have seen that it was Andronicus' provocative refusal to allow church-asylum that induced Synesius to make his first attempt to excommunicate the governor ([66]). Then Andronicus had promised repentance, and Synesius yielding to the advice of other bishops of the province had suspended the sentence ([67]). An unknown number of months later, Andronicus caused the death of the decurion Magnus and the excommunication was put into effect. It carried with it not only exclusion from church, but complete social ostracism. 'I exhort every private individual and ruler not to be under the same roof as them (Andronicus and his agents), not to be seated at the same

(58) They included none of the great officials. The most influential was probably Troilus, a literary man close to Anthemius (PLRE II s.v. Troilus 1). On Aurelian see below p. 5.

(59) PLRE II s.v. Anastasius 2.

(60) *Ep.* 79, cf. 46 = Garzya, 48.

(61) Andronicus claimed to be suppressing a conspiracy against Anthemius : *Ep.* 79 (1448 B).

(62) *Ep.* 95 (94).

(63) *Ep.* 6, 14.

(64) *Ep.* 57 (1393 A) = GARZYA, 41 (p. 62).

(65) *Ep.* 90.

(66) *Ep.* 58.

(67) *Ep.* 72.

table ; particularly priests, for these shall neither speak to them while living nor join in their funeral procession when dead' ([68]). Andronicus was dismissed from his governorship after perhaps a year in office ([69]), and it was only thanks to the physical intervention of Synesius that he avoided prosecution ([70]).

As a layman Synesius had organised a militia to defend the country-side from Ausurian raiders. As bishop he continued to be involved with defence. As we had seen the raids had become very serious. Soon after their resumption in 404, they had begun to interfer with communications, and the loading of ships at Phycus ([71]). Indeed they seem to have grown into something like a permanent occupation ([72]). After seven years Anysius, *dux Libyae*, managed to expel the invaders through the skillful use of a striking force of only 40 horsemen, the Unnigardae, operating in advance of the solid defensive phalanx of the more orthodox forces of the province ([73]). The enemy was compelled to return to raiding tactics ([74]), evidently a great improvement. But then the news that Anysius would be replaced caused great concern in the province and the spokesman of this concern was Synesius, the bishop of Ptolemais.

The two cities of Cyrene and Ptolemais decided to honour the retiring general. They held a joint meeting at which speeches were made. One of the speakers was Synesius whose speech was only very marginally theological. Essentially he provided a tactical analysis of Anysius' victory. He proposed that the Unnigardae, which had already been reinforced from 40 to 200, should be increased by another 200 men, and that the command of Anysius should be prolonged. An

(68) *Ep.* 58.

(69) *Ep.* 72 : at the time of the final excommunication Synesius had been bishop for less than a year and Andronicus therefore governor for a shorter period still.

(70) *Ep.* 90.

(71) *Ep.* 134 of 405 written soon after the start of the war of above, p. 1.

(72) *Ep.* 13 of 411/12 cf. above.

(73) *Constitutio*, 1575 B-C, *Catastasis*, 1568 C. *Ep.* 77 shows that Anysius' generalship overlapped with Andronicus' governorship. In note 50 above I argue that the victory was won after Andronicus had been governor for some time. That Anysius' command at least overlapped with Synesius' episcopacy is shown by *Ep.* 6, 14 and 94 (93).

(74) *Catastasis*, 1568 H.

embassy was to take the proposals to Constantinople ([75]). We don't know whether an embassy was sent. At any rate Anysius was not kept in command and the Unnigardae did not receive further reinforcements.

When Anysius had left the province for Constantinople the new commander attempted to merge the Unnigardae with the regular garrison. This would have meant that they lost donatives, extra pay, special equipment and relays of horses. The troops turned to the bishop to petition the emperor. Synesius presented their case in a letter to Anysius who was presumably in a position to influence decisions on policy in the capital ([76]). It looks as if the initiative was successful. For a year later ([77]), when the military situation had deteriorated again, the Unnigardae survived – even though they could not repeat their success under Anysius ([78]).

The unprecedentedly severe invasion cannot be dated precisely. Almost certainly it happened after the deposition of Andronicus, that it perhaps in late summer of Autumn of 412 ([79]). Pentapolis was completely over-run by nomadic horsemen. The enemy wore captured Roman equipment, shields of the Marcomanni, breastplates of the

(75) *Constitutio*, 1573-6 is the speech. *Ep.* 78 : 40 Unnigardae. At the time of *Constitutio* there were 200.

(76) *Ep.* 78.

(77) *Catastasis*, 1568 A.

(78) *Ibid.*, 1568 B.

(79) The date of the 'great' invasion :

1. One year after the victory of Anysius, and therefore more than one year after the coming into office of Synesius and Andronicus, *Catastasis*, 1568 A.

2. During the siege Synesius lost his 2nd son *Ep.* 89 (88) it was therefore later than the *Contra Andronicum* = *Ep.* 57 = GRZYA, 41 which mentions loss of only one son. It is unlikely that the bishop would have excommunicated the governor during so dangerous a foreign threat. Therefore the invasion was probably later than *Ep.* 72, which proclaims the excommunication – and says nothing of war.

3. According to its M.S. heading *Catastasis* was spoken when Gennadius was governor and Innocentius general, *P.G.*, LXVI, 1565. This is impossible since Gennadius was Andronicus' predecessor (*Ep.* 173), and the great invasion described in *Catastasis*, happened a year after Anysius' victory (1568 B), which happened while Andronicus was governor. The notice can only be true if Gennadius was governor twice.

4. Since Synesius could ask Theophilus to pray for the province (*Ep.* 69) the invasion happened before 15.10.412 when Theophilus died.

Thracian cavalry. Evidently the invasion had begun with a severe defeat of the regular forces. The remaining regular units were besieged in the fortified cities, and too dispersed to take the offensive. The enemy carried-off countryfolk, animals and plunder, bringing 5,000 camels into the province to help with the booty ([80]). For a time even Egypt seemed to be in danger ([81]). Meanwhile the bishop of Ptolemais shared guard duties on the walls at night and posted pickets ([82]). When the crisis had eventually been ended by the leadership of Marcellinus a new general, who in a single battle brought back peace to the province, it fell to Synesius to thank the general formally on behalf of the people of Pentapolis ([83]). The outcome proved that Synesius' *Catastasis* had been far too pessimistic. Pentapolis survived the great invasion. Its countryside recovered. But the fact that the frontier had become penetrable meant that numerous villages of the province has to build fortification ([84]).

SYNESIUS IN ECLIPSE

Synesius' progress from curialis to bishop so far can be read as a success-story. This was not however the way Synesius himself saw it. His latest letters were written by a deeply depressed man. Synesius' sadness was natural enough in view of the fact that he had lost all three of his sons ([85]), and that his occupation as bishop was profoundly incongenial. But there was a political reason too. Synesius felt abandoned by his friends, and deprived of all his former influence ([86]). What had gone wrong ? Perhaps the starting point was that he has overreached himself when he excommunicated the governor Andronicus.

(80) Captured Roman equipment : *Catastasis*, 1568 B. Camels : 1569 A.

(81) *Catastasis*, 1569 D.

(82) *Ibid.*, 1572 C.

(83) *Ep.* 62. Marcellinus has freed cities from siege. Synesius is bishop. This fits only the 'great' invasion

(84) R. GOODCHILD, *Libyan Studies*, ed; J. Reynolds (London, 1976), pp. 203-4.

(85) The first son died during Andronicus' governorship *Ep.* 57 (1392 B) = GARZYA, 41 (p. 61). The second during the siege *Ep.* 98 (88). The third in winter 412-23 *Ep.* 70 ; 126.

(86) *Ep.* 16, 17 (all children dead) ; *Ep.* 10 ; 81 (80) without children, friends or influence.

At any rate about this time he lost the friendship of one of his most influential contacts at Constantinople, Anastasius, tutor of the imperial children ([87]). Loss of influence in Pentapolis is suggested by the fact that his brother Euoptius had gone into voluntary exile at Alexandria. It seems that he fled to avoid membership of the curia. Synesius interceded for him with the governor Hesychius, but in vain ([88]).

Then in October 412 came the death of Theophilus bishop of Alexandria who had been a powerful patron of Synesius for many years ([89]). Our sources only give us isolated glimpses of the process by which Synesius became politically isolated. It is clear that his combination of the power of a landed magnate with the prestige of a bishop was not enough to ensure the continued enjoyment of the degree of influence to which he was accustomed. He also needed the support of his peers and that, in some way or other, he had lost. In this period he lost the third of his sons, but in the letters grief at the bereavement is regularly combined with complaints that he has lost friends and influence. Four desperately sad letters were addressed to his friend and teacher the pagan philosopher Hypatia ([90]). The letters show little or no traces of Christianity ([91]). It would however be a mistake to conclude that he lost his faith. At the same time he was building a monastery not far from his estate ([92]).

The letters of Synesius contains no information that is certainly later than 413. Neither the fact that Cyril succeeded Theophilus late in 412, nor the murder of Hypatia in 415, are mentioned. Lacombrade concluded that *Ep.* 16 was Synesius' last letter and that he died soon after of the illness mentioned in it ([93]).

(87) *Ep.* 46 = GARZYA, 48 ; cf. 79 (78) : Anastasis and Anthemius favoured Andronicus.

(88) *Ep.* 93 (92). *Ep.* 8 shows that Euoptius was at Alexandria. If *Ep.* 8 and 9, both mentioning the Paschal letters, are contemporary the date was early January 412.

(89) *Ep.* 12, cf. above p. 1.

(90) *Ep.*, 10, 15, 16, 81 (80).

(91) *E.g.* opening of *Ep.* 126, but cf. A.-M. Malingrey on Chrysostom's Christian Stoicism in her introduction to *Jean Chrysostome, Letters à Olympias*, Sources Chrétiennes, 13 bis (Paris, 1968), pp. 53-64.

(92) *Ep.* 126.

(93) C. LACOMBRADE, *Synésios*, p. 272.

The conclusion may be mistaken. I have argued elsewhere that Synesius did live to experience Aurelian's second prefecture of the East ([94]). Synesius' *De Providentia* asserts quite unambiguiosity that Osiris (*i.e.* Aurelian) would eventually regain the throne of Egypt (*i.e.* the praetorian prefecture of the East) ([95]). Now this prophecy might simply be a polite fiction. But vague as the forecast is, it does nevertheless mention two concrete facts. First, several men must hold the supreme post before Osiris will be able to resume it. They will have to perform a purifying role in preparation for his government ([96]). Secondly, the interval between Osiris return from exile and his resumption of office would be a very long one ([97]). The circumstantial detail makes it likely that the prophecy was written with *post-eventum* knowledge of Aurelian's second prefecture. I have suggested that Synesius rewrote the *De Providentia* in order to make it a fitting compliment to Aurelian on the occasion of his return to the prefecture in December 414 ([98]).

The *De Providentia* contains no factual information about the prefecture. Synesius may well have died soon after completing the *De Providentia.* One of three surviving letters addressed to Aurelian was adressed to him in office, and the circumstances make it quite likely that the office was the second prefecture ([99]). If this is right, the last glimpse we get of Synesius is that of a man who after set-backs and bereavements had reestablished a relationship with an old acquaintance who had become the most powerful man in the Empire, and was just beginning to use it in the interest of a relative.

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(94) 'The date of Synesius' *De Providentia*', Actes du VIIe congrès de la F.I.E.C., Vol. II (Budapest, 1973), 39-46.

(95) *De Providentia*, 215.

(96) 1273 B.

(97) 1272 C. If Synesius had simply wished to compliment Aurelian he could have prophecied a return to office, without adding that he would only achieve it in old age, and, that first he would have 'to see and hear many things' (1273 B).

(98) See *PLRE*, I, s.v. *Aurelianus*, 3. The second prefecture began in December 414. K. G. HOLUM, *Theodosian Empresses* (London, 1982), p. 96 argues that Aurelian's appointment was instigated by Pulcheria then almost 16 years old, cf. *PLRE*, II, s.v. *Aelia Pulcheria.*

(99) *Ep.* 38 = GARZYA, 35.

GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY IN THE *BIBLIOTHECA* OF PHOTIUS – A NOTE

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, with special reference to the Patriarch's methods of work (1). The notion prevailing among scholars is that Photius was interested in various themes, and that no particular logic can be found behind his methods of selection (2). This may be true about the work as a whole. However, it does not exclude the possibility that within each field Photius was interested in one particular aspect rather than another. Thus I shall suggest that of the various subjects in the *Bibliotheca* (3), Photius' selection of Greek and Roman history may

(1) S. IMPELLIZZERI, "L'Umanesimo bizantino del IX secolo e la genesi della *Biblioteca* di Fozio", *Studi storici in onore di Gabriele Pepe* (Bari, 1969), esp. 249-266 ; P. LEMERLE, *Le Premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), 189-199 ; T. HÄGG, *Photios als Vermittler antiken Literatur* (Uppsala, 1975) ; H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), vol. I-II, *passim* ; J. BOMPAIRE, "Réflexions d'un humaniste sur la politique : le patriarche Photius", *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Âge Islam, Byzance, Occident Colloques Internationaux de la Napoule* (1978), 45-55 ; W. T. TREADGOLD, *The Nature of the* Bibliotheca *of Photius* (Washington, 1980) ; D. S. WHITE, *Patriarch Photius of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass. 1981), esp. 48-66 ; J. IRMSCHER, "L'ideologia ellenica della polis e i Byzantini", *BF*, 8 (1982), esp. 75-77 ; N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 93-111.

(2) Cf. in particular TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, chap. 7 ; WILSON, *op. cit.*, 99-109. He says on page 101 that "since the Byzantines regarded their state as the continuation of the Roman Empire it is only natural that an educated man should wish to read histories of Rome". Wilson is of the opinion that Photius was "an omnivorous reader" (p. 101).

(3) Cf. for the most extensive survey of these, K. ZIEGLER, "Photios, 13", *RE*, 20 (1941), 684-727. Cf. in general also J. HERGENRÖTHER, *Photios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel* (Regensburg, 1867-69), *passim* ; K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1897²), esp. 517-519. For Photius' various methods of summarizing, excerpting and referring to books, HÄGG, *op. cit.*, esp. 15-39, and TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, chap. 6. In many cases, we cannot even compare the version found in Photius with the original (for instance Memnon, Diodorus Siculus 31-40). For the problem of date of composition, TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, 25-36 with the older literature on the subject.

not have been accidental (4), and that he was collecting historical data regarding particular periods. Such data may reflect a curriculum of ancient history taught by Byzantine teachers at the time (5). If my argument is sound, then Photius constitutes a truly striking case, if we recall that we are dealing here with an unedited and unorganized (perhaps even unfinished) notebook (6). Also Photius was subjected to various limitations, such as the unavailability of manuscripts (complete or otherwise) (7), the restriction to Greek material, etc.

We shall try to organize the scattered and seemingly disconnected profane historical material found in Photius' historical codices of the *Bibliotheca* (8). The criterion adopted for examining Photius' interests is a positive one, concentrating on the places in which he elaborates on the historical subject-matter. In other words, if Photius summarizes in one or two sentences the contents of a certain work or part of it, this indicates either that he had no particular interest in the period

(4) This differs from the attempt made seventy years ago to demonstrate that Photius covered many periods in ancient history in a comprehensive way : J. KLINKENBERG, *De Photi Bibliothecae codicibus historicis* (diss. Bonn, 1913), esp. 20-26.

(5) A pattern of profane ancient history emerges for instance from the chronographic tradition, cf. E. M. JEFFREYS, "The Attitudes of Byzantine Chronicles towards Ancient history", *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), 199-238. This scheme, in its secular Greek and Roman part, appears to be close to the one discussed here. In general for the chronographers, H. HUNGER, *op. cit.*, I, 243-278. For the question of a University in the 9th century in Byzantium, cf. P. SPECK, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1974). Cf. also F. DVORNIK, "Photius' Career in Teaching and Diplomacy", *Byzantinoslavica*, 34 (1973), 211-218 ; C. MANGO, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 138-141. For the classical revival in Byzantium in the age of Photius, cf. in particular P. LEMERLE, *op. cit.*, 148-205 ; WILSON, *op. cit.*, esp. 61-135.

(6) Cf. especially P. LEMERLE, *op. cit.*, 192 ; WILSON, *op. cit.*, esp. 94-99 ; and TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, chaps. 1-5 *passim* (although I am not entirely convinced by his ingenious theory about the two parts of the *Bibliotheca*).

(7) Cf. for instance *cod.* 176 (HENRY, II, p. 172), and C. MANGO, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850", *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington D.C., 1975), 29-45 ; N. G. WILSON, "Books and Readers in Byzantium", *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, 1-15 ; ID., *Scholars of Byzantium*, esp. 85-89, 94 ; TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, 8-9, 97.

(8) I am not including here the *obiter dicta* found sometimes in the non-historical codices. Cf. for instance *cod.* 241 (Philostratus), HENRY, V, pp. 180, 187, 190, 194, 198-199, etc.

covered by it (and that he only noted to himself what this work contained), or else that he found (or hoped to find) a more attractive or handy description of that period in another work ([9]). This criterion, applied here only to the Greek and Roman history, is verifiable in more than 90% of the historical codices. In cases where Photius elaborates on the historical events, however briefly, he shows a desire to refer back to his notes for the historical data. Photius is no historian, and his *Bibliotheca* is in fact a notebook of a scholar interested in having the information at hand. Hence no one would expect him to have preserved an accurate historical narrative. The following scheme of history does, however, emerge.

Two elaborate codices refer to the mythical past of the Greeks, covering many of their traditional regions in Greece, the Islands, Thrace, the coastal regions of Asia minor, Sicily, etc. ([10]). Byzantium

(9) For instance in *cod.* 57 (Appian), Photius describes in a few sentences the whole of Appian's *Roman History*, but, as we shall see below, he is really interested in only a small part of it. In *cod.* 83 (and 84) he summarizes Dionysius of Halicarnassus' five books in nine sentences. He found elsewhere (*cod.* 57) the section dealing with Roman mythology and the foundation of Rome, and hence did not again need to elaborate upon it. However, Photius dismisses in one sentence the entire section of Dionysius' work dealing with the Republic. In *cod.* 70, he only notes the scope of Diodorus Siculus' forty books. Photius comes back to books 31-40 of DS because these, so it seems, really interested him. Herodotus (*cod.* 60) did not attract him, but he found information on the clash between Persia and the Greeks in Ctesias, of whom he gives a detailed summary (*cod.* 72^1). Other historical codices, too, bear out my criterion : Arrian (*cod.* 93) ; Apollodorus (*cod.* 186^2) ; Cephalion (*cod.* 68) ; Cassius Dio (*cod.* 71) ; Eunapius of Sardis (*cod.* 77^1) ; Hesychius of Miletus (*cod.* $69^{1,2}$) ; Nicephorus of Constantinople (*cod.* 66), and in a way also Malchus (*cod.* 78), John Lydus (*cod.* 180^3) and Arrian (*cod.* 58, but cf. the following). In all these cases, Photius notes for himself (or for the use of his brother Tarasius) the general information about the work and its writer, but does not show any particular interest in collecting material for the historical data of any period covered by these historians. When, however, these historians cover periods in which he is interested, he either notes this, or turns to another author who has the information.

(10) *Cod.* 186^1, Conon : almost 32 pages (HENRY, III, pp. 8-39) ; cf. also *cod.* 190, Ptolemaeus Chennus : a little more than 21 pages (HENRY, III, pp. 51-72). For general information on Apollodorus' book, cf. *cod.* 186^2 (HENRY, III, pp. 39-40 : one page) ; WILSON, *op. cit.*, 101. Greek (and Roman) mythology amalgamated with Jewish and Eastern elements receive a great deal of attention in the chronographers, cf. JEFFREYS, *art. cit.*, *passim*. For information on the mythical past of Lycia and Pamphylia cf. also in *cod.* 176 (Theopompus, Henry II, p. 173).

regarded itself as the successor of the ancient Greeks as well as of the Romans ([11]). No wonder, then, that Greek mythology, the best demonstration for the antiquity of the Greeks and their cultural genesis in the eastern Mediterranean, should be accorded a place of honour by a Byzantine scholar of the new humanistic era ([12]). For the mythical background to the foundation of Rome Photius used Appian's *Roman History*, to which he dedicates four and a half pages ([13]). Whereas he summarizes the contents of the various books of Appian's *History* in one or two sentences only, he devotes more than two pages to summarize the story of Aeneas and the Roman kings (and less than one page to describe the circumstances leading to the Principate, and to Egypt becoming a Roman province ([14]). After naming the Roman kings Photius says: "After him (Torquinius), the monarchy was abolished and its powers transferred to consuls" ([15]). It should become clear already at this stage that Photius (perhaps in line with chronographers known to us) does not really have an interest in a continuous history of the Roman Republic ([16]), except for some particular episodes to which we shall return in the following.

Photius, like the chronographic tradition, is not interested in the history of the city-state (Athens and Sparta) ([17]). He is, however,

(11) Cf. for instance, F. DÖLGER, "Rom in der Gedenkenwelt der Byzantiner", *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal. 1953), 70-115 ; P. J. ALEXANDER, "The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes", *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 339 ff.

(12) On the impact in the realm of art of the mythological revival in the time of Photius, see K. WEITZMANN, "Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance", in *Arbeitsg. für Forschung des Landes Nordheim-Westfalen*, 90 (1962).

(13) *Cod.* 57, HENRY, I, pp. 46-50, alongside Conon, *cod.* 186, HENRY, III, pp. 36-38. For his working methods in *cod.* 57, cf. Carmine COPPOLA, "L'historia Romana di Appiano e i Parthica di Arriano nella 'Bibliotheca' di Fozio", in *Studi Salernitani in memoria di Raffaele Cantarella* (Salerno, 1981), esp. 478-488 ; WILSON, *op. cit.*, 97, and 101.

(14) Cf. below.

(15) He found information on Rome's origin also in Memnon, *cod.* 224 (HENRY, VI, pp. 67-68).

(16) No interest of the chronographers in the Roman Republic, cf. JEFFREYS, *art. cit.*, esp. 206, 218, 227-228, 230, 238.

(17) For the chronographic tradition almost totally ignoring the history of the city-state, see JEFFREYS, *art. cit.*, 206-207, 215, 218, 227-228. The codices on the Attic orators (as well as on an orator like Himerius) were brought forward by

concerned with the Persian Empire and its encounter with the Greeks in the sixth century down to the beginning of the fourth. He dedicates twenty six pages to a summary of books 7-23 of Ctesias' *Persica* ([18]), and to Herodotus one page only. The reason for this apparently uneven treatment of this two works, he may have disclosed in his remarks throughout the *codex* on Ctesias ([19]). The emphasis on Persian history of the aforementioned period is natural for one who has an interest in the successive legacy of the Empires in the east. After all, it was Alexander the Great who "inherited" the vast Persian Empire. Indeed, in cod. 91 he summarizes Arrian's *Anabasis*, and of almost four pages dealing with Alexander's expedition (Arrian's seven books), three are dedicated to some main events in Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire, and three quarters of a page to the restoration of Cyrus' mutilated tomb and the wedding at Susa (Henry II, pp. 16-20). Alexander and his generals marry into Darius' house and the noblest of the Medes and Persians (II, p. 19). This, of course, looks like a "dynastic" continuity between the Persian and Macedonian Empires, and is, I believe, also the reason why Photius shows a great deal of interest in the first years of the *Diadochi*. He elaborates on the settlements of Babylon and Triparadeissos ([20]), and provides a summary of the events from Alexander's death to 320/19 B.C. ([21]). Photius does not continue this history elsewhere, either because there was no source which he could (or was willing to) consult at the time

Photius because of his interest in orators and rhetoric, not in Athenian history. In any case, little of that history will be found in these codices. Cf. WILSON, *op. cit.*, 95 ; TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, 48-50, 103.

(18) *Cod.* 72[1]. Cf. in general, G. GOOSSENS, in *Rev. belge de Philol. et d'Hist.*, 28 (1950), 513-522. In line with his interest in the clash between Persians and Greeks, Photius draws on Theopompus for information on Evagoras (*cod.* 176 : almost two pages, HENRY, II, pp. 172-173), who successfully fought the Persians and turned Cyprus into an independent Greek island (cf. also Ctesias, *cod.* 72[1] : half a page, HENRY, I, pp. 131-132). He also found in Theopompus information on the mythological past of Pamphylia and Lycia.

(19) *Cod.* 60 : less than one page, reciting the Persian kings from Cyrus to Xerxes. Cf. also HENRY, I, pp. 105-106, 115, 128, 132.

(20) Dexippus, *cod.* 82 : settlement of Babylon (two out of two and a half pages). Arrian, *cod.* 92 : fewer than three out of almost thirteen pages for both settlements.

(21) *Cod.* 82 : two and a half pages ; *cod.* 92 : almost thirteen pages. For the emphasis on the era of Alexander the Great and the *Diadochi* in the chronographers, cf. JEFFREYS, *art. cit.*, esp. 217, 230, 237.

(as for instance Hieronymus of Cardia), or because the first three years after Alexander's death were sufficient to show that the Persian Empire was dead, and a Macedonian (namely Greek) take-over of the Empire has been attained. This problem of the continuity of empires in the East does not unduly disturb Photius until he reaches another juncture where the question of discontinuity could be raised. Hence he shows much interest in the conquest of the East by Rome.

From the treatment of the Roman Republic it becomes clear where his main interest lay. Photius, like some of the chronographers, is not really interested in a continuous history of the internal affairs of the Republic. He mentions some scattered episodes (to which we will return later) and understandably enough the civil wars of the first century which led, in his view, to the foundation of the Augustan Principate ([22]). But he refers mainly to the dynamics which led to the conquest of the eastern territories to be claimed in the future by the Byzantine Empire. He focusses on Roman imperialism in the east during 168-63 B.C. (perhaps even down to 31 B.C.). If we then ignore the few digressions, most of which are not really to be seen as historical material ([23]), we would get the following picture.

(22) Events leading to Augustus' principate : *cod.* 57, three quarters of a page (HENRY, I, p. 48), and *cod.* 244, little more than two pages (HENRY, VI, pp. 171-173). For the chronographic tradition in this respect, JEFFREYS, *art. cit.*, 215, 218, 228, 230, 232. Plutarch (*cod.* 245) in Photius' *Bibliotheca* should not really be considered as history. Photius is interested in a group of historical characters such as Dion, Brutus, Demosthenes, Cicero, Phocion, Agis, Aratus, and many others. On personalities of this sort in the classical revival in Byzantium, cf. H. HUNGER, "On the imitation (*μίμησις*) of Antiquity in Byzantine literature", *DOP*, 23-24 (1969-1970), 15-38, but esp. 28.

(23) For instance, in Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothece*, 31-40, Photius found a great deal of information about matters which interested him beyond the historical material proper, to mention only the story of Herais of Abae's transformation into a male and the other stories connected with it (HENRY, VI, pp. 127-131) ; Battaces, the priest from Phrygia (HENRY, VI, pp. 166-167) (Photius liked stories of that kind, TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, 101). Or the collection of stories on historical figures (cf. n. 22 below) and the constitution of the Jews (HENRY, VI, pp. 134-137 see now D. Mendels, ZAW, 95 (1983), 96-110). Digressions of this sort in the historical codices of Photius are not too frequent, and (in the case of *cod.* 244) may be a result of a different working method adopted by Photius in *codices* 234-280, if Treadgold's theory about the two parts of the *Bibliotheca* is accepted (*op. cit.*, chap. 3). One should emphasize here that neither the *Indica* of Ctesias (*cod.* 72[2]) nor Agatharchides', *On the Red Sea* (*cod.* 213, 250) should be considered as history for our

Photius, so it seems, was collecting material in particular on the final downfall of the Macedonian Kingdom and the tragic end of its dynasty ([24]), and on the Marsic War, which was an immense step towards the political unification of Italy ([25]). It is clear that the history of Asia Minor from Persian times down to the Roman conquest receives a special treatment. For this Photius used mainly Memnon (*cod.* 224). Now, Photius did not – as some think – use Memnon (only books 9-16 ([26])) merely to relate the history of Heraclea Pontica (which, of course, might have interested him being a chroncile of a city), but regarded it as a vast source of information on the general history of Asia Minor and its relations with the foreign powers from an eastern point-of-view. He summarizes these books of Memnon in fifty pages, dealing with the history of Asia Minor from Persian times through the *Diadochi* and Hellenistic Kingdoms, up to the encounter with Rome (*Henry* IV, pp. 48-49). It is not surprising that (with some digressions) Photius dedicates almost twenty-eight out of fifty pages to the Mithridatic Wars ([27]). He also found information for this period in Phlegon of Tralles ([28]). Photius found additional material on Asia Minor's history in Diodorus Siculus : a list of the Cappadocian dynasty from Cyrus to Ariarathes V, the king who "renewed with

purposes. It seems from these codices that Photius was greatly interested in geography.

(24) *Cod.* 244, Diodorus Siculus : one and a half pages (HENRY, VI, pp. 139-141). This subject already attracted him in Memnon (cod. 224, HENRY, IV, p. 68).

(25) The Marsic War and its aftermath, *cod.* 244 : four and a half pages (HENRY, VI, pp. 167-172).

(26) Cf. for Memnon in Photius, F. JACOBY, *FGH, ad loc.* ; presumably there were more than sixteen books in Memnon's history (Cf. ZIEGLER, *art. cit.*, 699), but these were perhaps not available to Photius at the time.

(27) HENRY, IV, pp. 71-98. Photius mentions Memnon's books 13-14 on Roman history (pp. 67-70), but does not consider these books as a source for collecting the historical data (unlike the history af Asia Minor). Hence he only notes the scope of these books, and elaborates on two cases of Roman imperialism which did interest him within his above mentioned historical scheme. The first is the war with Perseus which received some notice in another codex ; the second, the war with Antiochus III which Photius, as far as I know, mentions in the historical codices only within this context (one and a half pages out of two and a half).

(28) *Cod.* 97 : little more than two pages, but only about half a page on the years 72-68 B.C. (HENRY, II, p. 64).

Rome the treaty of alliance and friendship" ([29]). In the case of Arrian's *Bithynica* (cod. 93 : one page in HENRY, II, pp. 33-34), however, Photius shows that he is not really interested in preserving a detailed account of the internal events in Bithynia. This again constitutes a good example of what we have said before : Photius only notes the scope of Arrian's Bithynian history for possible future use, and emphasizes that it reaches the point where "Nicomedes bequeathed Bithynia to the Romans" ([30]). Also in Arrian's Parthian history ([31]), he chooses to elaborate – not accidentaly, I believe – on two critical points of Parthian history : the foundation of the Parthian Kingdom, namely the revolt of Arsaces against Antiochus II (Theos), and its subjugation by Trajan. The line which Photius is following now becomes clearer.

For Judaea he used mainly the *Antiquitates* of Josephus ([32]). It is no accident that he is interested in *Ant.* 14-20, which narrates the years 67 B.C. down to the outbreak of the war with the Romans in 66 A.D. Photius shows, of course, a particular interest in the historical background of Jesus Christ, and mentions this throughout his summary ([33]). Jewish history of that period concerns him in two other respects. First, this is the period (emphasized in *cod.* 76 and 238) of transition from Jewish independent rule of Judaea to Roman domination. In his summary of Josephus in *cod.* 238, Photius points to the various Roman arrangements concerning Judaea, and its growing dependence upon Rome throughout this stormy period. Second, apart from a possible analogy to this own times which may have crossed

(29) *Cod.* 244 : three pages (HENRY, IV, pp. 141-144).

(30) In *cod.* 244 (Diodorus Siculus) there is a four-line mention of Bithynian history (HENRY, VI, p. 146), but this entire section (pp. 145-147) deals with a collection of characters from different periods and places (Massinissa, Nicomedes, Variathus), and should be seen as part of Photius' interest in famous figures rather than in historical events.

(31) *Cod.* 58 : one and a half pages (HENRY, I, pp. 51-52). Cf. Carmine COPPOLA, *art. cit.*, esp. 488 ff.

(32) For his working methods in *cod.* 238, cf. in particular HÄGG, *op. cit.*, 184-194. Unfortunately for ancient historians, Photius, so it seems, did not like (or did not have) much of Justus' history on this exciting period (*cod.* 33 : one page (HENRY, I, pp. 18-19). For Josephus in Photius cf. also J. SCHAMP, Flavius Josephe et Photios, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32/3 (1982), 185-196.

(33) For instance in *cod.* 238 (HENRY, V, pp. 142-3, 149-152).

Photius' mind ([34]), the list of Jewish High Priests constitutes a precedent for the primacy of the Roman *Rex cliens*, Herod, over any independent Jewish rule in Judaea ([35]). Photius also shows an interest in the circumstances leading to Crete becoming a Roman province in 68/7 B.C. ([36]), and in his summary of Appian's Roman history (*cod.* 57) he does not miss the opportunity to mention Egypt's transformation into a Roman province in 31 B.C. (some lines in HENRY, I, p. 48).

Sicily receives a special treatment through the two slave rebellions of the second century B.C. ([37]). These rebellions attracted Photius first of all because they may have reminded him of similar occurrences on the island in his own time ([38]), and secondly because they so clearly constitute a demonstration of the subjugation of Sicily to Roman rule.

From the above survey it becomes clear that Photius was interested mainly in collecting information on the succession of Empires in the East (Persia, Macedonia and Rome), concentrating his efforts on the problem of legitimacy of the New Rome in the eastern part of the Empire ([39]). If we look at the selection of historical material from this

(34) Cf. HENRY, I, p. 156, n. 2.

(35) The Josephan summaries : *cod.* 76 : two and a half pages (HENRY, I, pp. 155-157). As elsewhere, Photius attaches in this codex a biographical sketch of Josephus from the latter's *Vita* (HENRY, I, pp. 157-158 : one page, and cf. TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, 64). For the biographical sketches in Photius' *Bibliotheca* in general, cf. TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, chap. 4. *Cod.* 238 : almost fourteen pages (HENRY, V, pp. 141-155). Cf. also *cod.* 47 : almost one page (HENRY, I, pp. 32-33, a prophecy on the fall of Jerusalem. It does not really belong in the sphere of history). On the history of the Jews during the second Temple in Byzantine Chronicles : Rivkah FISHMAN-DUKER, *Byzantion*, 47 (1977), 126-156.

(36) *Cod.* 97, Phlegon : some lines only, mentioning Delos too (HENRY, II, pp. 64-65).

(37) *Cod.* 244, Diodorus Siculus : nineteen pages (HENRY, VI, pp. 147-166).

(38) Cf. for instance, the affair of Euphemius as compared to Eunus ("King Antiochus"). Euphemius led a popular revolt, executed the governor of Sicily, and declared himself Emperor. Cf. for this history, M. I. FINLEY, *A History of Ancient Sicily* (London, 1968), chap. 14 ; P. J. ALEXANDER, "Les débuts des conquêtes arabes en Sicile et la tradition apocalyptique byzantino-slave", in *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1978), XIV, 7-35.

(39) For the concept of the succession of Empires in Byzantine thought, N. H. BAYNES, *The Hellenistic Civilization and East Rome* (Oxford, 1946), 5-41 ; cf. also JEFFREYS, *art. cit.* 206, 227-228, 231, 235-236 (cf. also D. MENDELS, "The Five Empires : A Note on a Propagandistic *Topos*", *AJPh*, 102 [1981], 330-339, with an *addendum* by H. TADMOR).

perspectives, we will discover that about 95% of the information of the historical codices cover these issues, and that a repetition of the same historical data in the more detailed passages hardly occurs.

The subsequent history of the Common Era is for a Byzantine not really within the domain of ancient history, but should be mentioned here briefly. To judge from the historical codices of the *Bibliotheca*, Photius shows no interest in the history of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Constantine the Great. Except for a short codex which he dedicates to Herodian's survey of the years 192-238 A.D. ([40]), there is nothing on the profane history of the Empire. It was, of course, natural for Photius to show an interest in the events leading to Constantine's founding of the New Rome, and he emphasizes in cod. 62 that "being thus sole master of a united Empire, he founded Byzantium and called it after his own name" ([41]). From now on we are dealing with Byzantine history, and there are signs that Photius was collecting material for a more continuous historical outline, as cod. 63-64-65 and 79-80-98 (altogether sixty one and a half pages) show ([42]). In the section on Byzantine history one can also detect Photius' interest in certain topics, such as the wars with the Persians (the Eastern front), with the Avars, and the barbarization of Italy and Old Rome. To take the example of Procopius (cod. 63) : only parts of the two books of Procopius' *Persian Wars* are summarized by Photius. This may be the result of the unavailability of the complete manuscript, or rather a lack of interest on behalf of Photius in the continuation of the story. After all, it was in Procopius and other authors that he found the historical *exempla* for the events of his own time, namely chronic raids, wars, embassies, and treaties with the Arabs (and their breach) ([43]).

(40) *Cod.* 99 : little more than three pages (HENRY, II, pp. 66-70) ; and some other short scattered references (cf. for instance, HENRY, I, p; 104 ; HENRY, II, p. 65)

(41) *Cod.* 62, Praxagoras : two and a half pages (HENRY, I, pp. 61-63).

(42) Cf. also *cod.* 78 (Malchus).

(43) For his working methods concerning Procopius (1-2.19), cf. HÄGG, *op. cit.*, 184-194. Nonnosus' history of his embassy to Ethiopia (*cod.* 3 : almost four pages, HENRY, I, pp. 4-7) may have been in line with his interest in embassies of this sort (and cf. TREADGOLD, *op. cit.*, 100). For the notion in Photius that examples drawn from history can be of use in daily life (the kind of Polybian *pragmatike historia*), cf. G. L. KUSTAS, "History and Theology in Photius", *Greek Orthodox Theological*

I hope I have succeeded in showing that a logic may be discovered behind the profane Greek and Roman history in Photius' *Bibliotheca.* Ancient historians should count themselves fortunate that Photius produced such an impressive collection.

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Review, 10 (1964), esp. 43 (unfortunately Kustas' doctoral thesis on the subject was not available to me, but cf. his synopsis in *HSCPh*, 61 [1953], 170-172 [Photius' Idea of History]).

UNA COLONNA CON INCISIONE BIZANTINA PROVENIENTE DALLA VECCHIA MILETO (CALABRIA)

A Franco Pata,
in memoriam.

L'interesse degli studi verso tutte le testimonianze della cultura artistica calabrese non ha impedito che il fascino di particolari manufatti abbia potuto maggiormente assorbire l'attenzione di certa stampa, dando origine a degli stereotipi pseudoculturali che molto spesso risultano a danno della conoscenza del restante patrimonio. Sono dei *tòpoi* che con il loro preponderante peso pubblicitario si sovrappongono a quella che è la realtà del patrimonio storico-artistico calabrese, condizionando il giudizio di valore complessivo sulla civiltà, così fortemente stratificata, della regione. Un frequente *locus communis*, per citare uno degli esempi più probanti, è costituito dalla diffusissima immagine della chiesetta della *Cattolica* di Stilo, che, con la sua esclusiva reclamizzazione, rischia di ridurre il catalogo monumentale della Calabria a quella sola pagina, per quanto unica e rappresentativa essa sia. Sono stereotipi estremamente riduttivi, i quali, oltre a creare delle categorie preconcette, escludono da ogni estimazione d'arte ampi settori se non addirittura interi periodi che pur sono ricchi di esperienze artistiche e culturali.

Un altro *tòpos*, sia pure di minore rilevanza, di questa letteratura è quello concernente la colonna, ancora della *Cattolica* di Stilo, celebre per l'iscrizione incisa su di essa (Fig. 10), ricordata unitamente ad altra analoga epigrafe (Fig. 11), purtroppo non conservata, svolgentesi attorno ad una croce scolpita su una colonna «appartenente all'antica chiesa della città di Mileto, la *Cattolica* appellata», resa nota da Vito Capialbi, cimelio purtroppo non conservato e, probabilmente, mai esistito (1) ; una ulteriore testimonianza del genere, invece, del tutto

(1) Credo, infatti, che il Capialbi sia stato indotto in inganno a proposito della «croce di Mileto», ed abbia trascinato involontariamente dietro a sé altri autori come

o quasi ignorata, è conservata, sempre in Mileto, nel cortile dell'Episcopio, e proviene, assieme ad altro materiale architettonico e scultural, dai ruderi della vecchia città distrutta dal terremoto del 1783 e abbandonata dai suoi abitanti.

Tale cimelio, finora inedito, è importante, oltre che per se stesso e per lo studio delle vestigia bizantine della Calabria, anche per la luce che esso potrebbe apportare, di riflesso, alla conoscenza delle origini della cittadina, su cui non abbiamo che il silenzio delle fonti classiche e altomedioevali. E' un argomento, questo delle origini della città normanna, che ha visto discordi, per la mancanza assoluta di documenti e di testimonianze, gli studiosi locali (2) e che difficilmente

G. Cozza Luzzi e G. Monaco. Personalmente, sono convinto che tale cimelio non sia mai esistito. Difatti, il Capialbi afferma esplicitamente di aver tratto tale «monumento greco ... da una antica memoria serbata nella mia domestica biblioteca» (V. CAPIALBI, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Santa Chiesa Miletese*, Napoli, 1835, p. XXXVIII) e ne rende noto di disegno nella tavola II in fondo al volume. Confrontando tale disegno con quello tratto dalla Cattolica do Stilo, è curioso constatare come risultino identici in modo impressionante : identica è la croce gemmata alle estremità e identiche sono la forma e la disposizione delle lettere. Si tratta indubbiamente della stessa croce, che non può essere che quella di Stilo, unica esistente. Evidentemente, il Capialbi rinvenne fra le sue carte la riproduzione della croce di Stilo senza l'indicazione della provenienza e l'attribuì senz'altro alla Cattolica di Mileto. Egli, infatti, non aveva osservato di persona il cimelio di Stilo, ed aveva operato l'accostamento fra le due croci sulla base di uno scritto del canonico Carlo Macri (CAPIALBI, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIX). È, tuttavia, impensabile che lo studioso vibonese abbia voluto creare un falso storico per innalzare la cronologia della città di Mileto ; resta, però, il fatto che fra le carte *domestiche* del Capialbi, di recente esplorate, non sia stata rinvenuta tale testimonianza : «richerche fatte recentemente nella biblioteca Capialbi sono state, a questo riguardo, infruttuose», annota G. Monaco (G. MONACO, *La Mileto prenormanna*, in «Atti del I Congresso Storico Calabrese», Roma, 1956, p. 190, nota 2).

Sulle croci di Mileto e di Stilo, cf. oltre alle due citate, le seguenti opere : P. ORSI, *Le chiese basiliane della Calabria, Firenze*, 1929, p. 25 ; G. COZZA LUZZI, *Di una croce di Mileto*, in «Rivista Storica Calabrese», 1900, pp. 27-29 ; IDEM., *Segue sulla Croce di Mileto, ibidem.*, pp. 29-31 ; IDEM., *Sopra un'altra Croce simile, ibidem.*, 1901, pp. 41-43 ; R. JURLARO, *Nuove tesi per la lettura planimetrica della Cattolica di Stilo*, in «Calabria Bizantina», Atti del IV e del V Incontro di Studi Bizantini, Reggio Cal., 1983, pp. 55-58 ; P. DE JERPHANION, in «Atti del V Congresso Intern. di Studi Bizantini», Roma, 1940, vol. II, p. 575.

(2) Si sono variamente occupati del problema, oltre ai cronisti regionali, i seguenti autori : A. DI MEO, *Annali Diplomatici del Regno di Napoli*, vol. VIII, p. 208, e vol. XI (Annotazioni), p. 279 ; I. PIPERNI, *Notizie della fondazione,*

potrà trovare una soluzione definitiva. Forse l'esame paleografico delle lettere, la tipologia della croce con la formula iscritta attorno ad essa, la colonna stessa per la sua particolare attribuzione rituale, potrebbero chiarire qualche aspetto del problema e far retrodatare di qualche secolo le conoscenze che si hanno attorno alla città di Mileto.

Questa cittadina, infatti, balza agli onori delle cronache nel momento in cui vede coincidere il suo periodo di splendore e di fama con gli anni in cui maturano i destini e le imprese del più giovane dei figli di Tancredi d'Altavilla, Ruggero, poi Gran Conte di Calabria e di Sicilia ; come tale, essa fa spesso capolino nelle cronache degli scrittori normanni ed arabi ([3]). Per essere stata conquistata e sottratta alle forze bizantine da parte del fratello più grande di Ruggero, Roberto il Guiscardo – il quale poi nel 1059 gliela concede *haereditaliter deliberatu* ([4]) – bisogna per forza di cose credere che essa abbia avuto un'esistenza anteriore, e che fosse di tale importanza strategica da rendersi appetibile dalle sopravvenienti forze normanne. Il che presuppone almeno qualche secolo di vita, tanto cioè da inserirla in piena età bizantina, se non addirittura ancora più indietro nel tempo, ossia in età tardo-romana.

Escludendo l'intenzione di far affondare le sue prime radici in età magno-greca – chè le uniche testimonianze greche pervenuteci consis-

antichità e gloria di questa Città di Mileto, in Calabria Ultra, a cura di G. Occhiato e F. Bartuli, Vibo Valentia, 1984, pp. 73-76 ; U. M. NAPOLIONE, *Memorie per la Chiesa Vescovile di Mileto*, a cura di V. F. Luzzi, Reggio Cal., 1984, pp. 5-14 ; V. CAPIALBI, *Memorie per servire ..., cit.*, pp. XXXV-XXXIX ; L. GRIMALDI, *Studi archeologici della Calabria Ultra Seconda*, Napoli, 1845, p. 78 ; F. LENORMANT, *La Grande Grèce*, Paris, 1881, vol. III, pp. 256-258 ; N. LEONI, *Della Magna Grecia e delle Tre Calabrie*, Napoli, 1844, vol. III, p. 85 ; P. ORSI, *Reliquie classiche a Mileto vecchio*, in «Notizie degli Scavi», XVIII (1921), pp. 485-488 ; F. PATA, *Mileto nel tempo*, Roma, 1966, pp. 7-9 ; G. MONACO, *La Mileto prenormanna ..., cit.* ; V. SALETTA, *Ipotesi su Mileto nel tempo della Magna Grecia*, in «Kalimer», n. 3, 1967, pp. 1-7 ; F. CIACERI, *La Magna Grecia*, Roma, 1927, vol. I, nota p. 256.

(3) G. MALATERRA, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius*, a cura di E. Pontieri, in RR.II. SS., V, Bologna, 1927 ; ANONYMI VATICANI, *Historia Sicula, ibidem.* ; ORDERICI VITALIS, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae libri tredecim*, in M. P. L., vol. 188, Turnhout, 1970 ; GUILLELMI CALCULI Gemmeticensis *Historiae Northmannorum libri octo*, in M. P. L., vol. 149, Turnhout, 1970 ; AMATO DI MONTECASSINO, *Storia dei Normanni volgarizzata in antico francese (Ystoire de li Normant)*, ed. V. De Bartholomaeis, Roma, 1935 ; M. AMARI, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, vol. I, Torino-Roma, 1880.

(4) G. MALATERRA, *cit.*, I, 29, p. 61.

tono e in una statuetta bronzea ricordata da Paolo Orsi ([5]) e nel suo stesso nome, forse di origine greca ([6]) ; e tutto ciò è troppo poco per provare una sua preesistenza in tale periodo – potremmo, forse con maggiore attendibilità, ricondurla ad età imperiale, quando il suo primo nucleo abitativo potrebbe essere stato costituito da un *oppidulum* romano, come opina Guido Carugno, seguito da V. Saletta ([7]). Le ragioni non mancherebbero. La vecchia Mileto sorgeva su un colle dal quale dominava un gran tratto della via Popilia che da *Valentia* ([8]), snodandosi lungo la vallata del fiume Mesima, conduceva verso Nicotera ; il centro urbano, dopo il disastro sismico del 1783, venne ricostruito poco lontano, verso nord-ovest, in una località pianeggiante denominata *Villa del Vescovo*, la quale era stata un tempo, e precisamente durante il primo secolo d.C., abitata da una facoltosa famiglia che ivi aveva fatto innalzare una villa di tipo agricolo-residenziale, attestata dai lussuosi mosaici dei pavimenti, oggi irrecuperabilmente scomposti ([9]). Tale villa – che è stata attribuita a Sicca,

(5) P. Orsi, *Reliquie classiche ..., cit.*, p. 485 : «Di antico, proveniente da Mileto, io non conosco che una statuina in bronzo, presso il March. E. Gagliardi, muliebre, nel tipo della Spes, opera arcaizzante tarda piuttosto che arcaica originale del sec. v».

(6) P. Orsi, *Reliquie classiche ..., cit.*, p. 485 ; G. Monaco, *La Mileto prenormanna ..., cit.*, p. 198. G. Mezzacasa, spiegandone l'origine del nome, la ritiene implicitamente già esistente in età magnogreca : «... Cosi i Greci dovunque andavano avevano il loro *πόλις* che faceva le spese in mancanza d'altro e che serviva loro per coniare i nomi di città. Le radici *μελιτ* e *μεγαρ*, non greche di origine ma accettate dai greci, servirono per indicare i luoghi di *rifugio* e i luoghi *appartati*, e rimasero appellativi propri di non poche località anche nella Magna Grecia, continentale e insulare, ad esempio Megara, Mileto, Melito, Maleto, Militello» (G. Mezzacasa, *La Lingua araba nel dialetto siciliano*, in «Archivio St. per la Sicilia Orientale», IV (1907), n. 3, p. 411). Più puntuale sarebbe, forse, attribuire l'origine del nome alla presenza nella zona di una piantagione di meli donde *Maletum*, poi *Malita* (in Cicerone, *Ad Atticum*, 3, 4), indi *Melitum e Miletum* – sulla scorta di quanto rilevasi in G. Alessio, *Saggio di toponomastica calabrese*, Firenze, 1939, *s.v. Meletum*.

(7) G. Carugno, *Malta o Mileto ?* in «Giornale Italiano di Filologia», V (1952), pp. 56-62 ; V. Saletta, *Ipotesi su Mileto ..., cit.*, pp. 3-4.

(8) Il municipio romano di *Valentia*, sulle cui rovine sorse nel 1237 la sveva Monteleone per volere di Federico II (oggi Vibo Valentia), va distinto dal centro costiero di *Vibona*, erede di *Hipponion*, che fu *statio navalis* di Giulio Cesare durante la seconda guerra civile e quindi sede episcopale. *Vibona* scomparve verso la fine dell'VIII secolo (F. Russo, *Storia della Chiesa in Calabria dalle origini al Concilio di Trento*, Soveria Mannelli, 1982, vol. I, p. 194).

(9) F. Costabile, *«Reliquiae» romane in Mileto*, in «Beni Culturali a Mileto di Calabria», Oppido Mamertina, 1982, pp. 69-71.

amico di Cicerone, da G. Carugno – potrebbe essere stata in relazione con un piccolo insediamento circostante o limitrofo, tale da giustificare l'appellattivo di *oppidulum*, e che potrebbe venir considerato come il nucleo originario dell'antica Mileto. Resta però il fatto della distanza intercorrente tra la villa romana e l'antico abitato miletese ; mentre l'eventuale insediamento e la presenza della villa si possono spiegare solo con la vicinanza del *municipium* di Vibo Valentia e con lo sfruttamento agricolo del territorio attorno all'area urbana del medesimo ([10]), è difficile poter supporre l'esistenza di un *oppidulum*, ossia si un più ampio insediamento abitativo *in loco*, tale da estendersi fino alla vecchia Mileto, distante oltre due km dalla villa. Si potrebbe, piuttosto, opinare un più tardo trasferimento del toponimo *Maletum* o *Malita* o *Melitum* all'abitato collinare che si costituì poco più a sud-est e che sarebbe divenuto più tardi il capoluogo della *provincia Melitana* ([11]) sotto il normanno Ruggero I.

Ma dall'età di Cicerone al X secolo d.C. la storia della cittadina rimane avvolta nel buio più fitto. Tutto, invece, ci riporta al periodo medio-bizantino, e Mileto, se non fu un *oppidulum* romano, fu certamente un *castrum* bizantino. Numerose, in questo caso, sono le testimonianze che confermano l'esistenza della cittadina in tale periodo, a partire dalle citazioni contenute negli scrittori mussulmani e nei *βίοι* dei Santi italo-greci ([12]) alla presenza della primitiva chiesa parrocchiale detta la *Cattolica* ([13]) – attestazione indiscutibile di

(10) F. COSTABILE, *op. cit.*, p. 71. Tale articolo è corredato da una serie di foto della soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria riproducenti i mosaici messi in luce nel 1939.

(11) MALATERRA, *cit.*, p. 48.

(12) Nella cronaca di Ibn-al-Atîr, detto al-Gazân, Mileto nel 982 era in mano ai mussulmani, i quali vennero cacciati da Ottone II, reduce da Stilo (M. AMARI, *Biblioteca ..., cit.*, p. 433 ; ved. anche *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, traduz. di E. Fagnan, Algeri, 1901, p. 36). Quanto ai *βίοι*, la cittadina è ricordata col toponimo *Μαλαΐτος* (lettura *Malétos*) nel *Βίος* di S. Saba (G. COZZA-LUZZI, *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii*, Romae, 1893, paragrafo 9) e con l'espressione *Μαλίτου* in quello di S. Elia da Reggio detto lo Speleota (870-960) (*Acta Sanctorum*, Bollandisti, Septembris, III, Venezia, 1761, p. 868, n. 50).

(13) L'esistenza di questa chiesa è ampiamente documentata sia dagli scrittori locali settecenteschi, quali I. Piperni e U. M. Napolione (per i quali, v. nota 2, *supra*) sia dalle due note vedute dell'antica città di Mileto (quella del XVII sec. e quella del 1703 del Pacichelli) ripubblicate recentemente da G. OCCHIATO, *La SS. Trinità di Mileto, Catanzaro, 1977, figg. 31 e 33, e IDEM., Una «memoria» inedita ..., cit.*, figg. 11 e 12.

bizantinità, come ognun sa – al frequente ritrovamento nel vecchio sito abitativo di monete appartenenti con tutta probabilità al X o all'XI secolo ([14]) ed, infine, alla iscrizione che costituisce l'oggetto delle presenti pagine. Il *castrum* doveva sicuramente essere costituito da un borgo difeso da un fortilizio ([15]), e con la sua posizione naturale privilegiata, dominante le vie di accesso alla vallata, soprattutto la via Popilia, posta a sud della collina sulla quale l'abitato si arroccava, presidiava gran parte delle zone centro-meridionali della regione, particolarmente la regione del Poro, che si apriva a ventaglio a nord-ovest, e la piana del Mesima, che si estendeva a sud-est. Sarebbe interessante riuscire a stabilire con maggiore precisione in quale momento di questo ampio periodo medio-bizantino (VIII-XI secolo) sia potuta sorgere la cittadina, se il suo primo nucleo si sia costituito assai presto, ossia quando aveva inizio la riellenizzazione del *Bruttium* e si veniva istituendo il ducato di Calabria (verso la metà del VII secolo) ([16]), o se più tardi, dopo il distacco della chiese di Calabria da Roma, quando la Regione era già divenuta di lingua, di diritto e di rito bizantina (verso la metà dell'VIII secolo) ([17]), o se molto più tardi ancora, come alcuni studiosi sono propensi a credere. Lo scarno

(14) Numerose sono le monete bizantine anonime possedute da privati cittadini miletesi. Solo alcune di queste sono state di recente rese note in «Beni Culturali a Mileto di Calabria», *cit.*, pp. 103-107, con una nota molto generica. Da un riscontro con la letteratura sulla monetazione bizantina, soltanto due di quelle pubblicate (p. 107) sono sicuramente identificabili come bizantine, e probabilmente appartengono entrambe all'età dell'imp. Giovanni I Zimisce, asceso al trono nel 969, dopo la morte di Niceforo II (cf. S. SABATIER, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, vol. II, Paris, 1862, tav. XLVIII, n. 3 e n. 6). H. LONGUET (*Introduction à la numismatique byzantine*, London, 1961) attribuisce la seconda a Teodora (1055-1056), figlia di Costantino VIII, sulle orme di W. W. Wroth (*Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908). Invece C. MORRISON (*Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la bibliothèque nationale*, vol. II, Paris, 1970) le classifica entrambe come monete anonime del sec. XI (pp. 596-605).

(15) Sul significato di *castrum*, ved. P. TOUBERT, *La terre et les hommes dans l'Italie normande au temps de Roger II : l'exemple campanien*, in «Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II – Terze Giornate Normanno-sveve, Bari, 22-25 maggio 1977», Bari, 1979, pp. 57-60 ; J.-M. MARTIN, *Les communautés d'habitants de la Pouille et leurs rapports avec Roger II*, *ibidem*, pp. 75-81 ; Ch. NOYE-A. M. FLAMBARD, *Le château de Scribla. Étude archéologique*, *ibidem.*, pp. 222-23.

(16) V. v. FALKENHAUSEN, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, trad. it. Bari, 1978, pp. 6-8.

(17) F. RUSSO, *Storia della Chiesa ...*, *cit.*, pp. 185-188.

corpus testimoniale testè esaminato predica a favore di una fondazione piuttosto tarda, quando cioè, dopo la riconquista di Niceforo Foca, il ducato di Calabria venne riorganizzato e vennero riparati i danni di guerra sia in Puglia che in Calabria (fine IX secolo) ([18]), o quando si formò il *thema* di Calabria, fra il 938 ed il 956 ([19]) ; in sostanza, non si rimonterebbe che di poco al di là del periodo (la metà del X secolo) indicato dal Lenormant e dal Monaco ([20]) quale probabile epoca di fondazione di Mileto, per fissarla quindi approssimativamente alla prima metà dello stesso X secolo, così come le citazioni dei *βίοι* fanno arguire ([21]). Quanto alla argomentazioni del Capialbi che, basandosi sulla già ricordata iscrizione cruciforme scomparsa, fa risalire la fondazione di Mileto all'VIII secolo ([22]), sono state dimostrate erronee dal Cozza-Luzzi ([23]) e da altri studiosi ([24]), i quali assegnerebbero l'epigrafe pubblicata dal Capialbi al XII secolo.

Onde essere in grado di determinare con più esattezza il periodo in cui sorse la vecchia Mileto, è necessario disporre, pertanto, di nuovi dati e di nuovi elementi documentali. Il cimelio di cui si ci sta occupando in questo scritto potrebbe essere uno di tali elementi nuovi ? Potrebbe dirci qualcosa di conclusivo in merito al nostro problema ? È possibile, in definitiva, mettere in relazione la nascita di Mileto con il manufatto in esame, posto che si riesca ad accertarne la cronologia ?

Si presenta, di conseguenza, un nuovo enigma da risolvere, ossia quello della datazione della colonna con l'iscrizione cruciforme. Poichè con il crollo e la scomparsa del vecchio abitato (Fig. 12) è

(18) V. v. FALKENHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 26 e p. 148.

(19) *Idem.*, pp. 30-31.

(20) F. LENORMANT, *op. cit.*, III, p. 258, afferma che Mileto venne fondata «à la même époque que Catanzaro», ossia poco dopo la metà del sec. X, sotto Niceforo Foca (963-969), da Niceforo maestro, che le avrebbe dato il nome. G. MONACO, *op. cit.*, p. 196, sostiene che fondatori di Mileto sarebbero stati dei cittadini di Nicotera, fuggiti l'anno 951 dalla loro città, distrutta dai saraceni.

(21) I *βίοι* di S. Elia e di S. Saba, citati alla nota 12, *supra*, con precisi riferimenti ai primi decenni del X secolo, fanno inequivocabilmente presupporre l'esistenza della cittadina miletese molto prima delle date indicate dal Lenormant e dal Monaco (ved. nota 20, *supra*).

(22) V. CAPIALBI, *Memorie per servire ...*, *cit.*, p. XXXVIII.

(23) Cf. nota 1, *supra.*

(24) Cf. G. MONACO, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-194, laddove riporta l'opinione del card. Mercati e di altri esperti.

venuta meno anche la cornice architettonica entro cui essa si inseriva e conseguentemente è irrecuperabile ogni altro possibile riferimento con la stessa, il problema cronologico è affidato alla interpretazione della colonna (al suo significato ed alla sua funzione) ed all'esame paleografico delle lettere che ne compongono la scritta.

L'una e l'altra cosa sono di esclusiva pertinenza degli specialisti, che per fortuna in questo campo non difettano ; soltanto essi potranno rivelare la cronologia e dare l'interpretazione autentica del manufatto.

Descrizione del manufatto

Mi limito, nelle presenti pagine, alla sola presentazione del reperto in parola, senza azzardare giudizi personali o avanzare illazioni improbabili, con la speranza che ciò stimoli qualche ricercatore a volerne tentare un esame approfondito. Aggiungo che ho interpellato alcuni studiosi per averne una prima valutazione ; riporterò più avanti anche i loro pareri, che credo possano servire, se non come punto di partenza per una futura indagine, certamente come dati di confronto.

Osserviamo, intanto, più da vicino il manufatto. Si tratta di una colonnina in marmo bianco con venature grigie, attualmente giacente in uno dei cortili dell'Episcopio, dove è esposta alle intemperie e ad attentati di ogni genere, di attesa di essere trasferita nel costruendo museo vescovile (Figg. 1, 2).

Il fusto misura cm 273 in lunghezza, ed è leggermente rastremato verso una delle estremità ; infatti, i diametri delle due basi misurano rispettivamente cm 45,5 e cm 41.

A circa due terzi della lunghezza, partendo dalla base maggiore – vale a dire all'altezza dell'occhio di una persona di media statura, considerando la colonna nella sua posizione più naturale, cioè ritta – vi è inciso un cerchio perfetto, del diametro di 25 centimetri, nel cui interno vi è una croce con una iscrizione in greco-bizantino (Fig. 3). Tutta l'incisione risulta poco profonda, ed è regolare nel suo intero sviluppo, ossia non vi si notano chiaroscuri, ma il tratto sia delle lettere che delle linee è uguale in tutti i punti, seppure qua e là danneggiato dalle fortunose vicende cui la colonna è andata incontro.

Il cerchio crociato è, dunque, a cm 165 dal piano di posa del fusto ; più in basso, a distanza di cm 53 da esso e di cm 68,5 dalla base maggiore, vi è un gruppo di forellini eseguiti al trapano, disposti in

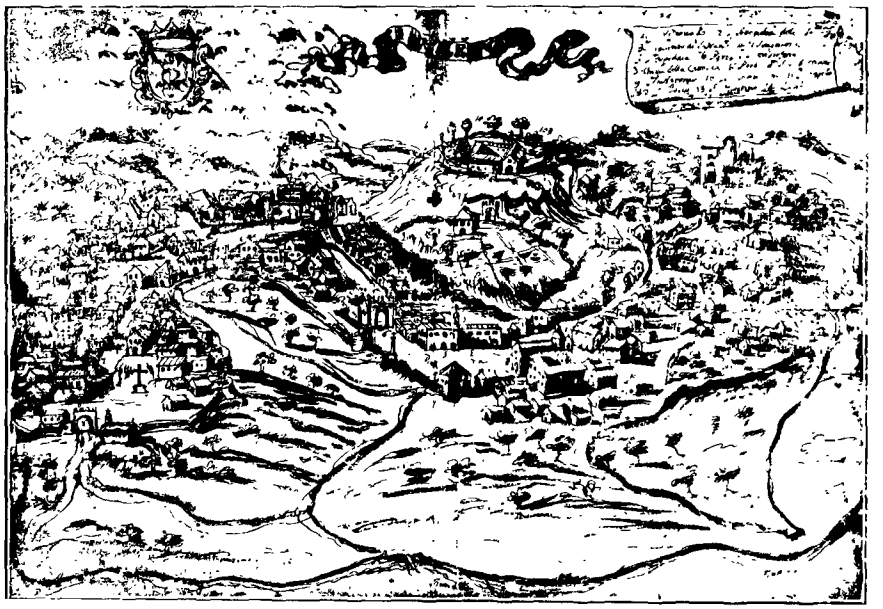


FIG. 7. – Una veduta della vecchia Mileto tratta «da un manoscritto del sec. XVII», pubblicata per la prima volta da F. PITITTO, *Per la consacrazione della Cattedrale di Mileto*, Vibo Valentia, 1930, pag. 32.

Nel cartiglio in alto a destra si legge la seguente nomenclatura: *1. Vescovado. 2. Abbadia della SS. Trinità. 3. Convento di S. Francesco. 4. Seminario. 5. Ospedale. 6. Porta di S. Cristoforo. 7. Chiesa della Cattolica. 8. Porta di S. Sebastinao. 9. S. Antonio. 10. Cappuccini. 11. S. Angelo. 12. S. Rocco. 13. S. Martino. 14. S. Catharina.*

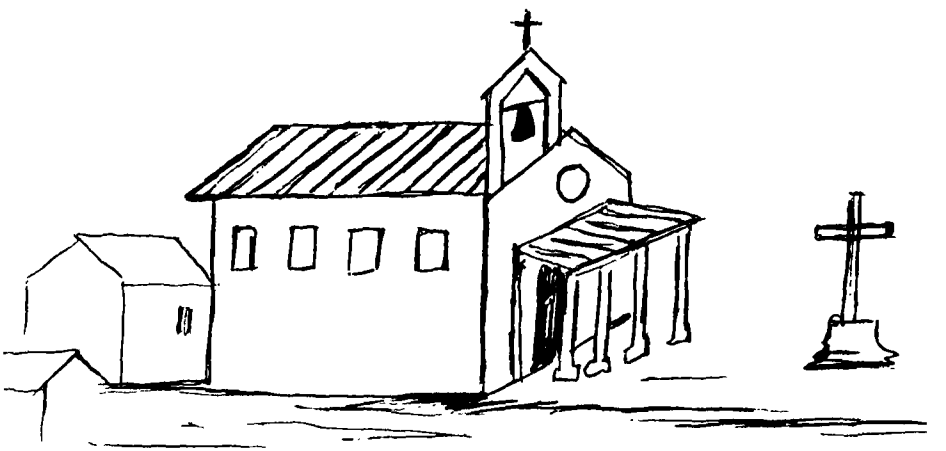


FIG. 8. – Mileto. Un particolare della veduta del sec. XVII, riproducente la chiesa della *Cattolica*.

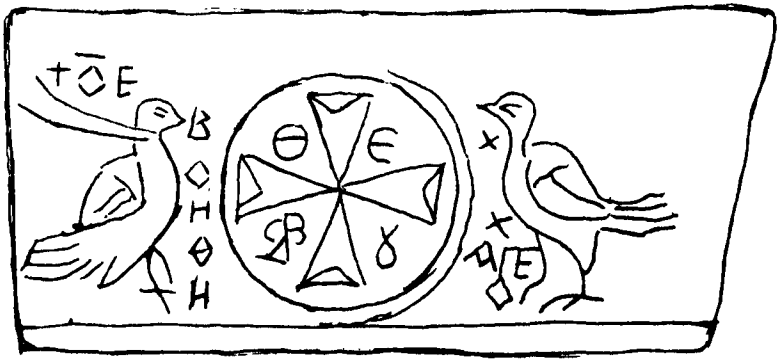


FIG. 9. – Santa Severina. Pulvino del c.d. Battistero (da Orsi, 1929).

FIG. 10. – Stilo, chiesetta della *Cattolica*.
L'iscrizione incisa su una delle colonne (da BOZZONI-TAVERNITI, 1977).

FIG. 11. – La croce della *Cattolica* di Mileto nel disegno riportato dal Capialbi.

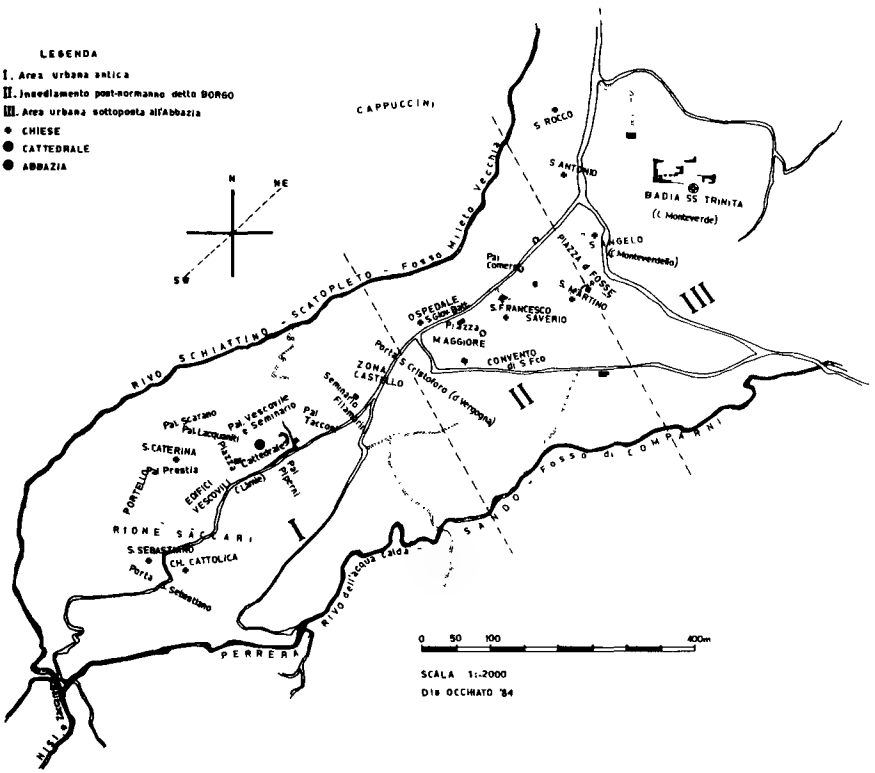


FIG. 12. – Mileto. Rappresentazione grafica della vecchia città, con l'indicazione dei principali edifici sacri e civili (da OCCHIATO-BARTULI, 1984).

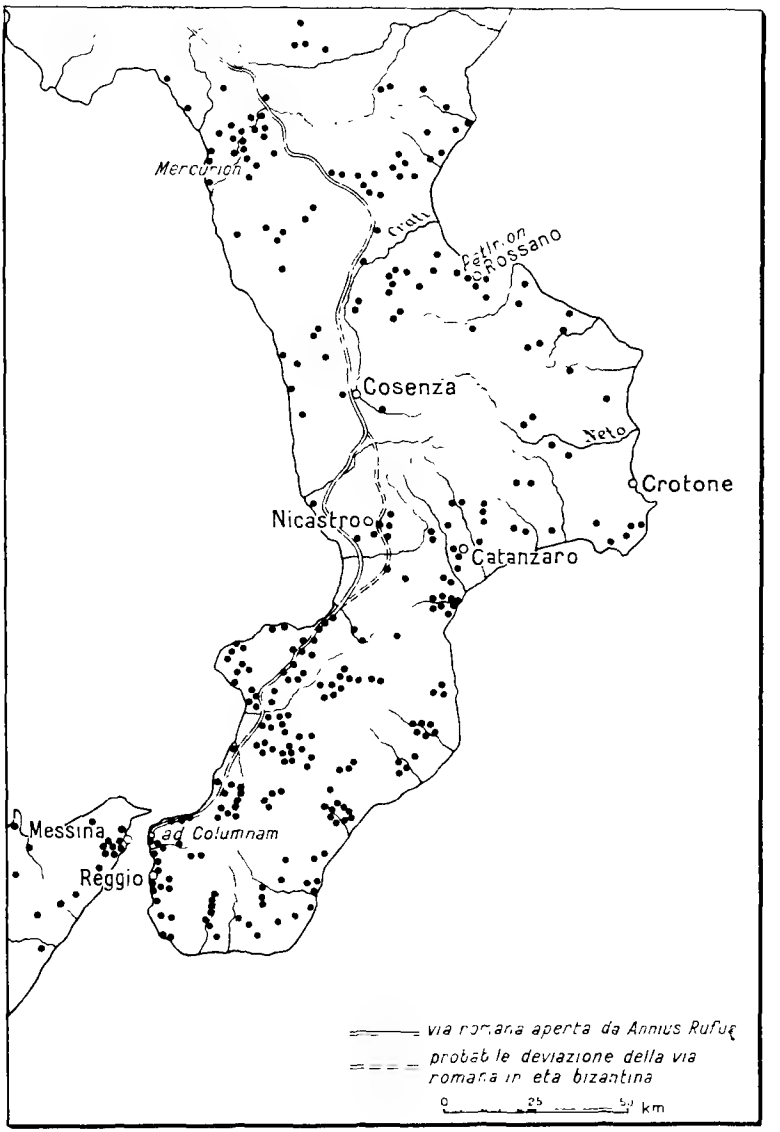


FIG. 13. – La via consolare romana detta Popilia, aperta verso il 128 a.C. da Annius Rufus. Nella cartina sono localizzati con dischi neri i monasteri bizantini sorti fra i secc. VII e X (da GAMBI, 1965).

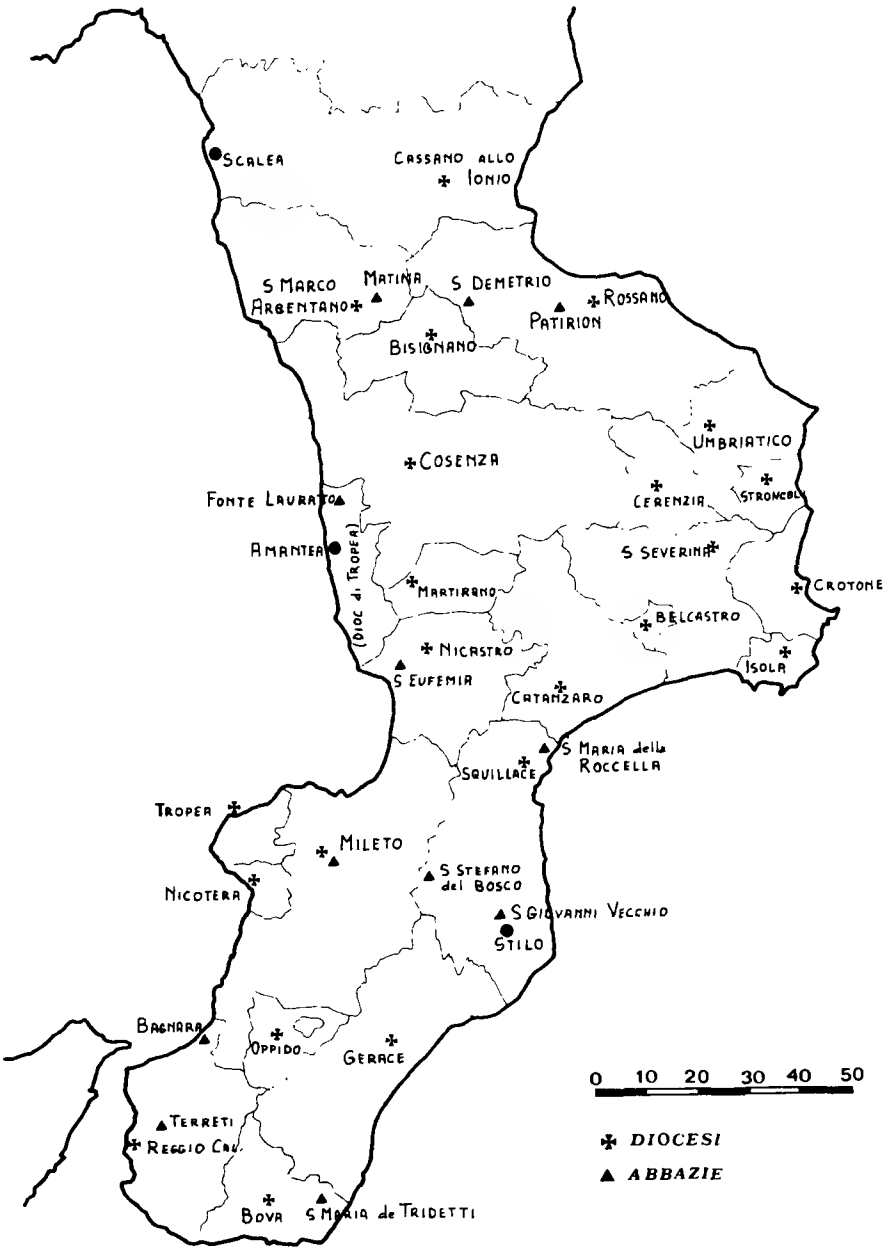


FIG. 14. — La Calabria. Centri monumentali medievali.

modo da assumere la forma di una croce ; questa croce ha una lunghezza di cm 19,5 (Fig. 4).

La colonnina giace in mezzo a numerose altre colonne, intere a spezzate, di dimensioni e materiali diversi, tutte ritenute provenienti dalle distrutte fabbriche ecclesiali della cattedrale e dell'abbazia della SS. Trinità, chiese innalzate nell'XI secolo, come sappiamo, dal Gran Conte Ruggero ([25]). È possibile, però, che alcuni dei fusti ivi ammassati, e fra essi anche la colonna in esame, provengano da qualche altro edificio chiesastico della vecchia Mileto di cui siamo a conoscenza ([26]) ; fra queste chiese, costantemente ricordata nella letteratura antica (regionale e locale) risulta la *Cattolica*, prsente anche nelle due raffigurazioni vedutistiche più antiche che si posseggano della cittadina scomparsa, e che consistono in un disegno a penna (Fig. 7), schizzato verso la fine del XVII secolo, reso noto per la prima volta nel 1930 da F. Pititto ([27]), e in una incisione all'acquaforte pubblicata nel 1703 dal Pacichelli ([28]) (Fig. 6).

Quanto all'abbazia ed alla cattedrale, sappiamo che avevano numerose colonne nei corpi delle navate ; non così delle altre chiese. Tuttavia, dal *croquis* del XVII secolo veniamo a scoprire che la chiesetta della *Cattolica* possedeva un avancorpo addossato alla facciata, con tetto ad unico spiovente, in forma di atrio sorretto da quattro sostegni, i quali, sebbene nel disegno non siano perfettamente leggibili, potrebbero essere interpretati come colonne ([29]) (Fig. 8). È possibile,

(25) Sulle due celebri fabbriche ruggeriane, sorte fra il 1063 ed il 1085 circa, cf. C. BOZZONI, *Calabria normanna*, Roma, 1974, passim ; G. OCCHIATO, *La SS. Trinità di Mileto*, Catanzaro, 1977 ; IDEM., *Interpretazione dell'antica cattedrale normanna di Mileto attraverso la scoperta di nuove tesimonianze*, in «Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte Med. e Mod., Fac. di lettere e filosofia, Università di Messina», III (1979), pp. 6-15 ; IDEM., *L'architettura del periodo normanno*, in «Beni Culturali a Mileto di Calabria», *cit.*, pp. 51-68.

(26) Per queste chiese, cf. gli scritti di U. M. Napolione e di L. Piperni, di cui alla nota 2 di questo articolo ; ved., anche, D. TACCONE GALLUCCI, *Monografia della città e diocesi di Mileto*, II ediz. Modena, 1882, *passim*.

(27) F. PITITTO, *Per la consacrazione della cattedrale di Mileto*, Vibo Valentia, 1930, p. 32. L'originale è irreperibile ; se ne conserva una copia in casa di privati cittadini miletesi.

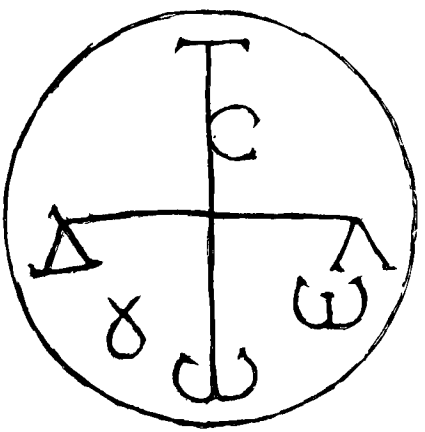
(28) G. B. PACICHELLI, *Del Regno di Napoli in Prospettiva*, Napoli, 1703.

(29) È troppo poco per avanzare suggestive illazioni, ma la presenza di un nartex antistante alla facciata della *Cattolica* potrebbe costituire un elemento di riscontro con la chiesetta bizantina degli Ottimati di Reggio Calabria, che sembra avesse pure

quindi, che la colonnina di cui ci si sta occupando facesse parte del colonnato di questo portichetto antistante alla facciata ; e il riferimento non sarebbe per nulla forzato, dato che la *Cattolica* era la chiesa più antica di Mileto, fondata anteriormente alla conquista normanna della cittadina, anzi era la chiesa principale all'epoca in cui Mileto era bizantina ([30]).

Decifrazione dell'incisione

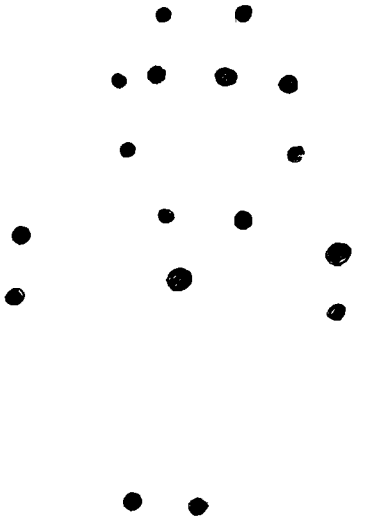
L'incisione raffigurante la croce inscritta nel cerchio e contornata da lettere greco-bizantine si presenta così :



un simile elemento architettonico (sulla chiesetta degli Ottimati e sulla sua identificazione con la «Cattolica» della città di Reggio Calabria, cf. F. Arillotta, *La chiesa bizantina degli Ottimati*, in «Brutium», n.s., LXI (1982), n. 1, pp. 5-9) ; F. Mosino-F. Arillotta, *Una questione di metodo*, in «Brutium», n.s., LXI (1982), n. 2, pp. 3-5.

(30) Dopo la fondazione della diocesi, la *Cattolica* divenne una filiale della parrocchia della Cattedrale, e come tale esistette fino al crollo del 1783 ; i miletesi tuttavia la vollero ricostruire nel nuovo abitato sorto poco dopo (cf. «Beni Culturali a Mileto di Calabria», *cit.*, pp. 138-141).

e la disposizione dei forellini è la seguente :



Il manufatto, sebbene conosciuto da quasi tutti gli studiosi locali precedentemente ricordati, non ebbe il favore di nessuno : D. Taccone Gallucci non ne fa alcun cenno in nessuna delle sue opere ; F. Pititto si limita a riportare l'incisione in uno schizzo, definendola un monogramma ([31]) ; il Capialbi, come sappiamo, rivolge il suo interesse a tutt'altra incisione, scomparsa già ai suoi tempi, ma non a questa ; ed infine C. Naccari le dedica appena due righe, nelle quali ne parla come di «un monogramma indecifrabile» ([32]).

Così, l'enigma di quel cimelio, ancora ai nostri giorni, era tutto da decifrare. Personalmente, ero attratto dal fascino di quel disegno misterioso. Mi sarebbe piaciuto carpirne il segreto, scoprire il significato di quell'iscrizione, certo com'ero che il reperto doveva riferirsi ad un periodo fra i meno conosciuti della storia miletese, quello prenormanno, un periodo che si presentava come una lacuna storica nel panorama degli studi e delle pubblicazioni concernenti l'antica città. Mi incuriosiva conoscerne il significato e la funzione, nonchè averne una cronologia meglio precisata.

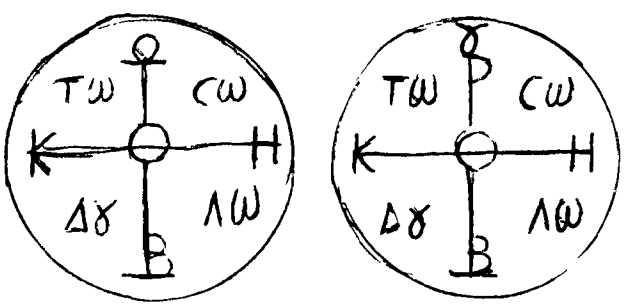
(31) F. PITITTO, *Per la consacrazione ..., cit.*, p. 43.

(32) C. NACCARI, *Cenni storici intorno alla città di Mileto*, Laureana di Borrello, 1931, p. 157.

Ho chiesto, perciò, il parere degli esperti. Il primo a cui mi sono rivolto e che mi ha fornito le prime informazioni è stato l'amico Domenico Minuto. Questi, pregato da me di darne una interpretazione, mi comunicava di essere riuscito nell'intento. Il testo della sua lettera è riportato in appendice ; qui ne sintetizzo il contenuto.

In primo luogo, Minuto afferma che non ci troviamo in presenza di un monogramma, così come la forma dell'incisione suggerirebbe a prima vista ; infatti, leggendola come tale, ne verrebbe fuori una interpretazione che non collima con altre considerazioni sia d'ordine grammaticale che di area geografica. La lettura dell'opera dello Schlumberger sui sigilli bizantini ([33]) lo immette però sulla strada della giusta interpretazione. Da un riscontro con analoghe iscrizioni presenti su innumerevoli sigilli, recanti la frase *TW CW ΔYΛW* (= *al tuo servo*) divisa nei quarti creati da una croce quasi sempre monogrammata (avente il significato dell'espressione *ΘEOTOKE*, o *KYPIE*, a seconda dei casi, *BOHΘEI* = *Madre di Dio*, oppure *Signore, proteggi*) e che recavano il nome del personaggio inciso sul retro dei sigilli, veniva fuori la seguente lettura dell'iscrizione miletese : *TW CW* dalle sillabe che compaiono sul braccio verticale, e *ΔYΛW* dalle lettere poste accanto al braccio orizzontale ; cosicchè, dando alla croce (che

(33) G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, Paris, 1884. Innumerevoli sono gli esempi che lo Schlumberger porta di sigilli, datati fra l'VIII ed il IX secolo, molti dei quali provenienti dai temi di Sicilia, di Langobardia e di Calabria, ed appartenenti a personaggi ecclesiastici, militari e di corte. In particolare, si ricorda qui il sigillo di Basilio, protospatario imperiale e duca di Calabria (p. 221), conservato nel Gabinetto Naz. delle medaglie di Atene, ed un altro, appartenuto a Costantino, anch'egli protospatario imperiale e duca di Calabria, conservato nel Museo di Catanzaro (p. 221). Le legende di tutti questi sigilli con monogrammi cruciformi sono del tipo : *KYPIE* (opp. *ΘEOTOKE*) *BOHΘEI TW CW ΔYΛW* (= Signore, Madre di Dio, proteggi il tuo servo), con il nome e il titolo sul retro. Gli schemi sono i seguenti (il primo invoca la Madonna ed il secondo il Signore) :



qui non è monogrammatica) il significato di *KYPIE BOHΘEI*, si avrebbe la seguente lettura completa della scritta : *KYPIE BOHΘEI TΩ CΩ ΔΥΛΩ = Signore, proteggi il tuo servo.*

Quale servo ? si chiede Minuto. E così prosegue : «Se il costruttore, fondatore, donatore, ecc. ; insomma, se il vescovo locale avesse voluto apporre il suo nome, non avrebbe imitato lo schema dei sigilli, per non correre il rischio di porre il nome stesso in un impossibile *verso.* Avrebbe usato un suo monogramma, fra l'altro più pomposo. D'altra parte, se si è posto lo schema di un sigillo, lo si è fatto per usare un segno diffusissimo e di chiara lettura. Dunque, il nome lo poneva ogni lettore ; il suo. Ritengo perciò che la colonna fosse posta all'ingresso e che il suo segno invitasse i fedeli a invocare il nome del Signore, ad imitazione della diffusissima giaculatoria : *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ἐλεί-σον με = Signore Gesù Cristo, abbi pietà di me. Amen – Amen – Amen*».

Minuto è dell'avviso che la colonna fosse posta accanto all'ingresso di un luogo di culto ; ebbene, supponendo, così come si è fatto, la presenza di un portichetto antistante alla chiesetta della *Cattolica*, la colonna avrebbe potuto far parte del colonnato di questo, cosicchè il devoto, passandovi accanto per entrare in chiesa, avrebbe avuto l'iscrizione proprio all'altezza dei suoi occhi e avrebbe mentalmente recitato l'invocazione. È opinabile che sulle altre colonne la scritta continuasse con altre epigrafi analoghe, sì da dare una iscrizione attraverso epigrafi disposte in successione continua.

Interpretata in tal modo la scritta e spiegata, plausibilmente, anche la funzione della colonnina, rimanevano da indagare i forellini e, soprattutto, la cronologia. Ho fatto ricorso, perciò, al parere di altri studiosi, quali Gaetano Passarelli e Philip Grierson ; quest'ultimo, a suo volta, ha interpellato l'archeologo americano Clive Foss. Vediamo quanto si è potuto appurare intorno alle due questioni.

Circa il gruppo dei forellini, Passarelli e Foss concordano nel ritenere che siano dei piccoli alloggiamenti in cui si dovevano incastrare i sostegni di qualche applicazione in metallo ; dalla loro disposizione si ricaverebbe la forma di una croce, la quale (in bronzo, ferro od altro metallo, e forse con alcune decorazioni nella parte superiore dell'asta verticale) sarebbe stata attacata alla colonna con delle grappe ; Passarelli però non esclude l'ipotesi che possa trattarsi di qualche altra raffigurazione, forse anche una immagine con il nome del «servo» sul quale doveva ricadere la protezione del Signore.

Quanto a quest'ultimo personaggio, il «servo», Passarelli contempla ancora la possibilità che il suo nome, anche in forma di monogramma, potesse essere affisso o ad una colonna dirimpettaia o a quella seguente, ove si trattasse di sostegni disposti in serie (come nel supposto porticato della *Cattolica*) con una iscrizione formata da una serie di epigrafi, secondo l'ipotesi di Clive Foss appresso riportata.

Il problema della datazione

E veniamo al problema della datazione del reperto.

«Difficile da stabilire», osserva l'archeologo Clive Foss. «L'analisi più indicata è un riscontro con i monogrammi dei sigilli in piombo bizantini ; questi tipi cruciformi sono di solito arcaici (v-vi secolo), ma le lettere isolate nello sfondo potrebbero suggerire un periodo più tardo. Una serie di monogrammi messi assieme per formare una iscrizione potrebbe essere più tipica del ix secolo o più tarda».

G. Passarelli, a sua volta, è propenso per una datazione ancora più bassa, ricadente in età normanna. La sua ipotesi si basa sull'esame delle lettere che compongono la scritta. Cosa può suggerire la forma delle lettere ? egli si domanda. E così continua : «E' una tesi che sto portando avanti da tempo, ma non vi sono repertori, non dico completi, ma almeno soddisfacenti in tale settore. In linea di massima, basandomi su un piccolo repertorio che abbraccia un po' tutto l'impero bizantino dal v sec. al xviii e sulla mia esperienza, sarei dell'avviso che tale scritta sia del periodo normanno, quindi la collocherei fra l'xi e il xii secolo.

«La mia ipotesi si basa sulla somiglianza morfologica di alcune lettere con quelle di un'epigrafe funeraria di Lecce (n° 3678 del Museo Castromediano» dell'xi sec., di un'iscrizione di S. Nicola di Bari del 1011 (?), dell'iscrizione di Forza d'Agrò del 1172 (v. Passarelli G., *Le Epigrafi bizantine al Museo Castromediano di Lecce*, «Archivi e Cultura», 14 (1980), p. 57, tav. I, 3-5). Ed inoltre con alcune iscrizioni riportate in N. Moutsopoulos, *La Morphologie des Inscriptions Byzantines et post-byzantines de Grèce*, «Cyrillomethodianum», 3 (1975), pp. 53-105, v. soprattutto p. 67, tav. 3 (iscrizioni di S. Giovanni Magutis, sec. xii).

«Non le nascondo che il problema morfologico delle lettere, non potendo avere dei repertori completi, può trarre in inganno enormemente perchè vi sono dei 'revival', cosicchè ci sono forme simili nel

v sec., nell'VIII sec., nel XI-XII sec. e così via. Poi, purtroppo, conosciamo alcune zone ed altre no ; i settori provinciali sono ritardatari e ripetitivi. Insomma, bisogna essere molto prudenti.

«Il fatto che il gran Conte Ruggero abbia prediletto tanto Mileto e che, nonostante la erigesse a diocesi latina, i suoi proclami fossero in greco, potrebbero essere una pista» ([34]).

Il richiamo alla prudenza di Passarelli mi induce a non avanzare congetture personali al di là di quelle più autorevoli qui sopra riportate. Certo, mi sarebbe piaciuta una datazione più alta del pezzo, in modo che della storia di Mileto venisse svelata una pagina più antica di quanto non lo siano quelle fin qui conosciute.

Ma, qualunque possa essere la sua connessione con le origini di Mileto, lo studio del nostro manufatto – anche perchè credo che si tratti di un esemplare abbastanza raro, se non unico ([35]) – è utile per la conoscenza della bizantinità calabrese, sia che possa esser collocato nel X secolo, in età medio-bizantina, sia nell'XI, quando in tempi normanni ancora si protraevano usi, riti, lingua, diritti e ordinamenti civici ([36]) legati al mondo bizantino. Sono tuttavia del parere che, se affrontata direttamente sul pezzo, l'analisi di esso potrà dare un risultato meno elastico, tale cioè che si precisino i due termini di un arco cronologico al quale stabilmente agganciarlo.

Da una indagine più accurata del reperto, credo possa venir data una risposta anche ad altri interrogativi collaterali, quali : si tratta

(34) Sul contenuto di questa asserzione di G. Passarella, cf. C. BOZZONI, *Calabria normanna ..., cit.*, p. 30 ; C. G. MOR, *Riflessi bizantini nell'organizzazione calabrese*, in «Atti del IV Congresso Storico Calabrese (Cosenza, 1966), Napoli, 1969, pp. 374-375 ; H. ENZENSBERGER, *Cancelleria e documentazione sotto Ruggero I di Sicilia*, in «Ruggero il Gran Conte e l'inizio dello Stato normanno – Seconde Giornate Normanno-sveve, Bari, maggio 1975), Roma, 1977, pp. 15-23 ; C. G. MOR, *Ruggero Gran Conte e l'avvio alla formazione dell'ordinamento normanno, ibidem.*, pp. 101-112 ; V. v. FALKENHAUSEN, *I bizantini in Italia*, in AA. VV., *I bizantini in Italia*, libri Scheiwiller, Credito Italiano, Milano, 1982, p. 126 e segg.

(35) Cf. C. G. MOR, *Ruggero Gran Conte ..., cit.*, p. 106.

(36) Una iscrizione (Fig. 9) che potrebbe presentare analogie con la croce di Mileto è quella rinvenuta su un pulvino del considdetto battistero di S. Severina. È stata resa nota per la prima volta da P. Orsi (*Le chiese basiliane ..., cit.*, p. 198, fig. 140) ; l'interpretazione data dallo studioso – *Θ/ εοθῶκ/ε βοήθη Θε/ ο/δώρου ἀρχ/ ιε/πε / σκόπ/ο/ υ/* – è stata di recente meglio precisata da M. Castelfranchi Falla (cf. *«HE AGHIA SEBERIANE». Note sul cosiddetto Battistero*, in «Magna Graecia», XII (1977), n. 1-2, pp. 5-8), che ne propone invece la lettura : *Th(eotok)e boèthei Theodhòrou apo e(parchon).*

davvero di un *unicum* o esistono altri esemplari del genere ? Il manufatto è dovuto a maestranze locali o proviene da tutt'altro lembo dell'ecumene bizantina ? E la funzione da esso svolta è proprio quella intuita da Minuto oppure, collocato in altra cornice architettonica, potrebbe aver assolto ad altro ufficio, diverso da quello ipotizzato ?

Mi auguro che tali interrogativi possano suscitare un'eco nella buona disposizione degli specialisti delle varie discipline interessate e nella loro volontà di accogliere favorevolmente il presente invito.

Prato, febbraio 1985. Giuseppe OCCHIATO.

APPENDICE

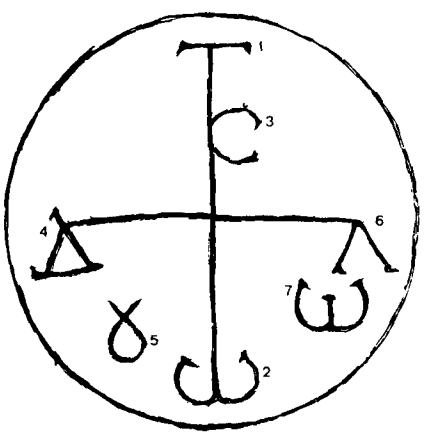
Riporto qui appresso le lettere di Domenico Minuto, di Gaetano Passarelli, di Philip Grierson e di Clive Foss – che ringrazio cordialmente – perchè il lettore possa operare un facile riscontro fra i brani sinteticamente o per esteso riportati nel corso del precedente scritto ed il testo integrale delle lettere.

I. Lettera di Domenico Minuto

Reggio Cal. 27.2.1981.

Carissimo, ti chiedo scusa se ho fatto passare tanto tempo prima di scriverti. Mille stupide cose mi hanno impedito di approfondire l'argomento del monogramma, che ora non mi sembra più tale, come ti dirò. C'è anche il fatto della poca disponibilità a Reggio di libri opportuni : per questo i risultati sono poco significativi.

Dunque : schematizzo il disegno che c'è sulla colonna, indicando i segni con i numeri :



1 = *T*
2 = *ω*
3 = *Σ*
4 = *Δ*
5 = *OY*
6 = *Λ*
7 = *ω*

La bibliografia che ho consultato si compone di soli tre libri, tutti e tre vecchiotti :

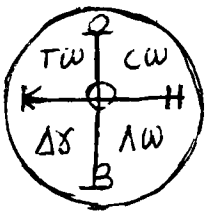
A) W. Pape-G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, Graz, 1959 ;

B) H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus grecae linguae*, Paris, 1831-1865 ;

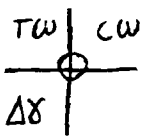
C) G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, Paris, 1884.

La prima interpretazione era stata quella di unire tutte le lettere in un monogramma di un unico nome ; inoltre la lettera 3 l'avevo interpretata come E e non coma *C* = *Σ*. Pertanto veniva il nome *ΤΕΩΔΟΥΛΩ* che aveva tre problemi : lo scambio della lettera iniziale *T* per *Θ* ; le scambio della terza lettera *Ω* per *O* ; l'interpretazione del caso dativo (di agente ? = *fatto da Teodulo* ?). Ma, a parte questi problemi, mi è sembrato evidente che la lettera 3 fosse una *C* = *Σ*. Comunque, ammesso e non concesso che sia *E*, per eliminare i primi due problemi, ho cercato un altro nome. A) me ne indica due : *Ταρόδουνος*, illegibile nel nostro graffito ; e *Τέως*, dativo *Τέῳ*, molto opportuno. Ho creduto pertanto che *ΤΕΩΔΟΥΛΩ* fosse da scartare per *ΤΕΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ* cioè : (fatto dal) servo Teo ; oppure : (proteggi il) servo Teo. Però B) mi ha chiarito che *Τέως* è il nome di una città asiatica, e non ricorre come nome di persona. Ma da C) apprendiamo che :

1) in moltissimi sigilli compare la frase *ΤΩ CΩ ΔΥΛΩ* (al tuo servo) divisa nei quarti creati da una croce, di solito monogrammatica, così : cioè : *Θεοτόκε βοηθεί τῷ σῷ δούλῳ* = Madonna, proteggi il tuo servo (il nome è posto nel verso).



2) Per quanto abbia cercato, non ho trovato un esempio con questa frase scritta accanto ad una croce non monogrammata. Solo, a pag. 42, c'è il disegno di un sigillo incompleto, forse per corrosione :



3) Ma a p. 80 l'opinione di A. Mordtmann, tratta da una non meglio identificata *Conférence sur les sceaux et les plombs byzantins*, vedrebbe in un secondo gruppo di iscrizioni nei sigilli lettere più regolari accanto a croce semplice o soltanto *potencée* o a monogrammi cruciformi, esempi di età iconoclasta. Dunque, si attesta la presenza di questa frase accanto ad una croce semplice.

4) Inoltre a pag. 72 è attestato il *nexus* *ϖ* come *TΩ*. Da tutto ciò ricavo l'opinione che la frase vada letta secondo la seguente collocazione delle

lettere : 1, 2, 3, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, dando alla croce il significato di *Κύριε βοηθεί*, dunque : *(ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ) ΤΩ CΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ* = Signore, proteggi il tuo servo.

Quale servo ? Se il costruttore, fondatore, donatore, ecc., insomma, se il vescovo locale avesse voluto apporre il suo nome, non avrebbe imitato lo schema dei sigilli, per non correre il rischio di porre il nome stesso in un impossibile *verso*. Avrebbe usato un suo monogramma, fra l'altro più pomposo. D'altra parte, se si è posto lo schema di un sigillo, lo si è fatto per usare un segno diffusissimo e di chiara lettura (anche se io non l'ho capito subito). Dunque, il nome lo poneva ogni lettore ; il suo. Ritengo, perciò, che la colonna fosse posta all'ingresso e che il suo segno invitasse i fedeli a invocare il nome del Signore, ad imitazione della diffusissima giaculatoria : *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλείσον με* = Signore Gesù Cristo, abbi pietà di me. Amen – Amen – Amen.

Tuo aff. Minuto.

P.S. Naturalmente, non credo che sia di età iconoclasta, ma più tarda.

II. Lettera di Gaetano Passarelli

Roma, 26.3.1984.

Gentilissimo amico, mi dispiace se dopo cosi tanto tempo Le scrivo, ma gli impegni sono stati tanti, soprattutto in questo periodo.

Ebbene, forse, i risultati della mia ricerca La deluderanno un po', ma penso che, in coscienza, non era possibile poter ricavare di più. Le dirò che le ultime foto mi hanno chiarito ulteriormente le idee. Cominciamo dalle cose apparentemente più semplici. Inutile dirle che le mie sono solo ipotesi.

1) *Il gruppo dei forellini.* Si tratta verosimilmente di una serie di fori in cui si dovevano incastrare i sostegni di una qualche applicazione in metallo. Mi spiego : dalla forma che si potrebbe ricavare dalla disposizione dei fori mi sembra che fosse una croce in metallo (bronzo, ferro o altro) o forse anche qualche altra raffigurazione attaccata alla colonna con delle graffe. Ad avvalorare tale ipotesi vi è anche il fatto che il tutto doveva essere ad altezza d'uomo. Credo che non si possa ricavare nient'altro.

2) *Il monogramma.* Probabilmente la lettura che Lei aveva fatto è giusta : *τῷ σῷ δούλῳ* = forse 'dal tuo servo', prevedendo o nella parte inferiore, dove vi sono i forellini, una immagine con il nome o nella colonna dirimpettaia (o quella seguente), il monogramma col nome. Non avendo, quindi, nessun nome, è difficile poter dire qualcosa...

Ma, la forma delle lettere ? mi potrebbe ribattere. E' una tesi che sto portando avanti da tempo, ma non vi sono repertori, non dico completi, ma almeno soddisfacenti in tale settore. In linea di massima, basandomi su un

piccolo repertorio che abbraccia un po' tutto l'impero bizantino dal v sec. al XVIII e sulla mia esperienza, sarei dell'avviso che tale scritta sia del periodo normanno, quindi la collocherei fra XI ed il XII secolo.

La mia ipotesi si basa sulla somiglianza morfologica di alcune lettere con quelle di un'epigrafe funeraria di Lecce (n° 3678 del Museo Castromediano) dell'XI sec., di un'iscrizione di S. Nicola di Bari del 1011 (?), dell'iscrizione di Forza d'Agrò del 1172 (v. PASSARELLI G., *Le Epigrafi bizantine al museo Castromediano di Lece*, «Archivi e Cultura», 14 (1980), p. 57, tav. I, 3-5. Ed inoltre con alcune iscrizioni riportate in N. MOUTSOPOULOS, *La Morphologie des Inscriptions Byzantines et post-byzantines de Grèce*, «Cyrillomethodianum», 3 (1975), pp. 53-105 v. soprattutto p. 67, tav. 3 (iscrizioni di S. Giovanni Magutis sec. XII).

Non Le nascondo che il problema morfologico delle lettere, non potendo avere dei repertori completi, può trarre in inganno enormemente perchè vi sono dei 'revival', cosicchè ci sono forme simili nel v sec., nell'VIII sec., nel XI-XII sec. e così via. Poi, purtroppo, conosciamo alcune zone ed altre no ; i settori provinciali sono ritardatari e ripetitivi. Insomma, bisogna essere molto prudenti.

Il fatto che il gran Conte Ruggero abbia prediletto tanto Mileto e che, nonostante la erigesse a diocesi latina, i suoi proclami fossero in greco, potrebbe essere una pista. Per quanto riguarda il fenomeno dei monogrammi era molto diffuso nell'area bizantina in varie epoche. Molti di essi si possono trovare in articoli, soprattutto della Rivista «Dumbarton Oaks Papers», di C. Mango e I. Ševčenko, su iscrizioni microasiatiche e metropolitane.

La ringrazio della stima e della fiducia dimostrata nei miei confronti. Mi consideri sempre a sua disposizione. Cari saluti.

Gaetano Passarelli.

III. LETTERA DI PHILIP GRIERSON

Gonville and Caius College – Cambridge, 5 April 1984.

Dear Mr. Occhiato,

I have no competence at all in the field of Byzantine archaeology, so I kept your letter and enclosures until I could see my friend Professor Clive Foss, of the University of Massachusetts, who is spending this year as a Visiting Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He has great experience as an archeologist of the Greek and (especially) Byzantine periods in Asia Minor, and is the author of books on Ephesus and Sardis, as well as of many articles.

I saw him in Oxford last week-end, and enclose his comments, together with the material you sent me. If you have further queries, perhaps you could write directly to him. He evidently inclines towards a ninth century date, but

hedges his bets. He also explains the monogram, which I confess I could not have done.

Yours sincerely, Philip Grierson.

IV. Commento di Clive Foss

Column

Inscription : Monogram = '(to) your servant' probably part of a series which would have formed a continuous inscription of the kind, 'Lord (Virgin ...) bless your servant ...'.

Cuttings : Evidently intended to hold a metalwork cross, perhaps with some decoration in the top half.

Date : Hard to tell ; best check for parallels with the monograms in Byzantine lead seals ; these cruciform types are usually early (V-VIc), but the isolated letters in the field could indicate a later period. A series of monograms put together to form an inscription may more typical of 9th century or later : some examples were collected by C. Foss in *JOBG*, 1967 (included in H. Buchwald, The Church of the Archangels at Sige. Vienna, 1969).

Clive Foss.

NOTE FILOLOGICHE IV (*)

21. APOCALYPSIS ANASTASIAE, PRAEF. = P. 2, 1S. A HOMBURG

p. 2, 1s. P

τυ]φλοὺς θεραπεύειν καὶ λεπροὺς καθαρίζειν καὶ φαρμακευομένους διαλύειν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ποιοῦσα.

p. 2, 1s. A

τυφλοῖς τὸ βλέπειν χαριζομένη καὶ χωλοῖς περιπατεῖν, λεπροὺς καθαρίζειν καὶ τοὺς ὀχλουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐλευθεροῦν.

L'*Apocalypsis Anastasiae*, databile con *terminus ad quem* al X secolo, per la menzione certa di Niceforo II Foca e Giovanni I Tzimisce ([1]), si legge – dopo l'edizione incompleta di L. Radermacher ([2]), basata sull'unico *Par. gr.* 1631, saec. XV (= *Par.*) – nell'edizione Teubneriana di R. Homburg ([3]), sulla base dello stesso Parigino, dell'*Ambr.* A 56 sup., *a.* 1542 (= A) e del *Panorm.* III B 25, saec. XV seu XVI (= P). Il testo così si presenta : a) p. 1 : inizio tràdito dal solo cod. A ; b) pp. 2-5, 1 *πρόσωπον, καὶ* : redazione di P e redazione di A ; c) pp. 5, 1 *ταῖς πτέρυξιν* – 30 : redazione di P e redazione di A *Par.* ; d) pp. 31-36 : redazione di P, redazione di A e redazione di *Par.*

La presenza delle redazioni, due o tre, ha permesso all'editore tutta una serie d'interventi al testo, sulla base del confronto dei luoghi, si

(*) Per i precedenti numeri cf. *Δίπτυχα*, III (1982/83), pp. 124-129 ; *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, XLV (1981/82), pp. 253-261 ; *Vichiana*, n.s. XIII (1984) (= *Studi ... F. Arnaldi*), pp. 340-349.

(1) Studio sull'attribuzione e la datazione di R. HOMBURG, «Apocalypsis Anastasiae», in *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theologie*, XLVI (1903), pp. 434-466 ; ved. anche H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II, München, 1978 («Handb. d. Altertumsw.», XII, 5, 2 = «Byz. Handb.», V, 2), pp. 154 s.

(2) ANONYMI BYZANTINI, *De caelo et infernis epistula*, edidit L. RADERMACHER, Leipzig, 1898 («Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche», III, 2).

(3) *Apocalypsis Anastasiae* ad trium codicum auctoritatem ... edidit R. HOMBURG, Lipsiae, 1903.

da sanare aporie varie. Sulla stessa base, o per congettura, sono stati corretti numerosi 'errori' linguistici, che l'editore attribuisce alla trascuratezza degli scribi (4), laddove vanno quasi sempre considerati 'spie' dell'uso vivo e dell'evoluzione della lingua, non dimenticando la peculiarità del modello dato dall'*Apocalisse* giovannea (5), ed i caratteri complessivi degli scritti del genere (6), assieme alla necessità di valutare autonomamente le redazioni, essendo impossibile accertare la priorità dell'una sull'altra.

In quest'ottica, occorre ripristinare la lezione del codice nel luogo in questione.

ἐλευθεροῦν è correzione di Homburg ; A reca *ἐλευθερεῖν*. La forma va conservata dato che lo 'scambio' nella contrazione è presente perfino in testi dotti, oltre che nella lingua delle *Cronache* (7), affondando le sue radici fin nell'epoca classica (8).

22. Apocalypsis Anastasiae, praef. = p. 3, 1s. A Homburg

p. 3, – P (9)

p. 3, 1s. A

... *καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν νουθετεῖ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ἀνθρώπου ὁμοιοπαθοῦς* διεστείλατο.

διεστείλατο è correzione di Homburg ; A ha *διαστείλατο*, forma d'aor. senza aumento sillabico. Forme analoghe si ritrovano anche

(4) *Ibid.*, p. XV. Bisogna riconoscere che gli scribi sono stati effettivamente trascuratissimi.

(5) Basti rinviare a Fr. Blass - A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch.* Bearbeitet von Fr. Rehkopf, Göttingen, 1976[14] ; trad. it. Brescia, 1982 (specie il § 136) [Terza parte, II] dove si tratta delle 'incongruenze gravi' nell'*Apocalisse*).

(6) Si veda ad es. la analisi linguistica di R. Maisano, *L'Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli*, Napoli, 1975 («Nobiltà dello spirito», n.s. III), pp. 43-54.

(7) Si rinvia alla bibl. addotta *ap.* Nicola Callicle, *Carmi* ... a cura di R. Romano, Napoli, 1980 (*BNHN*, VIII), p. 189.

(8) Cf. A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar Chiefly of the Attic Dialect as Written and Spoken from Classical Antiquity down to the Present Time*, Oxford, 1897, §§ 852.854.

(9) Manca la corrispondenza nella redazione di P.

altrove, specie negli scritti agiografici ; ancor piú frequente è la mancanza di aumento per il piucheperfetto ([10]). Cf. anche *infra* a § 6 :

p. 30, 3s. P

ἐγὼ δὲ πολλοὺς ἠδίκησα εἰς τὸν μάταιον κόσμον καὶ πολλὰ προάστεια ἥρπασα, χήρας καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἠδίκησα, ...

p. 30, 4-6 A *Par.*

ἐγὼ δὲ πολλοὺς ἠδίκησα εἰς τὸν μάταιον βίον καὶ προάστεια ἀφήρπασα, χήρας καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἠδίκησα, ...

Per *ἠδίκησα*, correzione di Homburg sulla base del confronto con l'altra redazione, P ha due volte *ἀδίκησα*, forma d'aor. senza aumento temporale, anch'essa da ripristinare nel testo.

23. Apocalypsis Anastasiae 1 = p. 5, 11-6, 3 P Homburg

pp. 5, 11-6, 3 P

μία δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν λαμπροφορωτέρα ὑπάρχουσα ἐμεσίτευε λέγουσα· *δέσποτα, ἐλέησον τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσεις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου.*

p. 6, 4-6 A *Par.*

ἡ δὲ ἁγία Θεοτόκος παρακαλεῖ καὶ δυσωπεῖ τὸν θεὸν λέγουσα· δέσποτα, ἐλέησον τὸ πλάσμα τῶν χειρῶν σου καὶ τὸν κόσμον σου καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσῃς αὐτούς.

Per *λέγουσα*, correzione di Homburg sulla base del confronto con l'altra redazione, P ha *λέγων*. Tale sconcordanza (*ὑπάρχουσα ... λέγων*) va conservata, per la sua alta frequenza nell'*Apocalisse* giovannea, dove, accanto a casi in cui il participio di *λέγω* è concordato regolarmente, si ritrovano luoghi in cui esso è in pratica considerato indeclinabile : 4, 1 *ἡ φωνὴ ... λέγων* ; 11, 15 *φωναὶ ... λέγοντες* ; 14, 7 *ἄλλον ἄγγελον ... λέγων*, ecc. ([11]).

Ved. anche *infra* a

(10) Si rinvia alla bibl. addotta *ap.* Pseudo-Luciano, *Timarione* ... a cura di R. Romano, Napoli, 1974 (*BNHN*, II), p. 136. Per i testi agiografici ved. ad es. G. Schirò, *Vita di S. Luca vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, Palermo, 1954 («Ist. sic. st. biz. e neogr.», Testi, II), p. 131.

(11) Ved., anche per altri esempi, Blass-Debrunner, *op. cit.*, § 136 e nota 5. Per casi di sconcordanza e *nominativus pendens* in testi agiografici ved. Schirò, *op. cit.*, p. 130 ; A. Garzya, «Note sulla lingua della Vita di San Nilo da Rossano», in *Atti del IV Congresso storico calabrese*, Napoli, 1969, pp. 77-84 (= *Storia e interpretazione di testi bizantini*, London, 1974 [«Variorum Reprints», CS, XXVIII], IV) ; Giuseppina Matino, «La lingua della Vita di S. Elia lo Speleota», in *Campania Sacra*, X (1979), pp. 30 s.

p. 12, 3-7 P

... καὶ εἶδον τὰς πρώτας γυναῖκας ἐγκαλούσας πρὸς τὸν θεόν. ἵστατο δὲ ἡ ἁγία Κυριακὴ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς φωτοειδὲς ὡς ὁ ἥλιος παρακαλοῦσα καὶ λέγουσα μεγαλοφώνως· δέσποτα, καταπόντισον τοὺς ἀπίστους ...

p. 12, 3-5 A *Par.*

καὶ εἶδον πάλιν τὰς πρώτας γυναῖκας αὐτὰς ἐγκαλούσας τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ ἔλεγον· δέσποτα, καταπόντισον τοὺς ἀπίστους ...

λέγουσα è ancóra correzione di Homburg ; P ha *λέγον*, da correggere in *-ων*.

La sconcordanza è presente nella stessa apocalisse, questa volta in un contesto non corretto da Homburg dato che ricorre in entrambe le redazioni, a § 3 :

p. 20, 4-8 P

καὶ πάλιν ἔδειξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος κόλασιν λεγομένην ἑπτάλοφον ἔχοντα καμίνους ἀναριθμήτους, ἐπάνω δέ εἰσιν σκεπασμένοι. ἔχων θυρίδας, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐξήρχετο καπνὸς καὶ βροντὴ φλογός·

p. 20, 4-7 A *Par.*

καὶ πάλιν ἔδειξέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος ἄλλην κόλασιν λεγομένην ἑπτάλοφον ἔχοντα καμίνους ἀναριθμήτους· ἐπάνω δὲ ἔχων σκεπασμένας τὰς τυρίδας. ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξήρχετο ἄχνη καὶ πῦρ καὶ βροντισμὸς τῆς φλογός.

ἔχοντα è lezione di A, laddove *Par.* ha *ἔχων*, come *infra* (*ἐπάνω δὲ ἔχων ...*). Caso analogo a p. 7, 3-7 A *Par.* ([12]) *καὶ εἶδον ἕτερον τάγμα ἔχοντα πτέρυγας καὶ πρόσωπα ..., ἔχοντα τὰς χεῖρας* ; qui, per il secondo *ἔχοντα*, è invece A ad avere *ἔχων*.

24. Apocalypsis Anastasiae 1 = p. 10, 9-12 A Par. Homburg

p. 10, 7-11 P

καὶ ὅταν θέλῃ ὁ θεὸς βρέξαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀνοίξει τὰς πύλας καὶ κατέρχεται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁ ὑετός· καὶ πάλιν κινοῦνται τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτῶν σκέπουσιν τὴν γῆν, ἵνα μὴ κατακλύσῃ τὸν κόσμον ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν.

p. 10, 9-12 A *Par.*

ὅταν δὲ βουληθῇ ὁ θεὸς βρέξαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀνοίγει τὰς πύλας, καὶ κατέρχεται ὁ ὑετός· καὶ πάλιν κινοῦνται τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτῶν σκέπουσιν τὴν γῆν, ἵνα μὴ κατακλυσθῇ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν.

(12) Manca affatto la corrispondenza nella redazione di P.

Per *σκέπουσιν*, correzione di Homburg sulla base del confronto con l'altra redazione, A *Par.* hanno *σκέπουν*, con desinenza volgare. Confrontando con altri esempî nel séguito (ved. spec. p. 12, 11 P *σμίγουν*; p. 12, 12 A *Par.* *καταισχύνουν*; p. 13, 8 P *σμίγουν*), la forma andrebbe conservata, considerando altri casi di coniugazione volgare della III persona plurale in scritti dello stesso genere letterario ([13]). La lezione dei codici è analogamente da ripristinare *infra*:

p. 11, 5-8 P

αὕτη γὰρ ἡ κοιλὰς ὄρος ὑπάρχει κοῦφον, ἔχουσα λίμνην, ἔχουσα πίσσαν καὶ τεάφην καὶ σκώληκα τὸν ἀκοίμητον, καὶ ἄγγελοι φυλάσσουσιν αὐτήν.

p. 11, 6-8 A *Par.*

αὕτη γὰρ ἡ κοιλὰς ὄρος ὑπάρχει κοῦφον, ἔχουσα λίμνην πύρινον, ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῇ τεάφην καὶ πίσσαν καὶ σκώληκα, καὶ ἄγγελοι φυλάττουσιν *αὐτήν.*

φυλάττουσιν è correzione 'atticizzante' di Homburg, anche qui sulla base del confronto con l'altra redazione. I codici A *Par.* hanno *φυλάσσουν.*

Piú incerto a § 3:

pp. 21, 9-22, 1 P

καὶ ἡ πρεσβυτέρα ἡ μὴ ἀναγκάσασα τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῆς εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς σχολὰς τοῦ κόσμου ἠγάπησεν, ἐλεημοσύνην οὐκ ἐποίησεν.

p. 21, 8-11 A *Par.*

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρισσα ἡ μὴ τιμήσασα τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῆς, καὶ ἄλλη μοιχὴ βαρέα καὶ πόρνη καὶ μεθύστρια καὶ δίγαμος ὧδε μέλλουσιν *κολάζεσθαι.*

μέλλουσιν è lezione di A per *μέλλουν* di *Par.* In questo caso è dubbio se accogliere la desinenza volgare o meno. Da notare la certa perifrasi *μέλλω* + inf. per esprimere il futuro ([14]).

25. Apocalypsis Anastasiae 2 = p. 12, 10-12 P Homburg

p. 12, 10-12 P

ἐξάπτουσιν τοὺς κλιβάνους αὐτῶν καὶ σμίγουν μετὰ *τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ ὀμνύουσιν ψευδῶς ...*

p. 12, 9-11 A *Par.*

ἐξάπτουσιν τοὺς κλιβάνους αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέρχονται καὶ ἄλλα χειρῶν ἔργα ἐργάζονται.

(13) Ved. spec. Maisano, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
(14) Ved. *ibid.*, p. 46 (perifrasi anche con *ἔχω* e *θέλω*).

Per *μετὰ τὰς γυναῖκας*, correzione di Homburg, P ha *μετὰς* (cioè *μὲ τὰς*) *γυναῖκας*, costrutto volgare che va conservato ([15]) ; ved. anche *infra* :

p. 13, 7-9 P

... ἀλλὰ βδελύττουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ τρώγουσιν τὰς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν κρέας, καὶ σμίγουν μετὰ *τὸ ἔθνος καὶ μολύνουσιν ἡμᾶς διὰ τὴν λαιμαργίαν αὐτῶν.*

p. 13, 7-9 A *Par.*

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν ἐσθίουσι κρέας καὶ τυρὸν καὶ μίγνυνται μετὰ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ μολύνουσιν ἡμᾶς.

Per *μετὰ τὸ ἔθνος*, correzione di Homburg, P ha *με* (cioè *μὲ*) *τὸ ἔθνος*. Analogamente ancóra a § 3 va ripristinata la lezione del codice :

p. 21, 1-4 P

ἱερεὺς ὁμόσαι ἔστησεν ἀνθρώπους εἰς κρίσιν, ἄφησεν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ὤμοσαν ([16]) *ἀδίκως, καὶ σμίγων* μετὰ *τὴν γυναῖκαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν κυριακήν, ὅταν θέλῃ λειτουργῆσαι·*

p. 20, 11-13 A *Par.*

ἱερεῖς οἱ ἀνάγοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς κριτήριον, καὶ ἱερεὺς ὁ συγγενόμενος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τῇ ἁγίᾳ κυριακῇ ἢ ἑτέρᾳ ἑορτῇ,

μετὰ τὴν γυναῖκαν è correzione di Homburg ; P ha *με τὴν γυνήκαν*, cioè *μὲ τὴν γυναῖκαν*. Da notare il *-ν* postclassico aggiunto alla desinenza dell'accusativo della III declinazione ([17]). Nell'altra redazione *Par.* ha (ved. Homburg [app.]) *συγγινόμενος τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν κυριακὴν* ...

26. Un nuovo codice del *Carme sui mesi dell'anno* di Teodoro Prodromo

Nel dare il testo del breve calendario metrico attribuito a Teodoro Prodromo ([18]) fu possibile precisare che i versi non erano tràditi anche

(15) Ved. Jannaris, *op. cit.*, §§ 1488. 1491. Per l'àmbito pseudo-patristico ved. il recente Pseudo-Giovanni Crisostomo, *Omelia per la natività* ... a cura di Paola Volpe Cacciatore, Napoli, 1980 («*Κοινωνία*», Studi e Testi, VI), p. 13.

(16) Prob. errore di stampa per *-εν*.

(17) Cf. A. Debrunner-A. Scherer, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache. II : Grundfragen und Grundzüge des nachklassischen Griechisch*, Berlin, 1954 ; trad. it. Napoli, 1969, § 174.

(18) Nicola Callicle, *Carmi* ..., p. 49, nota 30.

dall'*Ath. Zogr.* 18 (= Lambros 344), saec. XVIII ([19]), con dubbio segnalato da W. Hörandner ([20]). In effetti trattasi di un testo prosastico, non identificabile, come sul Catalogo, con «*Θεοδώρου [Προδρόμου] περὶ μηνῶν*». Il testo è quello del *Περὶ μηνῶν* di Teodoro < Gaza >, scritto piú volte pubblicato ([21]) e che trovasi anche nella *PG* ([22]). Ecco le corrispondenze dei capitoli sul nuovo codice : 1 : ff. 136-137 ; 2 ; f. 137 ; 3 : ff. 137-139 ; 4 : ff. 139-140 ; 5 : ff. 140-143^{v} ; 6 : f. 143^{v} ; 7 : ff. 143^{v}-144 ; 8 : ff. 144-146^{v} ; 9 : ff. 146^{v}-150 ; 10 : ff. 150^{v}-152 ; 11 : f. 152$^{r\text{-}v}$; 12 : ff. 152^{v}-153^{v} ; 13 : f. 153^{v} ; 14 : f. 154$^{r\text{-}v}$; 15 : ff. 154^{v}-157 ; 16 : ff. 157-158 ; 17 : f. 158$^{r\text{-}v}$; 18 : f. 159$^{r\text{-}v}$; 19 : ff. 159^{v}-161^{v} ; 20 : ff. 161^{v}-162 ; 21 : f. 162^{v}.

Non era nota invece l'esistenza di un altro codice, l'*Athen. Curiae* (*τῆς Βουλῆς*) 68, saec. XVIII ([23]), che contiene specialmente *excerpta* di Paolo di Nicea ([24]), nel quale il nostro testo (ff. 205^{v}-207^{v}) è retto dall'*inscriptio Τοῦ ὑπερτίμου κυροῦ μιχαὴλ τοῦ ψελλοῦ εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα μῆνας*. Ecco la collazione con l'edizione (= *r*).

> 2 *νεουργῶ*] *ἐνεργῶ* || 3 *στρατῷ φίλην*] *στρατοφίλῳ* || 4 *Ναὶ μὴν παραινῶν καὶ διδάσκων*] *καὶ νῦν παραινῶ, καὶ διδάσκω* || 6 *γλυκεῖαν*] *γλυκίστην* | *πάνυ*] *θ' ἅμα* || 8 *φίλοις*] *μόνος* || 11 post 12 transp. | *γεμούσας*] *γέμοντα* | *βλάβης*] *βλάβην* || 12 *γένοιτο*] *γένηται* | *τάχα*] *τάχη* || 13 *λειποθυμίας*] *λυποθυμίας* || 14 *κρίνου*] *κρῖνον* || 15 *καὶ τῆς χλόης*] *ταῖς γὰρ χλόαις* | *ἑδραίαν φύω*] *ἀδρᾶν ἐκφύω* || 16 *δὲ τρώγειν*] *τρώγειν τε* | *κοιλίας*] *κοιλίαν* || 17 *καὶ γὰρ φλέγμα, πυρώδη χόλον*] *γὰρ αἵματα χολῆς πυρώδους* || 18 *ῥίγη*] *ῥίγος* || 20 *κοινὸν παντὶ τῷ κτηνῶν γένει*] *βροτῶν καὶ κτηνῶν γεη-*

(19) Cf. S. P. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Mount Athos*, I, Cambridge, 1895 (fotorist. 1966), p. 33.

(20) THEODOROS PRODROMOS, *Historische Gedichte*, Wien, 1974 («Wiener byz. Studien», XI), p. 55.

(21) Ved. *The British Library. General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*, CXXI, London, 1982, pp. 184 s.

(22) XIX, 1168-1217.

(23) Cf. S. P. LAMBROS, «*Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις βιβλιοθηκῶν πλὴν τῆς Ἐθνικῆς. Α' : Κώδικες τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Βουλῆς*», in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, III (1906), pp. 471-473.

(24) Inedito. Ed. in preparazione a cura di A. MARIA IERACI BIO, cui debbo la segnalazione del codice. Ved. anche EAD., «L'opera medica di Paolo di Nicea», in *Studi bizantini e neogreci*. Atti del IV Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini, Galatina, 1983, p. 316.

πόνων || 22 *βροτοὺς*] *βροτῶν* || 23 *καὶ γὰρ χολὴ μέλαινα πάντως αὐξάνει*] *τοῦ καταψύχειν τὴν χολὴν αὐξουμένην* || 24 *γεννῶσα*] *γεννῶσαν* || 25 *Σίτου*] *σίτον* | *τοὺς ἀστάχυς*] *νέμω στάχεις* || 26 *τὰς ἄλωνας*] *τοὺς ἄλωνας* | *ἐμφορῶ*] *ἐμφορῶν* || 27 *ἄρτου τε πιμπλῶ τῶν βροτῶν*] *ἄρτων τε πληρῶν τοῦ λαοῦ* || 29 *σῆψις γὰρ ἔνθεν ἔστι*] *ἔνδοθεν γὰρ στύψεις τε* || 30 *εἴωθε κακίστην*] *κάκιστον εἰώθει* || 32 *χρῆσθαι*] *χρᾶσθαι* || 33 *παρατρέχει*] *παρατρέχειν* || 34 *ὅσπερ*] *ὥσπερ* | *καταίθει*] *κατάστη* || 35 *ἄττει πυρὸς Αἰτναίου δίκην*] *ἅπτει τὰς νόσους διεγείρων* || 36 *δὲ*] *τε* | *μαλάχαις*] *μαλάχης* || 39 *πόσιν*] *ποθεῖν* || 41 *κινοῖεν*] *κινεῖεν* | *πλέον*] *μᾶλλον* || 42 *οἷπερ κυνάγκην εἰσάγουσιν ἐν βίῳ*] *καὶ τοῖς παρεισάγουσι θώρακος πάθη* | *Ὀκτώβριος*] *ὀκτώμβριος* || 43 *Ὄρνεις*] *ὄρνιν* | *αἱρῶ*] *αἴρω* || 44 *στρουθῶν*] *στρουθίων* | *ἔθνος*] *ἔθνη* || 45 *ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἑλκύω πεδῶν βρόχοις*] *ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀρνίθων ποδοβρόχοις* || 46 *τὸ πράσον*] *τοῦ πράσοις* (sic) | *φίλοις*] *πᾶσι* || 47 *εὐπρεπὲς*] *εὐτραφὲς* | *τῶν βρωμάτων*] *τῆς κοιλίας* || 48 *ὃ καὶ καθαίρει πημονὰς τῆς κοιλίας*] *ὃ καθαίρει τε παρειμένας κοιλίας* || 49 *σπέρω*] *φέρω* || 50 *γλύκιστον*] *ἥδιστον* || 51 *καλούσας*] *καλοῦσιν* | *σπορὰς*] *σπορὰν* | *τὰς*] *τοὺς* || 52 *χρῆσθαι*] *χρᾶσθαι* || 53 *τοῦ ῥεύματος*] *τοῦ σώματος* || 55 *ἀγρίαν*] *ἀγρίοις* || 56 *πίμπλημι*] *πίμπλαμαι* | *δαῖτας*] *δαιτροὺς* || 59 *πᾶν δαψιλῶς*] *παῖδα ψιλῶς* || 61 *κάλανδα*] *κάλανδρα* || 62 *τε χοίρου*] *δὲ χοίρων* || 63 *πᾶν τὸ*] *πάντας* | *ἀνθρώπῳ*] *ἀνθρώπων* || 65 *δ᾽αὖ*] *δὲ* || 66 *σπᾶν*] *γὰρ* | *ἀρχὴν ἕω*] *κόρον νέω* | *Φεβρουάριος*] *φευρουάριος* || 67 *Χόρταζε*] *Ἑόρταζε* | *κόρου*] *μόνον* || 69 *ναρκῶ*] *ναρκῶν* | *μεταλλάττω φύσιν*] *μελαίνων τὴν φύσιν* || 70 *ὠχρότητα*] *αἰσχρότητα* | *νεκροποιὸν*] *ἑκροποιῶν* | *τῷ ψύχει*] *τὸ ψύχειν* || 71 om. || 72 *ποιεῖν*] *τρώγειν* || 73 *φαρμακουργοῦ τῆς ὕδρας*] *καὶ μελαγχόλου βλάβης.*

Come si vede, il testo è assai differente da quello dell'edizione, anche per il particolare dell'attribuzione a Psello, ed appare simile a quello pubblicato in *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀνατολῆς* I (1879), pp. 391-393 a cura di M. Ghedeon, senza introduzione e specificazione della tradizione manoscritta ([25]) : per l'impossibilità di verificare il testo sui codici non era stato preso in considerazione ai fini dell'edizione e dell'attribuzione.

(25) Ved. *ibid.*, p. 391, nota 1 : «*Τὰ βυζαντινὰ ταῦτα στιχουργήματα, ἐξαχθέντα ἐκ χειρογράφου ἐδόθησαν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κ. Μ. Γεδεών, οὗ τὰ προλεγόμενα παραλείπομεν, ἕνεκα ἐλλείψεως χώρου, προτιθέμενοι νὰ ἐκδώσωμεν ταῦτα μετὰ τοῦ κειμένου ἐν ἰδιαιτέρῳ τεύχει, χάριν τῶν περὶ τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἡμῶν φιλολογίαν σπουδαζόντων*». La riedizione non è poi avvenuta.

Fra l'edizione (= *g*) e il nuovo codice esistono le seguenti differenze :

11 *βλάβης*] *βλάβην* || 12 *τάχη(;)*] *τάχη* || 13 *λειποθυμίας*] *λυποθυμίας* || 18 *φύεται καὶ ποδαλγίας*] *φύουσι καὶ ποδαλγίαι* || 22 *βρο[τοὺς]*] *βροτῶν* || 23 *αὐξομένην*] *αὐξουμένην* || 26 *ἐμφορῶ*] *ἐμφορῶν* || 34 *κατέστι*] *κατάστη* || 36 *ἀφευκτέον*] *ἀφεκτέον* | *μαλάχ[αις]*] *μαλάχης* | *ΩΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ*] *ὀκτώμβριος* || 44 *στρουθῶν*] *στρουθίων* || 45 *ποδοβρόχοις (;)*] *ποδοβρόχοις* || 46 *πᾶσιν*] *πᾶσι* || 51 *ἔχω[ν] καλοῦ[ντας]*] *ἔχω καλοῦσιν* || 53 *τῷ σώματι*] *τοῦ σώματος* || 54 *παγκάκου*] *παγκάκους* || 59 *παῖδα (!)*] *παῖδα* || 61 *Πόθους*] *Πίθους* || 62 *χοιρῶν*] *χοίρων* || 63 *ἀνθρώπ[ους]*] *ἀνθρώπων* || 67 *πίνε*] *καὶ πίνε* || 69 *αἷμα*] *μέλη*.

A prescindere dai luoghi corretti da *g* (vv. 22. 36_2. 51. 63), è difficile dire se il manoscritto usato da *g* sia il nuovo codice : occorrerebbe ammettere qua e là tacite correzioni, come appare dai vv. 11. 18. 26. 34. 36. 44. 53. 54. 61. 67. 69. Vi sono lezioni poziori di *g* (vv. 11. 23. 26. 44. 67 [restaura il metro]) e del codice (vv. 36. 53. 54. 61. 62) ; altri tre luoghi appaiono in ambedue irrimediabilmente corrotti (vv. 12. 45. 59).

Il confronto col testo di *r* rivela che nelle varianti del codice sono presenti i seguenti errori di prosodia e metrica :

3 *στρατ῱φίλῳ* ; 16 *τρῴγειν* ; 17 *χ῱λῆς πυρῴδους* ; 20 *βρ῱τῶν* ... *κτῆνῶν* ; 29 *ἔνδ῱θἔν γὰρ* ; 35 *δι῱γεῖρων* ; 41 *μᾶλλον* ; 44 *στρουθίων* (il verso ha tredici sillabe) ... *ἔθνῆ* ; 45 *τοὺς* ; 48 *καθαῖρει* ... *παρεῖμένας* ; 63 *πάντᾶς πρὸς* ; 65 *δὲ μόνον* ; 67 *Ἑόρταζε* (il verso ha tredici sillabe).

Appaiono un po' troppi ove si consideri che la redazione dei codici poziori ne comprende solo uno (51 *γερᾶνους*).

Le seguenti lezioni appaiono chiaramente deteriori :

3 *στρατοφίλῳ* ; 4 *παραινῶ* ... *διδάσκω* ; 8 *μόνος* ; 11 *γέμοντα* ... *βλάβην* ; 12 *τάχη* ; 15 *ἀδρᾶν ἐκφύω* ; 23 *αὐξουμένην* ; 33 *παρατρέχειν* ; 34 *ὥσπερ κατάστη* ; 36 *μαλάχης* ; 39 *ποθεῖν* ; 42 *τοῖς παρεισάγουσι* ; 43 *αἴρω* ; 45 *ποδοβρόχοις* ; 46 *πράσοις* ; 49 *φέρω* ; 51 *καλοῦσιν* ; 53 *τοῦ σώματος* ; 56 *δαιτροὺς* ; 59 *παῖδα ψιλῶς* ; 61 *κάλανδρα* ; 66 *κόρον νέω* ; 67 *Ἑόρταζε* ; 70 *αἰσχρότητα ἐκροποιῶν* ; 73 *μελαγχόλου βλάβης* (ripete il v. 11).

Anche senza considerare la datazione, il nuovo codice appare da eliminare dall'apparato. Non è improbabile che anche in altri ma-

noscritti il testo sia attribuito a Psello : ciò conferma l'ipotesi ([26]) che esso, come accade di frequente, sia stato attribuito a Prodromo, Callicle e Psello stesso in considerazione della loro importanza quali cultori nel campo scientifico, e debba considerarsi d'incerto autore ([27]).

27. (Ps.-) Theod. Prodr., *De Mang.* 12, 54 S. = p. 76 Bernardinello ([28])

ἀπρόσμαχον τὸ κράτος σου, μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχύν σου·
εἶδον ἁδρὰ βαλάντια, κίνστας χρυσίου πλήρεις.

«Irresistibile la tua potenza, grande il tuo potere ;
Ho visto grosse borse, ceste piene d'oro» ([29]).

κίνστας è lezione del cod. M (= *Par. suppl. gr.* 1219, saec. XIX = apografo ([30]) di E. Miller copiato su) V (= *Marc. gr.* XI, 22, saec. XIII). La lezione di quest'ultimo è *κήνστεις*. S. D. Papadimitriu ([31]) propose anche *κύστεις* ('sacchi').

Sempre che la collazione di V sia esatta, si potrebbe scrivere *κίνστεις* ([32]), ipotizzando che si tratti di *κιστίς, -ίδος* declinato come *κίστις, -εως* ([33]) : esempio (unico ?) Nicola Damasceno, *fr.* 52 = *Hist. Gr. min.*, I, 38, 18-21 Dindorf

(26) Ved. R. Romano, «La metrica di Teofilatto di Bulgaria», in *Atti Accad. Pontaniana*, n.s. XXXII (1983), p. 181, nota 18.

(27) Colgo l'occasione per precisare che il carme dubbio 35 di Callicle (*op. cit.*, pp. 120 s. ; trad. pp. 155 s.) è contenuto anche nel *Patr. C. pol.* 162, saec. XVIII (ved. A. Tsakopulos, *Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*, Istanbul, 1953, p. 236 ; A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie Croix*, Paris, 1961, p. 316). Dato che il testo è stato dato dall'originale, l'iscrizione della stauroteca *Cat. n. 25* del Tesoro di S. Marco a Venezia, non se ne ritiene necessaria l'esplorazione.

(28) Theodori Prodromi, *De Manganis* edidit S. Bernardinello, Padova, 1972 («Studi bizantini e neogreci», IV).

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

(30) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

(31) «*Οἱ Πρόδρομοι*», in *Viz. Vrem.*, V (1898), pp. 91-130.

(32) Per l'inserzione medievale di *-ν-* prima di *-στ-* cf. i numerosi esempi di *κινστέρνα* per *κιστέρνα* ; cf. E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, I, Cambridge-Mass., 1887[2] (fotorist. 1957), *s.v. κιστέρνα*.

(33) Ved. *LSJ*, *s.v. κιστίς* ; D. Dimitrakos, *Μέγα λεξικὸν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς*

Τόττης καὶ Ὄννης ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἱερὰ ἔχοντες Καβείρων ἐν κίστει κεκαλυμμένα· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῆς κίστεως ἀμφότεροι, ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν, ὁ δὲ ἔνθεν ...

28. Sull'attribuzione di un'anacreontica inedita

Il *Barb. gr.* 74 (I. 74), saec. XVII, chart., mm. 210 × 137, ff. 89 ([34]), nota miscellanea poetica di mano di Leone Allacci, conserva ancóra numerosi inediti per i quali non è stato possibile individuare la fonte donde l'erudito li abbia trascritti ([35]).

Nella parte iniziale del manoscritto, assieme a versi di Costantino Stilbes ([36]), Psello ([37]), Giovanni Mauropode ([38]), Teodoro Studita ([39]), Teodoro Balsamone ([40]), ed inediti di un Costantino *εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζωναρᾶν* ([41]), di un Corinto *εἰς τὴν ὑπαπαντήν* ([42]), di

γλώσσης, Atene, 1950, *s.v. κιστίς*. Tale duplice flessione si trova anche per *κύστις*, gen. *κύστεως* (*-ιος*) e *κύστιδος*; ved. *LSJ*, *s.v.* Per numerosi neutri in *-ι*, *-εως* è anche ben attestata la possibilità di declinazione come *-ις*, *-ιδος*: es. *κόμμι*, gen. *κόμμεως* e *κόμμιδος*; *στίμμι*, gen. *στίμμεως* e *στίμμιδος*; *πέπερι*, gen. *πεπέρεως* e *πεπέριδος*, ecc.; cf. Jannaris, *op. cit.*, § 399.

(34) Ved. V. Capocci, *Codices Barberiniani Graeci*, I, In Bybliotheca Vaticana, 1958, pp. 80 ss. (ved. anche «Addenda et emendanda», pp. xxvii s.).

(35) Ved. anche R. Maisano, «Manoscritti e libri stampati nell'opera filologica di Leone Allacci», in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten*, II/6, Wien, 1982 = *JÖB*, XXXII/6 (1982), pp. 197-206.

(36) Ed. U. Criscuolo, «Didascalia e versi di Costantino Stilbes», in *Δίπτυχα*, II (1980/81), pp. 90-92.

(37) Ed. A. Garzya, *Versi e un opuscolo inediti di Michele Psello*, Napoli, 1966 (= *Storia e interpretazione* ..., V), pp. 24-28.

(38) *PG*, CXX, 1194 s. (= p. 50, n. 96 de Lagarde).

(39) *PG*, XCIX, 1780-1797. 1801-1805. 1809; ved. le successive riedizioni di A. Garzya, «Theodori Studitae epigrammata», in *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, XXVIII (1958), pp. 19-64; Theodoros Studites, *Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* ... von P. Speck, Berlin, 1968 («Supplementa Byzantina», I).

(40) Ed. K. Horna, «Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon», in *Wiener Studien*, XXV (1903), pp. 190 s.

(41) Ved. Capocci, *op. cit.*, pp. 82. 290. Per C. Gallavotti, «Novi Laurentiani codicis analecta», in *St. Biz. Neoell.*, IV (1935), p. 210, l'autore potrebbe identificarsi con l'omonimo Costantino autore di un carme *εἰς περιφέριν εἰκόνος Θεοτόκου* (*Laur. Acquisti e Doni* 341, saec. XVI, f. 120^{v}).

(42) Ved. Capocci, *op. cit.*, pp. 82. 287; tràdito anche dal *Vat. gr.* 207, saec. XIII, f. 371 (cf. G. Mercati-P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae*

anonimo *εἰς τὴν Πτολομαίου χωρογραφίαν* ([43]), *εἰς Βασίλειον τὸν μέγαν* ([44]), troviamo una lunga anacreontica (ff. 11-13^{v}; nr. 19 Capocci) di 296 versi (dimetri ionici; i vv. 1 ([45]) e 258 ([46]) sono dodecasillabi).

Il testo, che appare inedito ([47]), ha il titolo (f. 11) *Μάρκου μοναχοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν ψαλμῶν. στίχοι ἀνακρεόντειοι*, e vuol essere una sorta di 'synopsis' degli argomenti trattati nei Salmi con particolare riferimento alla profezia dell'avvento del Messia, con espressioni di condanna per i Giudei e esortazioni alla fede ([48]).

L'identificazione dell'autore è certo ardua: un primo pensiero va al noto Marco monaco 'l'eremita', il discepolo di S. Giovanni Crisostomo, anche in considerazione degli altri scritti *in psalmos* che vennero prodotti nell'epoca patristica, quali quelli di (ps.-) Giovanni Crisostomo ([49]), Diodoro di Tarso ([50]), Gregorio Nisseno ([51]), Esichio Gerosolimitano ([52]), Teodoreto di Cirro ([53]).

L'analisi metrica del dimetro ionico rivela però che la composizione è da assegnarsi ad epoca posteriore al VII secolo, rivelandosi la struttura tipica del verso in età bizantina (⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ ⏓) ([54]):

Vaticanae codices manuscripti recensiti. Codices Vaticani Graeci I, In Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1923, p. 253), che dovrebbe essere l'antigrafo.

(43) Ved. CAPOCCI, *op. cit.*, pp. 82. 288.

(44) *Ibid.*, pp. 82. 289.

(45) *Δαυὶδ (Δαυὶβ* cod.) *τὸ πρῶτον ἄσμα, τῶν ψαλμῶν βάσις.*

(46) *Δαυὶδ προσευχὴ καὶ θεοῦ παρουσία.*

(47) Ved. CAPOCCI, *op. cit.*, pp. 82. 287. Non citata *ap.* Th. NISSEN, «Die byzantinischen Anakreonteen», in *Sitz. Bayer. Akad. Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Abt., III, München, 1940. Non contenuta, fra altri, nel *Vat. gr.* 1276, saec. XIV: ved. AUGUSTA ACCONCIA LONGO-A. JACOB, «Une anthologie salentine du XIVe siècle: le *Vaticanus gr.* 1276», in *Riv. St. Biz. Neoell.*, n.s. XVII-XIX (1980/82), pp. 149-228.

(48) Sullo stesso argomento ved. il carme in versi pentadecasillabi di MICHELE PSELLO, *Εἰς τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν ψαλμῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Μιχαὴλ τὸν Δούκαν* = I, 389-400 KURTZ-DREXL, che segue due opuscoli in prosa *Εἰς τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν ψαλμῶν* = I, 372-385; 386-388 KURTZ-DREXL. Non appaiono corrispondenze particolari col nostro testo.

(49) *PG*, LVI, 533 ss.

(50) *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, IX (1919), pp. 82 ss. 90 ss.

(51) *PG*, XLIV, 432 ss. 488 ss.

(52) *PG*, XXVII, 649 ss.

(53) *PG*, LXXXIV, 857 ss.; di dubbia attribuzione: *PG*, LXXXIV, 20 ss.

(54) NISSEN, *op. cit.*; HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner...*, II, pp. 93-95.

sono di norma rispettati la parossitonesi finale e l'accento fisso sulla quarta sillaba. Fanno eccezione i vv. 26. 32. 48. 49. 51. 52. 57. 77. 101. 106. 110. 115. 145. 174. 177. 178. 195. 203. 213 ([55]). 228. 233. 236. 238. 239. 241. 271. 272. 278. 279. 294 (vv. 30 = 10,2%), ma solo per la violazione dell'accento sulla quarta sillaba.

Il testo pullula di errori di prosodia :

v. 2 *θεοσεβεῖς* ; 3 *ἀσεβεῖς* ; 4 *προφῆτεύει* ; 5 *καλεῖ ... πρὸς πίστιν* ; 6 *αὐτῷ* ; 7 *θλῖψεις ... προλέγει* ; 8 *λέγει* ; 9 *εὐσεβῶς* ; 10 *ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλήσίας* ; 11 *προσεύχομένου* ; 12 *ᾄδει εὐχώριστον* ; 13 *θεὸν σεσῶσμένος* ; 14 *πῶς* ; 15 *ἐξομολόγησῖν φέρειν* ; 17 *ὑποτιθεῖ* ; 19 *τὴν σῶτηρίαν προλέγει* ; 20 *θάνατον, ἔγερσιν* ; 21 *ἐχθρῶν ... λέγει* ; 22 *ἀδόμενος πᾶσι* ; 23 *θεὸν* ; 24 *καταδρομὴ πονηρίας* ; 25 *πρόρρησις* ; 26 *ἐπίθεσις ἐχθραίνόντων* ; 27 *προσδοκία σώτηρος* ; 28 *καταδρομὴ πονηρίας* ; 30 *ἀπογραφὴ ... ἐν νόμῳ*, per citare solo quelli ricorrenti nei primi trenta versi.

Tutto ciò fa ritenere la composizione opera della tarda età bizantina ([56]) (in epoca posteriore alla fioritura del XII secolo ([57])), quando, specie con Marco Angelo ([58]), il verso sfuggí allo schema prosodico.

È certo evidente che i dati dell'*inscriptio* (*Μάρκου μοναχοῦ ...*) sono quanto mai vaghi potendo riferirsi a parecchi personaggi ([59]) ;

(55) Il. v. 219 ha sette sillabe.

(56) Un'anticipazione della libertà in fatto di metrica si trova nel *Canto di Pasqua* di Arsenio arcivescovo di Corfù (ed. *Anec. Gr.*, II, 670-675 MATRANGA). L'anacreontica veramente «sorprende ... per la irregolarità della sua struttura» (B. LAVAGNINI, *Alle origini del verso politico*, Palermo, 1983 [«Ist. sic. st. biz. e neogr.», Quaderni, XI], p. 24, nota 45) essendovi attestati numerosi errori di prosodia ; ci si limita a citare anche in questo caso quelli ricorrenti nei primi trenta versi : 1 *ξύμπαντὲς παῖδες* ; 4 *ὅπα* ; 5 *μέλος φῶνεῦντες* ; 6 *ὕμνὸν προσφέρωμὲν πάντες* ; 7 *κτίστῃ πάντῶν* ; 8 *ἐπέστῃ* ; 9 *σαλπίσωμὲν πάντες* ; 11 *κἐλαδοῦντες* ; 12 *ὑμνήσωμὲν πάντες* ; 13 *κατέλιπὲ γὰρ τὸν τάφον* ; 15 *θανάτοῦ* ; 16 *πἄμφάγοῦ* ; 18 *δεἰκνύῶν* ; 19 *πᾶσα ... ἦ* ; 20 *ὕψωθέντα δὄξάζεῖ* ; 23 *γεραίρεῖ* ; 24 *λαλήσῃ* ; 25 *ὑμνήσῃ* ; 27 *αἰώνῶν* ; 28 *ἀπάντῶν* ; 29 *φανότατος φῶσφόρος* ; 30 *ζοφοῦταῖ*. Non potrebbe trattarsi, piú che di Arsenio di Corfù, di quel patriarca Arsenio vissuto sotto Teodoro II Lascari e Michele VIII Paleologo ?

(57) Si rinvia a ROMANO, «La metrica di Teofilatto di Bulgaria» ..., pp. 184-186.

(58) Ved. HUNGER, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

(59) Ad esempio potrebbe alludere a quel Marco monaco Evergetino autore di un epigramma in lode di Nicola-Nettario di Casole ; cf. M. GIGANTE, *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto*, Napoli, 1979 (*BNHN*, VII), p. 94 ; ACCONCIA LONGO-JACOB, *art. cit.*, pp. 196 e 171. 175.

potrebbe trattarsi anche di una falsificazione, alludendosi al Marco piú famoso di cui sopra. Pur tuttavia appare almeno non fuor di luogo additare un Marco Ieromonaco del convento *τῶν Ξανθοπούλων*, poi vescovo di Corinto ([60]), melode, che, con Gerasimo Monaco ([61]), fu contemporaneo di Gabriele Ieromonaco, vissuto nella prima metà del XV secolo, autore di un trattato *Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐν τῇ ψαλτικῇ σημαδίων ὁμολογίας καὶ ἑτέρων χρησίμων* ([62]). Gli interessi innografici di questo Marco, legati alla *ψαλτική* ([63]) coltivata dal suo confratello, possono essere messi in relazione con l'argomento della nostra anacreontica.

29. *Στιχοι θρηνητικοί Αδαμ καὶ Παραδείσου* 39-50 ([64])

Παράδεισε τερπνότατε, ἡ χώρα τῶν δικαίων,
ὁ μένων κατ' ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὴν Ἐδὲμ λαμπρύνων,
δυσώπησον τὸν κτίστην σου δι' ἐμὲ τὸν ἐραστήν σου,
ἐλθεῖν καὶ κατοπτεῦσαί με τὴν πάντερπνόν σου θέαν
καὶ τῶν καρπῶν σου τὴν ὁδμὴν τὴν μυρευωδεστάτην,
καὶ πῶς ἀρδεύει ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ μέγιστος ἐκεῖνος
τὰ δένδρα σου τὰ ὑψίκομα καὶ τὸ πολύ σου πλάτος,
καὶ πῶς καταμερίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας μερίδας
Φεισών, Γεὼν λεγόμενος καὶ Τίγρις καὶ Εὐφράτης
ἰδεῖν σου καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ πάμπολλα καὶ ξένα
ἀηδόνων † τὰ μελῴδι καὶ † Σειρήνων τὰς ἐπαύλεις
πῶς κελαδοῦν εὐλάλητον ἐπάνω τῶν φυτῶν σου ...

49 Locus corruptus. *τὰ μελῴδι καὶ* P (= *Par. gr.* 929, saec. XV, pp. 72-76) : *τὸ μελῴδημα* (*καὶ* om.) Legr. (= E. LEGRAND, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, I [1880], p. XI). An *ἀηδόνων μελῳδικῶν Σειρήνων τὰς ἐπαύλεις*?

(60) Ved. Ch. HANNICK, «Byzantinische Musik», *ap.* HUNGER, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

(61) *Ibid.*, *l.l.*

(62) *Ibid.*, *l.l.* (con bibl.) ; ved. anche L. TARDO, *L'antica melurgia bizantina nell'interpretazione della scuola monastica di Grottaferrata*, Grottaferrata, 1938, pp. 147. 149.

(63) Definizione *ap.* HANNICK, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

(64) S. G. MERCATI, «Osservazioni intorno agli *Στίχοι θρηνητικοὶ Ἀδὰμ καὶ παραδείσου*», in *Bessarione*, XXII (1918), pp. 229-236 (= *Collectanea Byzantina*, I, Bari, 1970, pp. 136-143).

Il v. 49 può essere così corretto: *ἀηδόνων τὰ μελῳδικὰ καὶ Σειρήνων τὰς ἐπαύλεις*. *-κὰ* potrebbe essere caduto per *saut* dell'occhio dello scriba al *καὶ* seguente. La cesura cade regolarmente dopo l'ottava sillaba ove si consideri monosillabo *ἀη* di *ἀηδόνων* ([65]). Schema: x x́ x x̄ x x x x́ // ..., per cui cf. ad es. il v. 40 ([66]). Non deve meravigliare se, così, il verso avrebbe sedici sillabe 'irriducibili', dato che non infrequentemente il caso si rileva nella produzione volgare ([67]).

30. In margine a un recente saggio sulle 'pratiche ipertestuali'

I recenti studi sui concetti di 'parodia', 'ironia', 'satira' e «pastiche», dopo le sintesi di H. Markiewicz ([68]) e W. Karrer ([69]), trovano ora una sistemazione nell'ampio volume di G. Genette ([70]), il quale presenta un «Tableau général des pratiques hypertextuelles» ([71]), codificando l'enorme letteratura oggetto degli studi e inserendola in apposite caselle:

régime / *relation*	ludique	satirique	sérieux
transformation	PARODIE (*Chapelain décoiffé*)	TRAVESTISSEMENT (*Virgile travesti*)	TRANSPOSITION (*le Docteur Faustus*)
imitation	PASTICHE (*l'Affaire Lemoine*)	CHARGE (*À la manière de...*)	FORGERIE (*la Suite d'Homère*)

(65) Ved., ad es., fra altri, Cobaltina Morrone, «Il verso politico nella *Peste di Rodi* di Emanuele Gheorghillàs», in *Siculorum Gymnasium*, XXXI (1978), pp. 36-41.

(66) Ved. anche Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, *Hymnes 1-15*. Intr., texte crit. et notes par J. Koder, Paris, 1969 («Sources Chrétiennes», CLVI), pp. 501 s.

(67) Per il *Belisario* ved. «Apparato» *ap.* Enrica Follieri, «Il poema bizantino di Belisario» = *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: la poesia epica e la sua formazione*, Roma, 1970 («Accademia dei Lincei», Quaderni, CXXXIX), pp. 583-651; ved. anche, per Emanuele Gheorghillàs, Morrone, *art. cit.*, pp. 41-45.

(68) «On the Definitions of Literary Parody», in *«To Honour Roman Jakobson». Essays on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, II, Paris, 1967, pp. 1264-1271.

(69) *Parodie, Travestie, Pastiche*, München, 1977.

(70) *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*, Paris, 1982.

(71) *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Per testi d'epoca bizantina, lo studioso si intrattiene più volte su «la Suite d'Homère», che viene classificata quale «forgerie» ('imitazione seria'). In effetti Trifiodoro, Quinto Smirneo, Nonno di Panopoli (*Dionisiache*), Colluto e poi Tzetze (*Carmina Iliaca*), sono senz'altro 'imitatori seri' dell'*epos* mitologico ([72]) ; i testi demotici della *Guerra di Troia*, dell'*Iliade bizantina*, dell'*Achilleide*, della *Teseide* e del *Poema di Alessandro Magno* si possono pur collocare in questo quadro (pur con le loro implicazioni occidentali). «Forgerie» può essere anche l'"imitazione seria' del romanzo classico, sia quella dotta dell'epoca di Manuele Comneno, sia quella volgare-medievale dell'epoca dei Paleologhi, anch'essa con tutte le sue implicazioni occidentali.

Non v'è dubbio inoltre che – stando allo schema proposto – se «transposition» è la 'trasformazione seria' di un testo, così dovrebbero essere definite le numerose metafrasi e *metabolaí* (Apollinare di Laodicea, *Metafrasi dei Salmi*; Nonno di Panopoli, *Metabolé del Vangelo di Giovanni*, ecc.), assieme alle 'esegesi' specie metabizantine (tutti testi nei quali l'"oggetto' dell'imitazione è reso con una generale modificazione linguistica e strutturale), le etopee, ecc.

Se testi come il canone di Psello *Per Iacopo l'ubbriacone*, *La messa dell'eunuco*, *La filosofia del padre del vino*, potrebbero essere incasellati quali 'imitazioni ludiche' («pastiches») più che 'imitazioni satiriche' («charges»), v'è qualche categoria di testi che non pare trovare posto nello schema.

La produzione di scritti 'lucianeschi' in prosa (*Timarione*, *Satire lucianesche* di Teodoro Prodromo) e l'imitazione pseudo-omerica in versi (*Catomiomachia* di Teodoro Prodromo) è senz'altro a carattere ludico o satirico, ma tale «régime» è presente negli scritti imitati, non è 'atteggiamento' loro peculiare *versus* i loro modelli : potrebbero definirsi 'imitazioni serie' di scritti ludico/satirici, né oggettivamente si potrebbero immaginare nella casella «forgerie» assieme ai poemi d'imitazione epica.

Naturalmente altri lettori del volume di Genette potranno trovare analoghe 'difficoltà d'incasellamento' per esempî tratti specie dall'occidente romanzo.

(72) Definire anche un Apollonio Rodio 'imitatore serio' di Omero – stando allo schema – appare un po' troppo riduttivo.

Preme qui far rilevare quanto sia difficile (e pericoloso) cercare di incasellare la realtà letteraria entro poche, anguste caselle, anche considerata l'impossibilità di poter dominare tutto il campo della produzione.

Napoli. Roberto ROMANO.

A CONE-SEAL FROM SHESTOVITSY

There appeared in 1977 D. I. Blifeld's account of the excavations of the burial-grounds near the modern village of Shestovitsy, some 12 to 15 kilometres south-west of Chernigov. Four of the six groups of barrows are described by Blifeld as being south-west of Shestovitsy, in the vicinity of a long promontory. Upon this promontory, which is now called Korovel', stood a settlement and, at the tip, a fort. Three of the groups of barrows are on low sandy beds in the flood meadows of the right bank of the Desna. They most probably originally formed part of one large burial-ground of the settlement on the promontory ([1]). Another group of barrows stood on the edge of the plateau, near the neck of the promontory. Two other small groups of barrows were further east, seemingly on the edge of Shestovitsy itself. Blifeld describes the successive archaeological expeditions which investigated the burial-grounds in the 1920s and in the 1940s and 1950s. He himself carried out excavations in 1948 and 1956-8. Altogether 148 barrows (*kurgany*) were excavated by these expeditions. Blifeld describes the six groups of barrows as "almost fully investigated" without, however, offering the total number of barrows that have been noted or studied, while by his own account, many barrows have been destroyed in modern times ([2]).

The majority of the barrows contained only one burial apiece, but a few contained two or more burials. Some of these had been inserted in the barrows at different times. According to Blifeld, altogether seven

Abbreviations : *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii* = *KSIA* ; *risunok* = *ris.* ; *Skandinavskiy Sbornik* = *SS* ; *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* = *SA.*

(1) For a map of the area of Shestovitsy and the Korovel' promontory, regrettably lacking in a scale, see D. I. BLIFELD, *Davn'orus'ki pam'yatky Shestovytsi* (Kiev, 1977), *risunok* 1, p. 6 ; see also p. 10. For a plan of the four burial groups in the vicinity of the Korovel' promontory, see *ibid.*, *ris.* 2, p. 7. A brief account of the limited excavations of the fort and the unfortified settlement on the promontory is offered by Y. V. STANKEVICH, "Shestovitskoe poselenie i mogil'nik po materialam raskopok 1946g.", *KSIA*, LXXXVII (1962), pp. 7-13.

(2) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 10-12.

barrows in the burial-grounds near Shestovitsy contained more than one inhumation burial. He reasonably assumes that members of a family, sometimes with their servants, were buried in them ([3]). In and adjoining one barrow (no. 38) were found the remains of six children, a warrior, a slave girl buried at the same time as him, and a middle-aged woman. Clearly, the children were the offspring of the man who was buried together with the girl in the middle of the barrow ([4]). This barrow is situated in the cluster of barrows which Blifeld designated as Group I. 105 barrows have been excavated there, far more than in any of the other groups described by Blifeld.

Another barrow in Group I, no. 61, was found to contain four burials, upon being excavated in 1957. The inmates were : a rich warrior in a chamber-grave ; a boy ; a woman of 35 to 40 years of age ; a man of 40 to 50 years. The woman's grave lacks any inventory while the man of 40 to 50 years had only a knife and a strike-a-light. Blifeld suggests that these two persons buried in simple pits were the servants of the warrior, while the boy was the warrior's son ([5]). Judging by the fact that the boy's grave is roughly in the middle of the extant barrow, and the warrior's is at the eastern extremity, the boy would seem to have predeceased his father. The boy's grave is catalogued by Blifeld as no. 61/1 and the warrior's as no. 61/4. (See groundplan of Barrow no. 61, fig. 2) ([6]). The warrior's age is estimated by Blifeld to have been between 45 and 55. The chamber-grave in which he lay has a rich inventory, including an iron sabre, 93.5 centimetres long, and a massive battle-axe. By the man's left side, at approximately the level of his waist, were the remnants of a bag, extensively decorated with bronze mounts. The bag contained, among other things, an iron awl with its container, an iron knife, an iron strike-a-light, a whetstone, a one-sided bone comb, and a hazel-nut ([7]). On the man's chest and

(3) IBID., pp. 23, 96-7.

(4) IBID., pp. 97, 131-3 ; groundplan of Barrow no. 38, *ris.* 14, p. 130.

(5) IBID., pp. 97, 151-2.

(6) BLIFELD, pp. 23, 97, seems to suggest that all four burials in no. 61 may have been contemporaneous. His suggestion is based on the elongated shape of the barrow. He does not explain why father and son should have died simultaneously, or why the adult would have been buried at one end, with a woman of lowly status interposed between him and his son.

(7) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 152-5. The sabre and battle-axe are shown on *tablitsa* XVIII : 2 and 9, p. 207.

midriff lay 26 small bronze buttons. This chamber-grave has analogies to its construction and its inventory elsewhere in Group I, as well as in other burial-grounds of the Middle Dnieper region, parts of Northern Russia and Central Sweden ([8]). The practice of building chamber-graves can scarcely have persisted long after the official conversion of Russia to Christianity, c. 988. But the presence of a slatestone spindle-whorl in the chamber-grave points towards the later years of the 10th century as the date of its construction ([9]). This in turn offers us a *terminus ante quem* for the grave of the boy, whom we presume to have predeceased his father.

The question of the origins or ethnic identity of the occupants of Barrow no. 61 does not directly concern us, but certain features of the Shestovitsy burial-grounds and of the warrior in no. 61/4 are worth noting. Blifeld played down the significance of the Scandinavian elements in the graves at Shestovitsy, arguing that they occur in only 22 graves, amongst which he does not number Barrow no. 61, and questioning the ethnic attribution even of these twenty-two ([10]). However, T. J. Arne and some more recent Soviet scholars have

(8) T. J. ARNE, "Skandinavische Holzkammergräber aus der Wikingerzeit in der Ukraine", *Acta Archaeologica*, Copenhagen, II (1931), pp. 286, 294, 296 ; D. I. BLIFELD, "K istoricheskoy otsenke druzhinnykh pogrebeniy v srubnikh grobnitsakh", *SA*, XX (1954), pp. 151-2 ; IDEM., "Drevn'orus'kiy mohil'nik v Chernihovi", *Arkheolohiya*, XVIII (1965), pp. 131, 135 ; V. A. KOL'CHATOV, "Kamernye grobnitsy Shestovitskogo mogil'nika", *Tezisy dokladov V vsesoyuznoy konferentsii po izucheniyu skandinavskikh stran i Finlandii* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 20-1 ; BLIFELD (1977), pp. 20-2, 38, 100, 102 ; G. S. LEBEDEV, "Sotsialnaya topografiya mogil'nika 'epokhi Vikingov' v Birke", *SS*, XXII (1977), pp. 147, 151 ; A. N. KIRPICHNIKOV *et al.*, "Russko-skandinavskie svyazi epokhi obrazovaniya kievskogo gosudarstva", *KSIA*, CLX (1980), p. 31 ; E. A. MEL'NIKOVA *et al.*, "Drevnerusskie vliyaniya v kul'ture Skandinavii rannego srednevekov'ya. (K postanovke problemy)", *Istoriya SSSR*, 1984, no. 3, p. 58 and useful map of distribution-pattern of chamber-graves on p. 51.

(9) R. L. ROZENFEL'DT, "O proizvodstve i datirovke ovruchskikh pryaslits", *SA*, 1964, no. 4, pp. 221-3 ; V. A. MAL'M, "Shifernye pryaslitsa i ikh ispol'zovanie", *Istoriya i kul'tura vostochnoy Evropy po arkheologicheskim dannym*, ed. S. M. ORESHNIKOVA *et al.* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 201, 205. The extraction of slatestone from Ovruch' for distribution, often in unworked form, elsewhere in Russia seems to have begun only in the late 10th century. A date as late as 990 for the conversion of the citizens of Kiev to Christianity was proposed by O. M. RAPOV, "O date prinatiya khristianstva knyazem Vladimirom i kievlyanami", *Voprosy Istorii*, 1984, no. 6, p. 45.

(10) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 103, 108.

stressed that there are analogies between the burial ritual, as well as individual objects, found at Shestovitsy and those at Birka in Central Sweden. And, according to T. I. Alekseeva, "partially Germanic" features are discernible in the occupants of some of the chamber-graves at Shestovitsy ([11]). The facts that those graves with seemingly Scandinavian elements comprise the richer graves at Shestovitsy, and that they mostly contained warriors, suggest the presence there of a warrior-élite which was to a large extent of Scandinavian stock. However, there can be no doubt that the customs, burial-ritual and way of life of this élite were markedly affected by those of other peoples whom they encountered, especially those of the Moslem world and the Eurasian steppes. This is suggested by the costume of the warrior in Barrow no. 61. For the 26 bronze buttons strung along the man's chest and midriff ([12]) may well have been the fastenings of a kaftan, of the sort worn by the Rūs whom Ibn Fadlan observed at Bulgar on the Middle Volga in 922. Such seems to be the significance of many of the sets of bronze buttons found in Russia and at Birka for this period. The fashion for wearing kaftans could have been acquired directly from Moslem traders or indirectly from steppe-nomads such as the Pechenegs, among whose ruling classes kaftans were worn ([13]). The practice of suspending from one's belt bags richly decorated with bronze mounts was also well-known among the steppe-nomads, especially the Hungarians. It seems to have spread through the warrior-élite of the Middle Dnieper region to Birka, where complete sets of mounts of belt-bags, as well as of mounts of the belts them-

(11) ARNE (1931), pp. 294-302 ; KOL'CHATOV (1971), pp. 18-19 ; T. I. ALEKSEEVA, "Antropologicheskaya differentsiatsiya slavyan i germantsev v epokhu srednevekov'ya ...", *Rasogeneticheskie protsessy v etnicheskoy istorii*, ed. I. M. ZOLOTAREVA (Moscow, 1974), pp. 81-2 ; G. S. LEBEDEV, "Pogrebal'nyy obryad kak istochnik sotsiologicheskoy rekonstruktsii", *KSIA*, CXLVIII (1977), pp. 29-30 ; KIRPICHNIKOV *et al.* (1980), p. 32 ; Mel'nikova *et al.* (1984), p. 58.

(12) BLIFELD (1977), drawing of lay-out of chamber-grave in Barrow no. 61/4 : *ris.* 30, p. 152.

(13) See S. A. PLETNEVA, *Pechenegi, Torki i Polovtsy v yuzhnorusskikh stepyakh, Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*, LXII (1958), pp. 210-11 ; I. JANSSON, "Ett rembeslag av orientalisk typ funnet på Island. Vikingatidens orientaliska bälten och deras eurasiska sammanhang", *Tor*, XVII (1975-77) (Uppsala, 1978), pp. 389-90, 404 ; MEL'NIKOVA *et al.* (1984), p. 60.

selves, have been found in male graves ([14]). There is no evidence of mounts of an actual belt being worn by the warrior in Barrow no. 61/4, and it is possible that his bag was suspended from a shoulder-strap rather than from an unadorned belt ([15]). But in any case, the numerous bronze mounts and the contents of the bag make it analogous to the belt-bags of well-to-do warriors of elsewhere in the Middle Dnieper region, Northern Russia and Central Sweden ([16]). It was to this élite, eclectic in tastes and not exclusively Scandinavian in origin, that the warrior and his son in Barrow no. 61 belonged.

The boy lay in a rectangular coffin fastened together by at least twelve iron nails, in a pit beneath the approximate centre of the barrow. The skeleton is very poorly preserved, and no estimate of the boy's age is hazarded by Blifeld. He lay on his back, with his head towards the west. At his righthand side were found various objects which may have been the contents of a now-vanished bag suspended from a belt. Among these things were two gaming dice from the ankle-bones of a sheep or a goat, two small hazel-nuts and the ball of the ankle-joint of a beaver. The latter object had been drilled through and, according to Blifeld, it served as an amulet ([17]). Another object was what Blifeld terms a "bronze finger-ring", on which was a sealing face. He states that its function in the burial was that of a pendant charm, remarking that it "resembles a signet ring" and has "a face inscribed with the head-and-shoulders of Christ" ([18]). Among the other things in the (hypothetical) bag were a fragment of an iron strike-a-light and a flint for it. Near the boy's feet lay a small iron battle-axe with a narrow blade, an earnest, presumably, of his intended way of life ([19]), and half of a silver coin. Also in the coffin, beyond the boy's feet, were a pot and some chicken bones ([20]).

(14) JANSSON (1975-77), p. 398 and n. 39 on pp. 412-3 ; MEL'NIKOVA *et al.* (1984), pp. 58-60.

(15) BLIFELD (1977), p. 153 ; drawing of the contents of the bag, *ris.* 31, p. 153.

(16) MEL'NIKOVA (1984), p. 60.

(17) BLIFELD (1977), p. 151 ; line-drawings of the bones of beaver and sheep or goat : *tabl.* XVII : 3, 6, 7, p. 206.

(18) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 40-1 ; 150-1.

(19) Line-drawing of the axe : BLIFELD (1977), *tabl.* XVII : 2, p. 206.

(20) IBID., pp. 150-1. The groundplan of Barrow no. 61/1 (*ris.* 28, p. 150) does not always correspond with information given in the text.

The half of a coin was identified by Blifeld as half of a Samanid dirham, struck in the name of Nasr b. Akhmad ash Shasha. The correct year for its issue is, most probably, A.H. 323 (A.D. 934/5) ([21]). Blifeld states its weight, 1.69 grams, but offers no further details on its state of preservation. Clearly, it is of key significance for the dating of the boy's burial. It is, in fact, the latest of the seven coins from the Shestovitsy barrows published by Blifeld ([22]). The penultimate coin in his list is another half-dirham of Nasr b. Akhmad ash Shasha, dating from 927/8 (A.H. 315), while the earliest is a dirham of Ismail b. Akhmad ash Shasha, dating from 895/6 (A.H. 282). From the location of the earliest five coins in three barrows at the southern end of Group I, Blifeld infers that the burials there are among the earliest in the group. This tallies with his thesis that there was a gradual shift from cremations to inhumations in Group I. Cremation-burials form the majority in this group. But whereas in the southern area of the group inhumations are very rare – numbering only three in a cluster of sixteen burials – and were accompanied by rich inventories, they are more common in the northern part of the group and apparently represent the graves of ordinary people. Blifeld regards the contrast as evidence of a development, the diffusion of inhumation to lower social strata, rather than merely as evidence of different practices in northern and southern parts of Group I. In his view, Group II and Group III, which contain only inhumations, represent the next stage in the development. He connects the establishment of these two new groups and the shift to universal inhumation with the

(21) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 90, 151, supplies for this dirham the date of A.H. 332 and A.D. 935/936. These dates are mutually incompatible, in that A.H. 332 corresponds with A.D. 943/944, and incorrect, in that Nasr b. Akhmad actually died in A.H. 931. While it is possible that an old obverse die of Nasr, bearing the mint and date of A.H. 332, was used during the reign of his successor, it is more likely that 332 is a misprint for 323, which is a common year for Shash's mint output, in contrast with 332, which is conspicuously rare. 323 corresponds to 934/935, which is close, though not identical, to Blifeld's A.D. date of 935/936. For invaluable assistance on this problem, and for the suggestions in this note, I am grateful to Dr. Nicholas Lowick.

(22) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 151, 90. Altogether 10 coins were found in burials at Shestovitsy, 6 of them whole and 4 fragmentary. Regrettably, only 7 have been kept and studied. All but one of the dirhams had been turned into pendants on necklaces. The exception is our half-dirham in no. 61/1.

conversion of Russia to Christianity at the end of the 10th century. While the conversion constitutes the *terminus ante quem* for burials in Group I, Blifeld concludes from the coin finds that the earliest of the burials, in the southern part of the group, date from "perhaps even the first quarter of the 10th century", rather than merely from the first half of the century ([23]). Very regrettably, Blifeld does not state the position of Barrow no. 61 within Group I, or provide a really detailed map of the burial-ground. The half-dirham of Nasr b. Akhmad can hardly have been deposited in no. 61/1 before c. 940, in that it was struck somewhere in the Samanid realm in, most probably, 934/5. Assuming that three persons were buried in the barrow after the boy's death and before the abandonment of Group I at the time of Russia's conversion, a *terminus ante quem* of c. 985 for the boy's burial is probable. One can therefore be fairly confident that no. 61/1 falls within the limits c. 940-c. 985 ([24]). And, it is to be hoped, these limits can be narrowed a little further through examination of the object described as resembling "a signet-ring" (*persten'-pechatku*), found among the contents of the (hypothetical) bag of the boy.

(23) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 90, 39. Blifeld supports his setting the chronological limits of Groups I, II and III as between the first quarter of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century by citing (p. 91) the types of cornelian, rock-crystal and glass beads found there. The interpretation of the significance of cremations and inhumations is fraught with difficulties : inhumations were not incompatible with pagan beliefs and ritual, while grave goods of some sort can be found in some Western European and Byzantine burials of this period. However, cremations in the Middle Dnieper area were certainly supplanted by inhumations during the 10th century, and that the new ritual was inspired, when not formally imposed, by Christianity is the likeliest explanation : Y. V. GOT'E, *Zheleznyy vek v vostochnoy Evrope* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1930), p. 245 ; I. P. RUSANOVA, *Kurgany Polyan X-XII vv., Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov*, EI-24 (Moscow, 1966), pp. 6, 26-7 ; A. P. MOTSYA, "Truposozhzhenie i trupopolozhenie u slavyan srednego Podneprov'ya. Prichiny smeny pogrebal'nogo obryada", *Slavyane i Rus'*, ed. V. D. Baran (Kiev, 1979), pp. 117-18.

(24) Finds of individual coins are notoriously unreliable as dating indicators. However, V. M. Potin pointed out that coins are likely to have been lost or deposited more rapidly after their arrival in Russia during influxes of foreign coins than in times when the influx ebbed : "Numizmaticheskaya khronologiya i dendrokhronologiya (po materialam novgorodskikh raskopok)", *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, XXI (1981), pp. 86-7. The mid-10th century was, of course, a time of influx of Oriental coins.

Blifeld offers no further details about the object besides his identification of Christ on the sealing face and the statement that a ring was attached to the object by a hinge. Fortunately, he offers two photographs of the object, albeit without a readily comprehensible scale ([25]). These are reproduced here on fig. 1, a side view and a view of the sealing face. Even in the absence of explicit measurements, one must reject Blifeld's view that the object has anything to do with a signet-ring. For either the ringlet would be too small to accomodate even a child's finger or, if it were large enough, the remainder of the object would be disproportionately clumsy and heavy ! However, the field on the approximately circular base of the object is clearly that of an incised seal. The head-and-shoulders of a short-bearded man, shown frontally with a nimbus, represent the facing bust of Jesus Christ. The Greek capital letters "I" and "C" to the right of his head, and the "X" and "C" to the left, indicate this unequivocally. Christ's left hand is raised in front of his body in benediction, while a trapezium shape, seemingly representing a closed book, occupies the space of Christ's upper right chest and shoulder. A book, representing the Gospels, is a commonplace in Byzantine bust portraits of Christ. The portrayal of Christ is crude and schematic ; the sole suggestion of his beard is a line running down from his right nostril to his jaw. The sealing surface, which is surrounded by an inscribed circle, is not central to the base as a whole ; and the field does not form a perfect circle. It is also noteworthy that the Greek letters are not reversed, as might seem appropriate in the case of a seal. The side view of the object reveals a complicated profile. The sides of the object converge as if to form a hemisphere, then jut out sharply, then converge inwards horizontally, before forming another curve (see photo, fig. 1). The latter curved area comprises what is, according to Blifeld, a "hinge". The hinge is fastened to a ring which is seen clearly in the photo of the profile. Tear-drop-shaped indentations appear to cover the hemisphere-like part of the object, and the object's general appearance is rather reminiscent of a money-bag.

This bronze object, found in Barrow no. 61/1 at Shestovitsy, has close analogies with Byzantine cone seals. These have many different forms, whose essence is that they taper from a sealing face at one end

(25) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 40-1 ; *ris.* 29, p. 151.

to an apex at the other. Variants are not always clearly distinguishable from hemispherical or pyramidal seals. Many are made of bronze and these generally have at their apex "a ring or loop for suspension" ([26]). Several examples were discovered during excavations at Corinth. For example, there is an approximately hemispherical bronze object with a suspension loop, to which a ring is attached. It is small, being only 22 mm. high (without the ring). On the circular field at the base is the "device of a duck rather crudely engraved". It was dated by its publisher to "10th-early 12th century" ([27]). On the faces of other bronze seals, of pyramidal or hemispherical shapes, were crudely cut devices of lions, birds, fish, vegetation and stars ([28]). On the face of one pyramidal seal from Corinth is crudely engraved the bust of a male or female personage, presumably a saint ([29]). Instances of bronze seals with suspension rings at one end are known from various other collections of Byzantine objects ([30]). A very substantial collection of Byzantine seals, belonging to the Menil Foundation, will soon be published by Dr. G. Vikan. I am grateful to him for sending me a draft of the section of his catalogue concerning cone seals, together with photocopies of the illustrations. Since the page and foot-note numbers are not available at the time of writing, no detailed discussion of individual examples from the Menil collection will be attempted here. However, some of Dr. Vikan's general observations, as well as certain items in his catalogue, will be invoked during our attempt to identify and date the bronze object from Shestovitsy Barrow no. 61/1.

Dr. Vikan states in his catalogue that the Byzantine cone seals (including pyramidal or hemispherical forms) were second in popu-

(26) G. R. DAVIDSON, *Corinth : The minor objects*, XII (1952), p. 311. For examples of steatite cone seals, see *ibid.* pp. 329-30.

(27) IBID., p. 317 ; plate 128, no. 2677.

(28) IBID., p. 317 ; plate 128, nos. 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683.

(29) IBID., no. 2684, p. 317. The line-drawing in figure 72, p. 317, appears to depict a nimbus.

(30) For instance, an approximately cuboid example, with sealing faces on four sides and a fifth on the base. On the four sides are engraved a hare, a fish, a lion and a stork, while on the fifth is the bust of a saint : *Collection Hélène Stathatos (vol. III) : Les objets byzantins et post-byzantins* (Limoges, 1957), plate V, no. 48 and p. 60. I am grateful to Mme L. Bouras for this reference, as I am also to Dr. David Buckton for helpful advice during the early stages of my investigations into the Shestovitsy seal.

larity only to the signet ring and, like the signet ring, the cone seal could serve simultaneously as a seal and a piece of personal adornment, being hung from one's neck ([31]). Very few metal cone seals are known from the Early Byzantine period, *i.e.* 7th century or earlier. Indeed, "to judge from the large number of surviving specimens, metal cone seals seem to have eclipsed in popularity those made of stone by the early mid-Byzantine period". Dr. Vikan further states that "nearly every known example" of cone seal has some form of loop or hole for suspension – "most typically a large ring set off by one or more protruding 'collars'" ([32]). Our bronze Shestovitsy object fits this general description and its profile towards its apex forms a kind of "collar". No precisely analogous profile is discernible among the cone seals in the Menil collection. But several have cones at approximately the same angle of incline, for example those classified in the draft catalogue as D29, D21, D12 and (?) D9. While none has a "collar" identical to our example, most have loops broadly similar. On the sides of one of the finer examples in the catalogue (D5) ([33]) is a pattern somewhat reminiscent of the "tear-drops" on the Shestovitsy example. There can be no doubt that the latter is a bronze cone seal of the Mid-Byzantine period, or that it was made by a Byzantine craftsman working within the empire. This dating tallies with the 10th-century date of the burial-ground where it was found. The crudity of the design of the sealing face of the Shestovitsy seal is compatible with Dr. Vikan's statement that "cone seals ... betray a generally low level of workmanship". The "direct" (unreversed) lettering of its inscription has analogies in the draft catalogue's D21 and D23. These examples show portraits of, respectively, a male saint and the Mother of God, besides which are brief inscriptions ([34]). The inscriptions which occupy the entire field of cone seals are usually reversed. An exception is posed by the draft catalogue's D4.

(31) Cf. G. VIKAN and J. NESBITT, *Security in Byzantium : locking, sealing and weighing* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1980), p. 21.

(32) IBID., p. 22.

(33) Photo in VIKAN and NESBITT (1980), fig. 45, p. 21.

(34) For another example of an unreversed inscription on a cone seal, see DAVIDSON (1952), no. 2686, p. 317. A further example, with the unreversed letters "*ΠΕ*" beside a bust of St. Peter, is in the possession of Mme L. Bouras, Athens. See also below, p. 270.

The fact that the representation on the Shestovitsy seal is of Christ deserves attention. Cone seals are, as Dr. Vikan observes, "often incised with images of well-known saints or icons". However, none of the seals in the catalogue of the Menil collection bears a representation of Christ, in so far as it is possible to identify the often crudely incised portraits on them. The portrayals include the Mother of God, an angel, bishop saints and other saints (D14-D23). In fact, the representation of a bust of Christ does not appear to be common on Byzantine cone seals, judging by its absence from the Corinth finds and its extreme rarity among such other publications of them that have appeared ([35]). One interesting example of a bust of Christ on the face of a cone seal was published by G. Schlumberger ([36]). The bust is crudely carved, and individual features, as well as the overall design, are comparable with those of the Shestovitsy seal. Christ's face is shown schematically, with only the hint of a short beard in outline. His head is surrounded by a nimbus cross and he appears to be making a gesture of benediction with his left hand, while the lines on his right side presumably represent a Gospel-Book. Christ's head is flanked by the letters "IC" and "XC" to his right and left respectively, while a stroke above the "XC" marks the ligature. The lettering is "direct" (unreversed), as it is on the Shestovitsy seal. In fact, the form and positioning of the letters on the two seals is quite similar. No photograph of the seal's profile was published by Schlumberger, who stated merely that the sealing face adjoined a "ribbed" (*côtelé*) appendage, which ended with a suspension ring. The provenance of the seal is not known. One may in any case question Schlumberger's dating of this cone seal to the "15th century" and suggest that it was cut in the same era as our Shestovitsy example.

The sparsity of existing publications of cone seals and the difficulty in identifying the busts on some poorly preserved specimens makes it hazardous to attach significance to the apparent fact that so few of them show a representation of Christ. But it may be noteworthy that

(35) *E.g.* J. HAMPEL, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* (Brunswick, 1905, repr. Farnborough, 1971), I, fig. 56, p. 59 ; G. SCHLUMBERGER and A. BLANCHET, *Collections Sigillographiques* (Paris, 1914), nos. 594, 595, 620, 622, 623, 624, 628, 631 ; E. CRUIKSHANK DODD, *Byzantine Silver Treasures, Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung* (Bern, 1973), p. 30 and plate XV.

(36) SCHLUMBERGER and BLANCHET (1914), no. 642, p. 190 ; plate XXVI : 10. Its diameter measures 0.015.

a facing bust of Christ seems also to be rare on Middle Byzantine lead seals and to be found for that period mainly on the lead seals of emperors, empresses or the daughters of emperors. This is, at least, the impression created by the publications of Schlumberger, Zacos and Veglery, Laurent and Seibt ([37]). A facing bust of Christ also occurs on a number of seals of churchmen or monks. Several of them belonged either to prelates or to monasteries which owed their foundation to emperors or empresses ([38]). It therefore seems that lead seals showing the bust of Christ belonged mostly to members of the imperial family or to churchmen. Among the very few exceptions to this generalization are two lead seals belonging to imperial officials in frequent contact with foreigners, the "superintendant of the barbarians" (*ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων*) and the Eparch of Constantinople. The latter seal belonged to a certain Leo and is dateable to the beginning of the 11th century while the former, belonging to one Christopher, was ascribed by Laurent to the second half of the 9th century ([39]).

(37) A facing bust of Christ occurs on the following Middle Byzantine imperial seals (*i.e.* of emperors or empresses) : G. ZACOS and A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine lead seals* (Basel, 1972), I, pt. 1, nos. 56-62, 65-70, 73-84, 85*bis*-87, 94, 96-98, 103, 106*bis*, 107, 129 ; *ibid.*, I, pt. 3, no. 2676. For facing busts of Christ on Middle Byzantine imperial seals, see also V. LAURENT, *La collection C. Orghidan* (Paris, 1952), nos. 3-8, 685 (a lead token of Alexius I Comnenus) ; V. LAURENT, *Les sceaux byzantins du médailler vatican* (Rome, 1962), no. 13 ; appendix, no. 15 (a lead token of Alexius I) ; W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, Teil 1 (Vienna, 1978), nos. 18-21, 26, 28, 29. Cf. DAVIDSON (1952), no. 2825 (a lead token of Alexius I). The rarity of seals depicting Christ by himself was noted by G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), p. 16.

(38) V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V, 1 : *L'église* (Paris, 1963), nos. 5, 579, 632 ; *ibid.*, V, 2 (Paris, 1965), nos. 1183, 1198, 1204, 1213, 1304, 1354, 1364 ; *ibid.*, V, 3 (Paris, 1972), nos. 1749, 1909, 1976. The imperial foundations are the house of the Saviour Philanthropos (nos. 1183 and 1909) ; the monastery of the Holy Trinity (no. 1198) ; (the *oeconomos* of) the monastery of the Virgin, Blachernae (no. 1204). See also SCHLUMBERGER (1884), pp. 139-40 for seals of the monastery of Christ Philanthropos, founded by Alexius I, and of the monastery of the Holy Trinity on the isle of Chalki.

(39) SCHLUMBERGER (1884), p. 449 ; V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, II : *L'administration centrale* (Paris, 1981), no. 498, p. 247 ; no. 1016, pp. 556-7. For other examples of secular non-imperial seals bearing the facing bust of Christ alone, see SCHLUMBERGER (1884), pp. 58, 105, 541 ; K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOU, *Vyzantiaka Molyvdovoulla* (Athens, 1917), no. 200[a], p. 300 ; no. 874, p. 215 ; LAURENT (1952), no. 649 ; LAURENT (1981), no. 792.

It is tempting to suggest that the first owner of our Shestovitsy cone seal was one of these officials in frequent contact with Russian visitors to Constantinople. The "superintendant of the barbarians" was charged with the reception, supervision and maintenance of foreign envoys at Constantinople ([40]). The Eparch, for his part, was in overall command of the policing and enforcement of law in the capital. His representative, the *legatarios*, is said by the *Book of the Eparch* to have had the duty of notifying the Eparch of those persons "coming in from outside and bringing any kind of goods, from whichever place or country they are from". The *legatarios* was supposed to inspect the various items which they imported and to assign a time-limit for the sale of the merchandise. Subsequently, he had to present the traders together with a list of their purchases before the Eparch, so as to ensure that "nothing forbidden" was being exported from the City ([41]). This representative of the Eparch is perhaps identical with the "imperial man" (*tsarevym muzhem*) mentioned by the Russo-Byzantine treaties as escorting the Rus' in and out of the City in groups of fifty. According to the 944 treaty, the Rus' were to show the silks which they had bought to the "imperial man", "and he will stamp (*zapechataet*) them" ([42]). A cone seal could not, of course, be applied to silk. It could only be applied to such soft substances as wax, pitch or clay. Wax was one of the principal commodities imported to Byzantium by the Rus' and would, as such, have been subjected to perusal by the *legatarios*. However, no seal of any kind bearing the word *legatarios* appears to have been published and in the (unlikely) event that *symponos* was an alternative name of this official, it must be admitted that no seal belonging to a *symponos* is known to have borne

(40) See SCHLUMBERGER (1884), pp. 453-6 ; R. GUILLAND, "Les logothètes", *Revue des études byzantines*, XXIX (1971), p. 36 ; LAURENT (1981), p. 244.

(41) *Book of the Eparch*, XX, 1-2, introd. by I. DUJČEV (London, 1970), pp. 56-7 (ed. J. Nicole) ; 264-5 (trs. E. H. Freshfield). The Eparch's vigilant supervision of commerce in the City was described by R. GUILLAND, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin – l'Éparque : I", *Byzantinoslavica*, XLI (1980), pp. 19-21.

(42) *Povest' Vremennykh Let* s.a. 907, 945, ed. V. P. ADRIANOVA-PERETTS and D. S. LIKHACHEV (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), I, pp. 25, 36. See I. SORLIN, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle", *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, II (1961), pp. 330, 349-50, 449, 457-8. On the use of seals by the Eparch and, probably, the *legatarios*, see VIKAN and NESBITT (1980), 11-12.

a bust of Christ ([43]). So the link between the Shestovitsy cone seal and the lead seals of the Eparch and the "superintendant of the barbarians" is exceedingly tenuous. The overwhelming majority of known seals of these officials for the Middle Byzantine period do *not* bear a bust of Christ ([44]).

The majority of ring and cone seals were, of course, intended for private use. However, as Dr. Vikan observes in his draft catalogue of the Menil collection, there exists a "select group" whose owner seems to have been "acting specifically in his official or professional capacity". Among them is the well-known gold ring of Basil the Paracoimomenos, the mid-10th century courtier and kinsman of the imperial family ([45]). The cutting of cone seals, even crudely wrought ones,

(43) The identification of the *legatarios* with the *symponos* of the Eparch was rejected by N. OIKONOMIDES, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 314, n. 156. He cited the differing modes of appointment of the two officials, as described in the *Book of the Eparch* and the *De Cerimoniis*, I, 57, ed. J. J. REISKE (Bonn, 1829), I, 273-4. The mode might perhaps have altered during the half-century elapsing between the compilation of these two works and it is bizarre that no seal of a *legatarios* seems to have been published. However, the *legatarios'* job was, judging by the *Book of the Eparch*, at once exacting and fairly lowly, particularly if the text is taken as it stands in preference to Nicole's emendation (*Book of the Eparch*: introd. DUJČEV (1970), p. 56 and footnote to lines 23-25). The *symponos*, for his part, had extensive responsibilities and a heavy workload in regulating the guilds, directing supplies of corn and controlling the weights and measures of bread and the wine served in taverns : *Book of the Eparch*, XIV, 2 ; XVIII, 1, 4 ; XIX, 1 : DUJČEV (1970), pp. 49, 54, 55 ; 258, 262, 263. There is therefore no necessary connexion between the *legatarios* and the *symponos*. On the office of *symponos* see also A. P. KAZHDAN, *Derevnya i gorod v Vizantii* (Moscow, 1960), p. 328 and n. 81 ; GUILLAND (1980), p. 22. For seals of *symponoi*, see also J. EBERSOLT, *Catalogue des sceaux byzantins : Musées impériaux ottomans* (Paris, 1922), nos. 552, 553, p. 68 ; ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 2889 ; LAURENT (1981), nos. 1049-1087.

(44) For seals of the Eparch in the Middle Byzantine period, see SCHLUMBERGER (1884), pp. 507-8 ; LAURENT (1962), nos. 87, 88 ; ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), nos. 1812, 1820, 2128, 2223A, 2254, 2447 ; LAURENT (1981), nos. 1000-1048. For seals of the "superintendant of the barbarians", see SCHLUMBERGER (1884), pp. 448-53 ; LAURENT (1952), no. 161 ; ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), nos. 1364, 1386, 1909, 2098, 2107, 2306, 3003 ; LAURENT (1981), nos. 492-528.

(45) VIKAN and NESBITT (1980), fig. 36 and p. 18 ; cf. pp. 10-11. A fine facing bust of Christ is also to be found on the ring seal of Aetios, imperial *protospatharios* and Droungarios of the Watch, dated to the 9th century by SCHLUMBERGER and BLANCHET (1914), no. 609, p. 181 ; plate XXV : 13.

seems to have been the preserve of a smallish group of craftsmen. For "the numerous stylistic and iconographic bonds" between various sorts of bronze artefact suggests, in Dr. Vikan's words, that "the production of small bronzes in Byzantium was centralized and organized". This in turn makes it likely that busts of Christ on cone seals and rings as well as on lead seals were on the whole reserved for certain categories of person, rather than being produced at random for whoever fancied this design. For while there are no known formal regulations on the subject of the bust of Christ on seals, to flout conventions in this field would have been unwise for a seal-cutter under some sort of official supervision. The Shestovitsy cone seal is, then, more likely to have first belonged to a member of the imperial family, a churchman or perhaps a top official, than to anybody else.

We possess some further clues as to when the Shestovitsy seal was made. At least, this is the case if its design can be assumed to be imitating that of a pre-existing seal or coin, rather than being an innovation on the cutter's part. While this assumption seems safe, the crudity of the workmanship on our seal hinders the firm identification of a model. The salient features of the sealing face have been noted above (p. 261). To these may be added the observation that the three pairs of lines running out from Christ's cranium to his nimbus must represent the arms of a cross (see photo, fig. 1). The positioning of the hand and the book representing the Gospels is the reverse of that normally found in Byzantine busts of Christ. Evidently the intention of the cutter was to observe the norm by creating a mirror-image : in the impression made by the seal on wax, pitch or clay, Christ would be making the characteristic right-handed benediction while holding the Gospels with his left hand. A similar mirror-image of Christ was carved on the cone seal published by Schlumberger, discussed above. The skill or forethought of these seal-cutters did not extend to reversing the letters which flank the head of Christ. However, allowing for this flaw, one may note that the impression made by our Shestovitsy seal would be similar to the general design of imperial seals from the period of sole rule of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in 945. The facing bust of Christ is found on very many lead and gold seals of emperors, empresses and other members of the imperial family during the Middle Byzantine period, from the mid-9th until the 12th century. But it is only on the seals of Constantine VII struck after his ousting of his co-emperors, Stephen and Constantine Lecapenus, in January

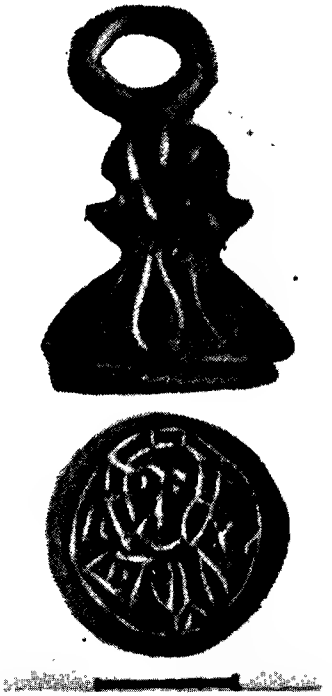


FIG 1. – Cone seal from Barrow no. 61/1, Shestovitsy (near Chernigov, U.S.S.R.).

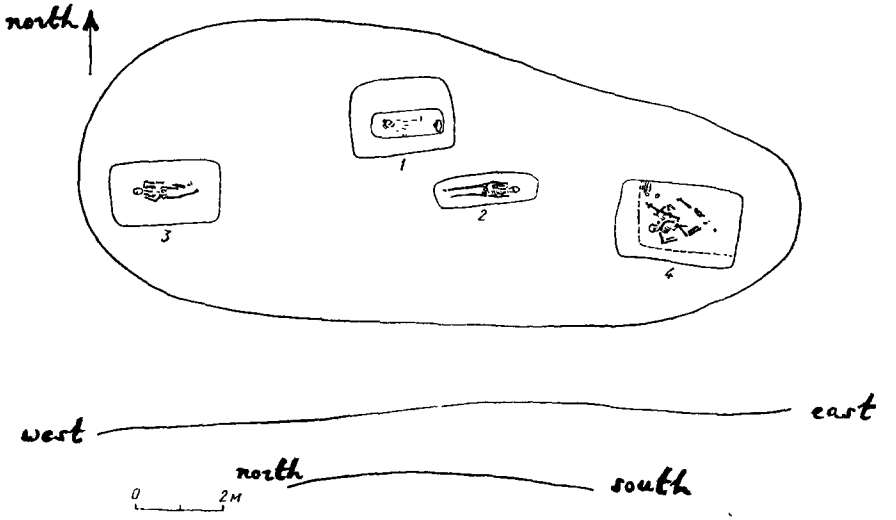


FIG. 2. – Shestovitsy. Lay-out of the four graves in Barrow no. 61 and profiles of the barrow as seen from the south and the west.

945, that a cross nimbus appears behind the head of Christ ([46]). On the earlier seals Christ's head has behind it a cross without any encircling nimbus ([47]).

It seems reasonable to associate the introduction of a cross nimbus on imperial seals' busts of Christ with the reappearance of such a bust on nomismata in 945. The bust of Christ had been revived, after the end of the Iconoclast Controversy, on the nomismata of Michael III, at about the same time as it was placed on Michael's seals. Christ is shown with a cross behind his head, but without a nimbus ([48]). The bust of Christ was dropped from the obverse of nomismata upon the accession of Basil I and remained absent from the overwhelming majority of nomismata for some eighty years. A minor exception is posed by Class I of the nomismata of Alexander, which shows a facing bust of Christ on the obverse ([49]). A facing bust of Christ next appears on a coin of Romanus I and Constantine VII which is described by Professor Grierson as a pattern, not a coin which enjoyed actual currency. It is dateable to 931. It is on this pattern that a bust with cross nimbus first appears : the three arms of the cross project beyond the nimbus and the overall effect is rather awkward, such as might be expected of an experimental design ([50]). The bust of Christ only became firmly reinstated on the obverse of nomismata some years later, in 945, when the type known only as a pattern and categorized by Professor Grierson as Class XI was struck. Here, a cross nimbus is shown around Christ's head, as it is on Classes XII, XIII and XV of Constantine VII's nomismata. The bust of Christ on them is categorized by Professor Grierson as "Type VIII (a)", the "Pantocrator" type. In all four of these classes, the arms of the cross are contained within the nimbus ; there is, however, a difference between Classes XI, XIII and XV, which have varying numbers of pellets decorating the cross arms, and Class XII, where the arms are

(46) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), nos. 69, 70 (b), 70 (c), 70 (d) ; Seibt (1978), n. 3 on p. 86 ; see also S. RUNCIMAN, *Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his reign* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 234.

(47) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), nos. 56-62, 65-68.

(48) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 56, plate 18 : 56 ; P. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1973), III, pts. 1-2, pp. 146, 164-5, 454-5.

(49) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 476, 524.

(50) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 165, 534, 548 ; plate XXXVI : 9.

plain ([51]). Classes XII and XIII are dated by Professor Grierson to 945, while Class XV belongs to the joint emperorship of Constantine VII and his son Romanus II (945-59), and is represented by many examples. I suggest that the appearance of bust portraits of Christ with a cross nimbus on Constantine's gold coins prompted the introduction of the same feature on the imperial seals. There was a close connexion between coin-minting and the striking of seals, especially imperial gold bulls, the tasks often being performed by the same craftsmen. In fact, the obverse and reverse of a gold bull of Constantine VII "bear a close resemblance to the solidi of Constantine VII, issued during his sole reign" ([52]). The bull presumably dates from the same year, 945.

We cannot, admittedly, be sure that the Shestovitsy seal's design followed that of imperial seals for, as has already been noted (above, p. 263), the bust of Christ does feature on other kinds of seal, notably those of churchmen or monasteries. It may further be objected that our seal's type of bust of Christ does not precisely match that of the "Pantocrator" type which is found on Classes XI, XII, XIII and XV of Constantine VII's nomismata. The basic gestures of the "Pantocrator" Christ are the right hand stretched out to his right in the sling of his cloak, and turned back towards the centre in a gesture of benediction, while the left hand is spread across the lower part of the Gospel Book with the thumb jutting upwards and the first and second fingers wide apart ([53]). In contrast, the Shestovitsy Christ would, in the impression made by the cone seal, have his right hand raised in benediction in front of his chest, fingers pointing vertically and, seemingly, thumb jutting away. The thumb almost touches the Gospel-Book, which itself occupies the area of Christ's upper chest and shoulder. His left hand is not visible at all, and is presumably to be conceived as supporting the Gospel Book from below. This composition would fall within the broad type of bust categorized by Grierson as "Type V" ([54]).

(51) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 168, 535-6, 550-2 ; plate XXXVI : (11), 12, 13a.1, 13a.2, 13a.3, 13b.1, 13b.2 ; plate XXXVII : 15.9, 15.23, 15.26, 15.28, 15.33.

(52) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 69, p. 62 ; plate 20 : 69 ; P. GRIERSON, "Byzantine gold bullae, with a catalogue of those at Dumbarton Oaks", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XX (1966), pp. 247, 248.

(53) GRIERSON (1966), p. 249 ; GRIERSON (1973), pp. 149-50, 168, 535, 550.

(54) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 164-6.

These two observations do not, in my view, detract from the likelihood that the Shestovitsy seal was cut after the return of the bust of Christ to nomismata in 945, and the introduction of a cross nimbus behind Christ's head on imperial seals at the same time. It is indeed difficult decisively to date ecclesiastical seals, some of those with busts of Christ being dated simply by analogy with the busts on coins. Yet it does seem significant that very few indeed of the examples of busts with cross nimbuses published by Laurent are dated by him to before the mid-10th century ([55]). So there is no compelling reason to postulate a pre-945 ecclesiastical model for the design of our seal. As for the "Pantocrator" design, this is to be found on imperial seals, starting, seemingly, with the gold bull of Constantine VII's period of sole rule. The fundamental gestures of the "Pantocrator" type can be found on the variety of Constantine's lead seals categorized as "2" by Zacos and Veglery in their discussion of the seals of Constantine struck after the fall from power of Romanus Lecapenus' sons ([56]). It is most probably also to be found on their Variety 3. For the lines which Zacos and Veglery take to be the outstretched fingers of Christ's right hand are far more likely to be the horizontal folds of his cloak, while the lines protruding from the sling of his cloak represent his right hand ([57]). The bust of Christ on Variety 1 of Constantine's seals does not belong to the "Pantocrator" type, judging by the photo of the weakly struck exemplar published by Zacos and Veglery ([58]). The gestures of Christ are not sharply distinguishable from those on the earlier seals of Romanus Lecapenus, Constantine VII and Stephen, which are dateable to the period 931-44. Moreover, on both Variety 1 and the earlier seals, Christ lacks a nimbus ([59]). It may be that, although the obverse of the nomisma was changed immediately after Constantine had ousted the sons of Romanus Lecapenus, the obverse of imperial seals remained unchanged for some while, pending the outcome of various experiments in the design of the nomisma. However, this possibility does not by itself resolve for us the date of

(55) For pre-mid-10th century examples, see LAURENT (1963-65), nos. 5, 579, 1198.

(56) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 70, Variety 2, p. 63 ; plate 20 : 70b, 70c.

(57) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 70, Variety 3, p. 63 ; plate 20 : 70d.

(58) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 70, Variety 1, p. 62 ; plate 20 : 70a.

(59) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 68, p. 61 ; plate 20 : 68a, 68b, 68c.

the cutting of the Shestovitsy cone seal. For while the gesture of Christ's (inverted) right hand and (to a lesser extent) the positioning of the Gospel Book resemble those on the still earlier seals of Constantine and Romanus I, Constantine and Zoe, Leo VI and Basil I ([60]), the cross nimbus points to the seals and nomismata issued in and after 945.

There is one other salient feature on the sealing face : the (unreversed) letters "IC" and "XC" to the left and right of Christ. According to Zacos and Veglery, this inscription appears "for the first time" on the obverse of Variety 3 of the seals of Constantine VII and replaces the inscription "IhSЧS XPISTЧS" found on Variety 2 and on most previous imperial seals bearing busts of Christ since the mid-9th century. Variety 3 may, like Variety 2, date to the period of Constantine's sole rule or beyond – to the joint-emperorship of Constantine and his son Romanus II (945-59) ([61]). The same inscription appears on the seals of John Tzimisces, Basil II (all varieties of his seal except Variety 3) and on most varieties of imperial seal up to the reign of Alexius I Comnenus and his successors ([62]).

In other words, the design of the Shestovitsy seal contains two important elements characteristic of imperial seals struck in and after 945, but not earlier : the cross nimbus, and the inscription "IC XC" flanking the bust of Christ. The seal's design has one important feature which seems to be characteristic of imperial seals struck *before* 945, in that Christ's (inverted) right hand is raised in benediction in front of his chest, while the Gospel Book on his left is not shown as being held by his left hand. One may explain this apparent anomaly in various ways – by the seal cutter copying elements from the design of more than one type of imperial seal ; by his inability correctly to discern the novel gestures of a "Pantocrator" type of Christ which he may have had before him ; or by his lack of technical skill, which precluded him from representing any but the simplest of outlines – he could manage a cross nimbus and a crude inscription, but was unequal to the demands of the "Pantocrator" type. Conceivably, the cutter

(60) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), nos. 67, 66, 65, 62, 60, 59, 57 ; plate 19 : 67, 66c, 65, 62a-c, 60a-c, 59a-d, 57.

(61) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 70, Variety 3, p. 64.

(62) ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), nos. 73, 75 (Varieties 1 and 2), 76-88, 91, 94-8, 101-106, 108, 109.

might have been copying the design of some imperial seal unknown to us, on which the gesture of Christ's right hand in front of his chest was combined with the cross nimbus, which was an habitual, though not indispensible ([63]), element in the "Pantocrator" type of bust. This latter possibility is, however, remote and the other three possible explanations all presuppose that the cutter was, to a greater or lesser extent, influenced by a type of obverse found on seals and coins only from 945 onwards. There can be no question of the inscription being copied from a coin of earlier date. For it first appears on coins only on two subtypes of nomismata of John I Tzimisces, struck in the later years of his reign and described as "very rare" ([64]). The inscription also appears on the anonymous copper folleis which began to be issued during Tzimisces' reign ([65]). It is therefore wholly improbable that the Shestovitsy cone seal was made before 945.

It is not possible to establish a *terminus ante quem* on numismatic or sigillographic grounds alone. Class XV of the nomismata of Constantine spans the joint-emperorship of Constantine and his son Romanus II, from April 945 to November 959, while Varieties 2 and 3 of Constantine's lead seals may have been struck during this period, as well as during the four months of his sole rule in 945. They need not necessarily have been superseded by the seals which showed the busts of Constantine VII and Romanus II on the obverse and reverse respectively ([66]). Most of the subsequent 10th- and early 11th-century issues of nomismata and imperial seals known to us bear on their obverse the "Pantocrator" type of Christ. They show, with minor variants, the fundamental gestures of the hands and the cross nimbus and, on the seals, the "IC XC" inscription flanking the bust ([67]). Our Shestovitsy seal could as well mark an attempt to copy elements of the design of these as it could an attempt to copy issues from the period of Constantine VII's sole rule. The nearest approach to a further

(63) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 165, 168.

(64) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 578, 590, 595.

(65) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 634, 639, 648.

(66) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 535-6 ; ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), no. 70, pp. 63-4 ; no. 71, p. 64.

(67) GRIERSON (1973), pp. 576, 582-5, 589-90, 592-6, 601, 613-26 ; ZACOS and VEGLERY (1972), nos. 73, 74 (no flanking inscription), 75 (Varieties 1 and 2), 76, 77, 78, 79, etc.

chronological indicator is the presence on our seal of the flanking inscription. For if the three varieties of Constantine VII's seals categorized by Zacos and Veglery represent a chronological sequence, Variety 3 (the only one of them bearing the inscription) is the likeliest to have continued to be struck after April 945. And it would presumably have been in use for some while before inspiring such copies as that on our cone seal. These considerations seem to warrant pushing the *terminus post quem* of the seal's manufacture forward to c. 950. As for the *terminus ante quem*, the latest time when the cone seal is likely to have been buried with the boy in Barrow no. 61/1 is c. 985 (see above, p. 258). Some time is likely to have elapsed between the making of the seal, its transport to Russia and, presumably, its donation to the boy before his death. There are thus grounds for regarding c. 950-c. 980 as the time-limits for the manufacture of the seal.

D. Blifeld raised the question of the significance of what he termed "a bronze object ... [which] resembles a signet ring". Recognizing that it bore an image of Christ and that it was found together with the pierced ankle-joint of a beaver, i.e. an amulet, he proposed that the "bronze object", too, served as a pendant charm ([68]). It had presumably fulfilled this role for the boy and also for the adult Rus' who had given it to him. Cone seals could serve in Byzantium as both functional tools and ornaments, being hung from their owner's neck by the tiny loop at their apex ([69]). But the Shestovitsy seal is likely to have had a predominantly cult significance in Russia. For the small boy would not have had any sealing to do, while it could scarcely have been prized for its decorative qualities. Its value as a piece of bronze was low, and its aesthetic appeal is not readily apparent, while "curiousity value" would hardly have earned it a place in what seems to have been the boy's belt bag. So it must have been valued primarily for its religious, or at any rate supernatural, properties, and the image's association with Christianity was known to the family responsible for Barrow no. 61. This family was not committed to Christianity to the exclusion of all other beliefs. The amulet of the beaver's ankle-joint, the battle-axe, the pot, chicken bones and other grave goods in the boy's grave indicate this, as does the subsequent insertion into the

(68) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 40-1, 150-1.
(69) VIKAN and NESBITT (1980), p. 21. See above, p. 261.

barrow of a chamber-grave, which we have taken to be that of the boy's father (see above, p. 253). Nonetheless, the identification of the cone seal is of some value as material corroboration of evidence from such literary sources as the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 944 that some prominent Rus' were espousing Christianity. The inventories of the graves of the warrior and his son are quite rich, and the size of the barrow also suggests that it belonged to a family of some substance ([70]).

The circumstances in which the cone seal passed from Byzantine to Russian hands remain obscure, as does the location. The seal could perhaps have belonged to an imperial official responsible for receiving Rus' merchants at Constantinople and have been used for stamping the wax which they brought with them for sale. But this is mere surmise. The impression made by the diminutive seal on numerous lumps of wax would have been too small to have been of much use, and we cannot be sure that the seal was ever used in an official capacity. It might, after all, have belonged to a churchman (see above, p. 268).

The Shestovitsy find represents a very rare example of a Byzantine cone seal discovered on the territory of European Russia. A possible further specimen comes from a chance find in the town of Staryy Krym, on the Crimea. It is a bronze seal in the form of a truncated pyramid with rounded edges and a trapezium-shaped upper section, through which two tiny holes were drilled at oblique angles. The holes meet at an opening on the flat uppermost surface of the seal, and their purpose was clearly to enable a suspension-thread or -wire to be passed through them ([71]). On the base is a sealing face : a craftsman is depicted striking a mallet against an object on an anvil. M. Kramarovsky, the publisher of the seal, draws attention to the cone seals found at Corinth and notes a particular analogy with the profiles of two of them, catalogued as no. 2683 and no. 2680 by G. Davidson. No. 2683 has a roughly "pyramidal" outline but also a knobbed neck

(70) BLIFELD (1977), pp. 40-1, 96, 150-1 ; *Povest' Vremennykh Let* s.a. 945 (1950), I, pp. 38-9 ; cf. J. SHEPARD, "Some problems of Russo-Byzantine relations", *Slavonic and East European Review*, LII (1974), pp. 25-6.

(71) M. KRAMAROVSKY, "Prikladnaya pechat' s gorodishcha srednevekovogo Kryma", *Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, XLVI (1981), p. 51 ; photo of profile and sealing face, *ris.* 1 : 1 and 2, p. 52.

and a suspension loop, features which distinguish it from the Staryy Krym example. Kramarovsky is led by this consideration, and by the apparent absence of pre-Mongol strata at Staryy Krym, to reject a Byzantine provenance for the Staryy Krym example ([72]). He draws attention to 13th- and 14th century Russian bone seals which have holes drilled through their upper sections to meet at an opening on the top. He suggests that the Staryy Krym seal may have been made in the 12th or 13th century on the Crimea by a local craftsman, arguing that the form of its pierced upper section differs significantly from Byzantine bronze seals. While this may be true, there is among the Corinth steatite seals an example in the form of an approximately conical seal with truncated top, through which a hole was drilled. It has been dated by Davidson to the 12th century ([73]). The analogies in the pierced upper section as well as in the general profile between this Corinth seal and the Staryy Krym seal are not discussed by Kramarovsky. Their respective materials, steatite and bronze, are obviously different, but in the general technique of their upper sections as well as in their profiles, the two seals are very similar. So the Staryy Krym seal may be of Byzantine workmanship, whether it was made on the Crimea or in the core areas of the Byzantine empire.

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(72) KRAMAROVSKY (1981), pp. 51-2 . See DAVIDSON (1952), nos. 2680 and 2683, p. 317, and plate 128 : 2680, 2683.

(73) DAVIDSON (1952), no. 2843, p. 330 and plate 134 : 2843.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF JOHN PEDIASIMUS' QUOTATIONS FROM DIO CASSIUS

At fol. 300v of *Ambrosianus* C263 inf. under the heading *Δίωνος νικαέως* (Dion of Nicea, *i.e.* the historian Dio Cassius) we find two passages that correspond to this author's *Historiae Romanae*, Bk. XXXVII. 18-19, and Bk. XLIII. 26, in the eleventh-century abridgement by Xiphilinus. The first of these passages, well known to students of the calendar ([1]), deals with the relation between the sequence of the seven planets and the sequence of the weekdays, while the second describes Julius Caesar's reform of the calendar.

The scribe of this sixteenth-century manuscript, or possibly a predecessor, deserves some credit for this attribution, for in a number of other manuscripts this combination of passages is attributed to John Pediasimus Pothus (b.c. 1250) ([2]) an authorship that has, with one exception ([3]), gone unquestioned in the modern manuscript catalogues. Indeed those catalogues have often been influenced by the standard bibliographical article on Pediasimus by D. Bassi where these

(1) See A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'Astrologie Grecque* (Paris, 1899 ; repr. Brussels, 1963), 478-486 ; F. BOLL, "Hebdomas", PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VII (1910), cols. 2558-2561 ; F. H. COLSON, *The Week* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 43-45 ; A. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich, 1972), p. 18. Since I shall not be dealing in any detail with the content of the passages from Dio I refer to these discussions, and simply add the point that in the manuscripts to be discussed here there is no overt interest in astrology, as in many texts dealing with weekdays gathered in the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* : *e.g.* Vol. VII, p. 12 ; Vol. IX : 2, p. 68 ; Vol. XI : 2, pp. 125-131. I would add one neglected passage dealing with the relation between the week and the planets : PHILOPONUS, *de op. mund.*, VII. 14.

(2) On Pediasimus see the literature cited by A. TURYN, *Dated Manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the libraries of Italy*, Vol. I (Urbana, 1972), p. 75. Add N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), pp. 242-243.

(3) S. WEINSTOCK, at *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, IX : 1 (1951), p. 14, regarding Oxford, *Bodl. Barocci* 111.

quotations are identified as an unedited opusculum with the fabricated title *De septem planetis* (4).

The purpose of the present discussion is (1) to identify the manuscripts in which the quotations appear, and comment briefly on the text itself; (2) to show that the second quotation may throw light on relations between Pediasimus and his more celebrated contemporary Maximus Planudes; and (3) to discuss some illustrations that accompany the quotations in some manuscripts, and to consider their possible connection with another contemporary of Pediasimus, Demetrius Triclinius.

(1) Manuscripts and text

Bassi identified only seven manuscripts (5). There are as far as I know, nineteen, all dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century that contain one or other of the quotations. Most however contain both immediately after the text of Pediasimus' collection of scholia on Cleomedes' astronomical treatise (6), and are usually preceded by the title *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπάτου τῶν φιλοσόφων*. The members of this majority group are the following (with the numbers of folia added where the entry in the standard catalogue is imprecise): *Berol. Phill.* 1555; *Escorial.* Φ.I.10 (Gr. 188); *Leid. Voss. Gr.* F. 51; *Monac. gr.* 100; *Monac. gr.* 482 and its descendants *Par. gr.* 2925, *Mut. Est. α. W.* 3.17 (*Gr.* 215), and *Vat. Barb. gr.* 16 (7); *Oxon. Bodl. Barocci* 111: *Par.*

(4) D. Bassi, "I Manoscritti di Giovanni Pediasimo", *Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti II*, 31 (1898), 1399-1418 at 1416-1417.

(5) He queried (p. 1417) *Med.-Laur., Plut.* 57.24, 43r. This does not in fact contain the work.

(6) The manuscripts of this work listed by Bassi (*op. cit.*, note 4), pp. 1415-1416 should be supplemented by the following: *Leiden. Voss. Gr. F.* 51; *Monac. gr.* 482; *Par. gr.* 2381, 2925 (in both cases as marginal scholia); *Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery*, 1864; *Vat. Barb. gr.* 16, 260, 267; *Vat. Ross. gr.* 986; Wolfenbüttel, *5 Gud. gr.* I am currently preparing an edition of these and other early scholia on Cleomedes.

(7) The descent of the latter two manuscripts from *Monac. Gr.* 482 for Demetrius Triclinius' treatise on lunar theory is traced by A. Wasserstein, "An unpublished treatise by Demetrius Triclinius on lunar theory", *JÖBG*, 16 (1967), 153-174 at 156-161. In the case of the quotations from Dio all four share the following unique readings (references as below): 405.20 *χαλεπῶς* (*χαλεποὺς* cett.) and 406.10 *λόγοις* (*λόγον* cett.). Wasserstein did not take account of *Par. gr.* 2925 in his edition.

gr. 2406 (22v-23r) ; *Par. Suppl. gr.* 541 (51v-52r) ; *Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's*, 1864 (112r-v) ; *Vat. gr.* 1411 ([8]) ; *Vat. Ross.* 986.

Of the remainder *Ambros. Q* 13 sup. (255r-256v), C263 inf. (300v-301r), and *Par. Suppl. gr.* 682 (35r-v), have the two quotations independently of the scholia on Cleomedes, while *Edimburg., Nat. Lib. of Scotland, Ms. Adv.* 18.7.15 (54v) and *Leid., Voss Gr.* 0.11 have only the second quotation (DIO, XLIII. 26). The latter was no doubt a late (S. XVII) copy of *Ambros.* C263 inf. since it has the title *Δίωνος νικαέως*. On the former see sct. (2) below.

There is clearly no justification for an edition of these quotations, nor for noting individual variants in these manuscripts ([9]). In the list of readings that follows I simply verify that Pediasimus is citing Xiphilinus' abridgement and in a few cases deviating from it. The readings are cited against Boissevan's text of *Dio* ([10]). P = the consensus of the manuscripts listed above ; X = Xiphilinus' text.

DIO, XXXVII. 18-19 = BOISSEVAN, Vol. I, 405-12-406. 13 = XIPHILINUS, at Boissevan, Vol. III, p. 483 (8.16-9.25) :

405.12 *δὲ δὴ* om. P
405.19 *οὕτω τέταχται] πέπραχται οὕτως* PX
405.20 Prim. *δὲ* om. PX
405.20 Sec. *δὲ* PX
405.22 *που] ποι* P, *ποι* et *τοι* X
405.27 *αὖ] αὖθις* PX
405.28 *κάν]καὶ* P
405.28 *τε* om. P
406.1 *ὅδε* om. P
406.4 *καὶ τρίτην] τὴν τρίτην* PX
406.4-5 *τὴν* ante *τετάρτην ... ἑβδόμην* P
406.5 *οἱ* om. P
406.6 *τε* om. PX

(8) This manuscript was apparently the source of a Latin translation at *Vat. Lat.* 3122 of Pediasimus' collection of scholia and the quotations from Dio by Giovanni Tortelli (d. 1466), Pope Nicholas V's Librarian. See G. MERCATI, "I codici Vaticani latino 3122 e greco 1411", at *G. Mercati Opere Minore IV, Studi e testi*, 79 (Vatican City, 1937), 154-168.

(9) *Par. Suppl. gr.* 581, for example, abridges the second quotation.

(10) V. P. BOISSEVAN ed., *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanorum quae supersunt*, Vol. I (Berlin, 1895), Vol. II (Berlin, 1898), Vol. III (Berlin, 1901).

DIO, XLIII. 26 = BOISSEVAN, Vol. II, 88.14-27 =XIPHILINUS, at Boissevan, Vol. III, p. 494 (28.22-29.6) :

88.14 *ταῦτά τε ἐνομοθέτησε]* ὁ δὲ *Καῖσαρ ἐνομοθέτησεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ* P
88.18-19 *ἤδη ... ἔχει* om. PX
88.22 *ἑπτὰ* om. PX
88.23 *ἀφ' ἑνὸς μῆνος* PX
88.24 *πτέμπτων]* πέντε PX

(2) PEDIASIMUS AND PLANUDES ?

As noted above, *Edimburg., Nat. Lib. of Scotland, Adv. ms.* 18.7.15, has the second of the quotations from Dio at fol. 56v. in the form in which it appears in the manuscripts of Pediasimus, with the exception of a minor variant ([11]). Now this manuscript can be dated to c. 1290, and is in large part an autograph of Maximus Planudes ([12]). Moreover 56v intervenes between the texts of Cleomedes and Aratus, so that this quotation from Dio is associated with the very work on which Pediasimus' scholia (often accompanied by the two quotations from Dio), were written.

What significance does this evidence have ? Obviously none if we assume that Planudes and Pediasimus independently employed the same version of Xiphilinus' abridgement of Dio, and coincidentally associated it with Cleomedes. But if we are prepared to be a little more positive, some interesting possibilities emerge, circumscribed by evidence of some independent value even if the possibilities remain uncertain.

Let us first test the hypothesis that Planudes took the quotation from Dio from a manuscript of Pediasimus, presumably one containing the scholia on Cleomedes. Now it is certainly plausible that Pediasimus would have been interested in citing the *first* quotation

(11) At 88.15 *ὁμολογοῦσι*, a variant in one of the manuscripts of Xiphilinus. Pediasimus' manuscripts have *ὁμολογούσας* a correction ex-*γοῦσι* in another manuscript.

(12) See I. C. CUNNINGHAM, "Greek Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland", *Scriptorium*, 24 (1970), 367-368, and A. TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, XVII : Washington, D.C., 1980), 57-59.

from Dio (XXXVII. 18-19). He may have been provoked by the final chapter (II.7) of Cleomedes' treatise where numerical data is presented on the seven planets. We also know that he had some interest in number theory. He wrote a short treatise explaining through such theory why parturition in the seventh and ninth months as opposed to the eighth, would be successful ([13]). Dio's passage offers analogous explanations of the correlation between the sequence of the seven planets and the seven days of the week (see further (3) below).

But against the picture of Planudes borrowing from Pediasimus is the fact that the description of Caesar's calendar reform does not have the same relevance either to Cleomedes, or to Pediasimus' general interests. It could however have something to do with the fact that at 56v of the Edinburgh manuscript the date and duration of a lunar eclipse in 1290 is given ([14]). This might have elicited a general quotation dealing with the calendar. But more significantly, if Planudes were quoting Pediasimus, it is surprising that there are not closer links between the scholia on Cleomedes in the Edinburgh manuscript and Pediasimus' collection. Close examination of the former shows that while they include fourteen of the scholia found in that collection, they consist of several others as well ([15]). Moreover all fourteen can also be found in another contemporary manuscript (*Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale*, 4476-78, saec. XIII-XIV) ([16]) that has no demonstrable connection with Pediasimus. The hypothesis of Planudes borowing from Pediasimus does not then look well-founded.

That Planudes on the other hand could have worked independently, and his manuscript perhaps have been used by Pediasimus, is suggested by two considerations. First, it is well established that Planudes

(13) Ed. V. DE FALCO, *In Ioannis Pediasimi libellus de partu septemmestri* ... (Naples, 1923), and F. CUMONT, "L'opuscule de Jean Pediasimos, *Περὶ ἑπταμήνων καὶ ἐννεαμήνων*", *Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.*, 2 (1923), 5-21.

(14) Text in both references cited in note 12 above.

(15) These scholia, both marginal and interpolated into the text, are admittedly difficult to read because of the faded condition of the red ink, but close inspection has shown no reference to Pediasimus among them. The scholia not found in Pediasimus' collection are also for the most part to be found in the Brussels manuscript referred to in the next note.

(16) Described by H. OMONT, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles et d'autres bibliothèques publiques de Belgique* (Gand, 1885), p. 24, no. 70.

compiled excerpts from Xiphilinus' abridgement of Dio Cassius ([17]). Secondly, the title of Cleomedes' treatise in the Edinburgh manuscript, *κλεομήδους κυκλικῆς θεωρίας μετεώρων ⟨α'⟩* is rare in manuscripts of this period, and indeed there is none earlier than that of Planudes' in which it is found ([18]). Yet it is the title, known to, and presumably not invented by, Pediasimus ; it is indeed made the subject of his first scholium ([19]). Add the facts that *Edimburg.* contains the fourteen independent scholia found in Pediasimus' collection, and includes two references to Theodosius that correspond to quotations from that author by Pediasimus ([20]), and we have a more plausible picture of the possible relation between the two scholars. It would be as we might expect : that the minor figure drew on the work of the major, and selected scholia from the latter's manuscript of Cleomedes. On this hypothesis Pediasimus could then have added the quotation from Dio Cassius XLIII. 26 on Caesar's calendar reform to that from XXXVII. 18-19 in which, as we have noted, he could well have been independently interested. It is also possible that the minor variants between P and X in the latter quotation listed in (1) above are due to Planudes whose collection of excerpts Pediasimus might have known if he also had access to his manuscript of Cleomedes ([21]).

These are obviously speculations in an area where certainty is not possible. But once we reject the idea that the presence of Dio XLIII. 26 in Planudes' manuscript of Cleomedes is not totally unrelated to

(17) The secondary literature is gathered and discussed by C. WENDEL, "Planudes, Maximos", PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XX (1950), cols. 2233-2236.

(18) R. GOULET, *Cléomède : Théorie Élémentaire* (Paris, 1980), p. 35, is incorrect in saying that this manuscript has only the title *μετεώρων*. The manuscripts of Cleomedes that can be dated earlier than 1300 are (with the exception of his N) those listed by Goulet p. 52, to which add *Ambr. D* 54 sup., and *Vat. gr.* 121, and, more questionably, *Vat. gr.* 207 and 1702.

(19) The other lemmata from Cleomedes in the manuscripts of Pediasimus are not such as to allow the identification of the specific manuscript of Cleomedes that he used.

(20) Thus apropos of Cleomedes 32.26-34.2 *Ziegler Edimburgh.* (6v) has *τὸ θεώρημα τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου τῶν θεοδοσίου σφαιρικῶν* while Pediasimus cites the text of THEOD., *Sphaerica* I.XI ; also apropos of 38. 1-7 *Ziegler Edimburgh.* (7r) refers to THEOD., *De habitationibus*, 2, while Pediasimus again gives the whole text.

(21) It cannot be determined from the published literature whether Pediasimus' quotations are in fact in Planudes' anthology of quotations from Dio since only a selection of the latter are available.

its presence in an appendix to Pediasimus' scholia on Cleomedes, other considerations do seem to require us to envisage Pediasimus using material derived from Planudes' manuscript. This presumably could have occurred in Constantinople in the 1290s, a possibility that can be added to existing information and speculation about the chronology of Pediasimus's career and writings ([22]).

(3) THE ILLUSTRATIONS

In some manuscripts the first quotation from Dio (XXXVII. 18-19) is followed by diagrams illustrating the two explanations given in that text of the correlation between the seven planets and the sequence of weekdays. Thus the first explanation is that the latter sequence may be generated by following the planetary sequence at musical intervals of fourths. This is easily illustrated by a series of arcs linking every fourth planet represented at a point on the circumference of a circle. The second explanation is a little more complicated. It correlates the sequence of the planets with the twenty-four hours of the day, such that if the first hour of the first day is Saturn, the first hour of the second day will be the sun, and so on ([23]). This is illustrated by two diagrams (hereafter D1 and D2) that have recently been reproduced in the context of an edition of Demetrius Triclinius' treatise on lunar theory by A. Wasserstein ([24]). The details need not concern us. Both illustrate by a series of concentric circles the correlation between planets, hours, and days, D2 doing so more economically, and with the substitution of the sun for Saturn as the first day-planet in the sequence ([25]). D2 is also preceded by a short note, reproduced by Wasserstein (p. 167) in which D1 is criticized. In one manuscript *Par. Suppl. gr.* 682 (at f. 36v), a tabular grid is even substituted as a refinement of D2.

(22) For an attempt at some reconstruction see TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, I (note 2 above), 75-78. There are no manuscripts of his scholia on Cleomedes that can be confidently dated earlier than the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries ; cf. note 6 above for an inventory of these.

(23) I.e. following the planetary sequence : Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon.

(24) Article cited in note 7 above ; D1 = WASSERSTEIN, fig. 4, and D2 = fig. 3 (both opposite p. 161).

(25) At *Vat. Ross.* 986 (232v) the object of this change is further clarified by the use of Byzantine names for the weekdays in D2. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 480 has slightly more elaborate version of this diagram.

Here I want to draw attention to two points arising from the manuscripts : the context in which these illustrations appear, and their authorship.

Let us first define the following sequence of works : 1) Cleomedes, 2) Pediasimus' scholia on Cleomedes, 3) the quotations from Dio Cassius with the diagrams described above, and 4) Demetrius Triclinius' treatise on lunar theory. Now 1)-4) is found in *Monac. gr.* 482, and its descendants (cf. note 7), with the exception of *Vat. Barb. gr.* 16 which lacks 1). *Vat. Ross.* 986 has 1)-3), and instead of 4) an abridgement of Paulus Alexandrinus' description of the phases of the moon ([26]). *Leiden. Voss. Gr. F.* 51 has an incomplete version of 1) and 2), then 3) followed by an illustration normally found with 4) ([27]) but no text. *Par. Suppl. gr.* 682 has a fragment of 1), then 3) with the unique version of D2 mentioned above. *Par. gr.* 2381 has 1) and 2), the latter as marginal scholia ; then, after an interval, 4) preceded only by D2. *Ambr. C* 263 inf. has 3), assigned to Dio as we have noted, and 4), while *Ambr. Q* 13 sup. has only 3) without illustrations. Finally, *Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery* 1864 ([28]) omits D1.

All the manuscripts that have D1 (with the exception of *Par. suppl. gr.* 682) attribute authorship to it, and with the exception of *Ambr. C* 263 inf. assign it to Nicolaus Cabasilas (c. 1322/23-1380). *Ambr. C* 263 inf. gives Demetrius Tricilinius as its author, while *Par.* 2381 also attributed D2, the only diagram that it has, to Triclinius.

Wasserstein (pp. 167-168) outlined the basic situation here, and saw that D1 and D2 applied to Pediasimus' quotations, though he took account of fewer manuscripts than have been considered here. He further wondered whether D2 and its preceding note were by Triclinius, and noted the obvious chronological obstacle if D1 were indeed by Nicolaus Cabasilas. But perhaps the question of authorship is best posed in terms of the process of anthologizing related works. The relation between 1) and 2) is obvious ; we have also considered in sct. (2) above the possibility that 3) grew out of Cleomedes II.7 ; 4)

(26) *Εἰσαγωγικά*, ed. A. Boer (Leipzig, 1958), 33.15-35.16. The same abridgement can be found at *Ambros. A* 92 sup. (37v), immediately following the text of Cleomedes.

(27) Reproduced by Wasserstein as fig. 1 (opposite p. 160, art. cit).

(28) Neither this manuscript nor *Ambr. C* 263 inf. is used by Wasserstein in his edition of Triclinius' treatise.

meanwhile provides a complement to Cleomedes II.5 on which it may well have drawn ([29]). The full anthology of 1)-4) is not found in any manuscript dated earlier than the early fifteenth century (*Monac. gr.* 482 can be dated to 1409 ; cf. Wasserstein p. 169, n. 22). The evolution of D1 and D2 in 3) could have occurred during the fourteenth century, and the attribution of D1 to Nicolaus Cabasilas has plausibility in that it could not have resulted from the influence of any other elements in the anthology. The presence of 4) need therefore have nothing whatsoever to do with 3). The only manuscripts that suggest such a link by naming Triclinius author of the diagrams for 3) are inherently suspect. *Par. gr.* 2381 has only D2, and is unaware of its association with Pediasimus' quotations. Its attribution of authorship to Triclinius seems obviously influenced by the succeeding 4). *Ambr. C* 263 inf. is interventionist in its, admittedly correct, attribution of 3) to Dio Cassius ; the further attribution of D1 to Triclinius seems to reflect the same mentality.

All this is not to say that Triclinius may not have known Pediasimus' collection of scholia on Cleomedes. He indeed copied this author's scholia on Hesiod's *Scutum* ([30]) ; and Turyn has pointed to the possibility of his hand in a scholium in the Aratus part of the Edinburgh ms. (*Adv. ms.* 18.7.15) discussed in sct (2) above, where Cleomedes is the preceding work ([31]). J. Martin has furthermore shown that *Par. gr.* 2381 (s. XIV/XV) is one of several manuscripts providing material from Triclinius' Aratean studies ([32]), though it is the only one also to contain Cleomedes with Pediasimus' collection of scholia. My own investigation of the text of Cleomedes in this manuscript indicates that it has clear affinities to *Edimburg. Adv. ms.* 18.7.15 ([33]). None of this evidence, however, requires us to believe

(29) See WASSERSTEIN, pp. 155 and 170-171.

(30) At *Marc. gr.* 464 (dated to 1316) ; see TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts* (note 2 above), I, p. 123.

(31) See TURYN, (*op. cit.*, note 12 above), p. 59 : "... handwriting which looks like that of Demetrius Triclinius". For palaeographical evidence of links between Triclinius and Planudes see N. G. WILSON, "Planudes and Triclinius", *GRBS*, 19 (1978), 389-394, and "Miscellanea Palaeographica", *GRBS*, 32 (1981), 395-404 at 395-397.

(32) J. MARTIN ed., *Scholia in Aratum Vetera* (Stuttgart, 1974), XXIX-XXXIII. He also includes *Ambr. C* 263 inf. in this group.

(33) I shall provide full details in my forthcoming edition of Cleomedes.

that Triclinius had anything to do with the illustrations to Pediasimus' quotations from Dio Cassius. Until further evidence is forthcoming D1 must continue to be regarded as the work of Nicolaus Cabasilas, while D2 and its accompanying critique of D1 remain the work of an anonymous author ([34]).

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UN RECUEIL CHRYSOSTOMIEN : LE *PATMIACUS* 165 ([1])

Pour beaucoup de manuscrits de Patmos nous ne disposons que des informations, totalement insuffisantes, fournies par le catalogue de Ioannes Sakkelion ([2]) : la chose est fort regrettable, car la bibliothèque du célèbre monastère Saint-Jean de Patmos contient beaucoup de manuscrits précieux, tels le *Patmiacus* 165, que nous voudrions décrire dans cet article.

En dehors de l'inventaire de Sakkelion ([3]), ce manuscrit n'est mentionné que trois fois dans la littérature scientifique ([4]).

Cette collection de 36 textes, tous chrysostomiens (dont 17 de genre hagiographique), remplit 369 folios, écrits sur deux colonnes.

(1) Nous voudrions exprimer notre particulière gratitude à M. André Jacob, que nous avons interrogé par lettre sur les invocations finales du f. 369^{v}, et surtout à M. Jacques Noret, qui a bien voulu nous aider à écrire cet article.

(2) Cf. I. SAKKELION, *Πατμιακὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς κατὰ νῆσον Πάτμον γεραρᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου τεθησαυρισμένων χειρογράφων τευχῶν*, Athènes, 1890. Les critères et les problèmes de l'édition d'un nouveau catalogue ont été exposés par A. KOMINÈS, *Ὁ νέος κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου (Μέθοδος καὶ προβλήματα)* (= *Σύμμεικτα Κέντρου Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν*, 1), Athènes, 1966, pp. 17-34.

(3) Cf. I. SAKKELION, *o.c.*, pp. 88-89.

(4) Cf. A.-M. MALINGREY, *Jean Chrysostome. Lettre d'exil à Olympias et à tous les fidèles* (= *Sources chrétiennes*, 103), Paris, 1964, pp. 34, 37-41 ; G. MORIZE, *Rapport sur une mission en Grèce : Patmos-Athènes (août-octobre 1964)*, dans *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, 14 (1966), pp. 26, 28-29 ; G. ASTRUC-MORIZE, *Pseudochrysostomi Sermo Prophylacticus II. Une homélie inédite pour l'Épiphanie intitulée «2e Discours prophylactique»* (dans le prospectus du «*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*), Turnhout-Louvain, 1976, pp. 33-34, avec une reproduction du f. 4^{v}, p. 24 [cf. S. J. VOICU-S. D'ALISERA, *Index in manuscriptorum graecorum edita specimina*, Rome, 1981, p. 530]. Ces auteurs n'apportent rien de nouveau.

Chaque colonne compte normalement 28 lignes ([5]), excepté les folios 363-369^{v} où on trouve 29 lignes ; ces derniers folios ont d'ailleurs été écrits par un autre scribe que le reste du manuscrit.

La première partie du codex (ff. 1-362) est écrite dans une «minuscule bouletée», parfaitement lisible ([6]) et contenant beaucoup de traits archaïques, qu'on doit probablement dater de la deuxième moitié du Xe siècle ([7]). L'écriture de la deuxième main (ff. 363-369^{v}) est plus petite, un peu tassée et très légèrement inclinée vers la droite ; néanmoins, tous les traits archaïques, relevés pour la première main, y figurent aussi ([8]) et par conséquent nous proposons de la dater également du dixième siècle ([9]).

(5) Excepté les ff. 126-127^{v}, 255^{v} (première colonne), 256-265 écrits sur 27 lignes (au f. 127-127^{v}, le bas du folio ayant été coupé, ce qu'on retrouve régulièrement dans le manuscrit, une ligne du texte est tombée dans chaque colonne ; f. 127 : lacune de *πραγμάτων* jusqu'à *συνι-* (*P.G.*, 52, 462, l. 2-3) et de *πονηρὸν* jusqu'à *ἀκρίδων* (*P.G.*, 52, 462, l. 13-14) ; f. 127^{v} : lacune de *ταύτην* jusqu'à *ἂν* (*P.G.* 52, 462, l. 25-26) et de *πρὸς αὐτὸν* à *ἰατρῶν* (*P.G.*, 52, 462, l. 37)). Il y a 30 lignes à la deuxième colonne du f. 251.

(6) Cf. J. IRIGOIN, *Une écriture du Xe siècle : La minuscule bouletée* (= *Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S. n° 559 — La Paléographie grecque et byzantine. Paris 21-25 octobre 1974*), Paris, 1977, pp. 191-199. Les caractéristiques de la «minuscule bouletée» sont attestées dans notre manuscrit : ainsi l'écriture entièrement verticale, la formation de cercles réguliers, les hastes réduites, les fameuses «boucles».

(7) Cf. I. SAKKELION, *o.c.*, p. 88 (dixième siècle) ; nous proposons la deuxième partie de ce siècle, parce que le type de la «minuscule bouletée» se manifeste surtout après 950 ; les traits archaïques sont les suivants : pas d'accents sur les *nomina sacra*, les esprits anguleux, le kappa oncial, *τν* pour *ττ*, ϵ à la fin des lignes pour *ος*, un alpha très caractéristique, également à la fin des lignes (*αϛ*), l'oméga clos, l'absence de décoration et la rareté des initiales en début de paragraphe.

L'écriture peut être comparée à celles des *Parisini graeci*, 70 (Xe siècle ; cf. J. IRIGOIN, *o.c.*, fig. 1), 139 (plus ou moins de l'an 950 ; cf. J. IRIGOIN, *o.c.*, fig. 3), 668 (de l'an 954 ; cf. K. LAKE-S. LAKE, *Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera.* First Series. *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. IV, Boston, 1935, planches 236-238), du *Messanensis Bibliothecae Universitatis graecus*, 45 (de l'an 961 ; cf. K. LAKE-S. LAKE, *o.c.*, vol. IX, 1938, planches 622-625), et du *Patmiacus* 136 (de l'an 962 ; cf. K. LAKE-S. LAKE, *o.c.*, vol. I, 1934, planches 35 et 44).

(8) Cf. note 7 ; nous supposons que les deux copistes travaillaient au même endroit : cf. ϵ pour *ος* dans les deux parties du manuscrit.

(9) Des écritures comparables se trouvent dans le *Vaticanus graecus* 2027 (de l'an 959 ; cf. K. LAKE-S. LAKE, *o.c.*, vol. VII, 1937, planche 465) et le *Londinensis British Library Additional*, 18231 (de l'an 972 ; cf. K. LAKE-S. LAKE, *o.c.*, vol. II, 1934, planches 118-120 et 136). Notons que le curieux alpha en fin de ligne n'est pas attesté dans la deuxième partie du manuscrit.

Sur l'endroit de confection et sur l'histoire de ce manuscrit nous ne savons presque rien ; mentionnons toutefois quelques notes marginales : au f. 1 nous lisons une note, dans la marge supérieure ([10]), presque entièrement effacée : ------- *του αμαρτ(ωλου) καππαδοκος*, peut-être la marque d'un possesseur ou d'un lecteur. Au f. 369^{v} nous déchiffrons plus ou moins le texte suivant : *† κ(υρι)αι βοήσῃ τον δουλλωι̣ / σου ι̣ω̄(αννην) --- πλουσι- / † τουτω του βήβληον έστι / του ἁγιου κω(ν)στ(αντινου) και του αγιου ν[ι]κ(η)τ(α) και του αγι(ου) -- / ι̣κ(αι) δεσποινοις ιμο̣ι̣ θ(εοτο)κου / † κ(υρι)αι σωσον τω̣ν δούλω̣ι̣ σου κ-* ([11]).

Cette note fournit sans doute une indication de possession. Mais de quel monastère s'agit-il ? Quand nous combinons ces lignes avec la note au f. 1 (*καππαδοκος*), nous pouvons penser au monastère de Gabadonia (maintenant Develi) en Cappadoce ([12]), dédié à saint Niketas et peut-être aussi à Konstantinos, mais ce n'est là qu'une hypothèse bien fragile.

Nous ignorons également la date à laquelle notre manuscrit entra dans la bibliothèque de Patmos, bien que nous possédions un *terminus post quem* (l'an 1200), notre codex ne figurant pas encore dans l'inventaire de cette année ([13]).

(10) Nous y lisons aussi d'une main toute récente : *περιέχει φύλλα* 307 et *ἀριθ(μὸς)* 165 ; dans la marge droite nous remarquons un autre chiffre, barré par deux lignes (*ἀριθ(μὸς)* 213).

(11) Voir la reproduction de ce folio : à la ligne 1 on peut aussi lire *βοήθῃ* ; la ligne 2 est peu lisible ; à la ligne 3 *βήβληον* pour *βιβλίον* et à remarquer aussi le curieux epsilon dans *έστι E* ; aux lignes 4-5 sont nommés les saints éponymes d'un monastère : *κω(ν)στ(αντινου)* peut être aussi *κω(ν)στ(αντος)* et *ν[ι]κ(η)τ(α)* aussi *ν[ε]κτ(αριου)* ; la ligne 5 est très douteuse : *δεσποινοις* pour *δεσποινης* et *ιμον* pour *ἡμῶν* ?

(12) Cf. F. HILD-M. RESTLE, *Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandros)* (= *Philosophisch-historische Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften 149. Tabula Imperii Byzantini 2*), Vienne, 1981, pp. 178-179 : Develi est situé à 3 kilomètres au sud de l'ancien Everek (qui signifie «saint Konstantinos» et qui, de nos jours, est aussi appelé Develi) et à 40 kilomètres au sud de Césarée. L'église de l'ancien monastère de Niketas à Gabadonia fut détruite en 1825 et rebâtie sous le nom de saint Konstantinos. De là la combinaison possible de Niketas et Konstantinos.

(13) Cf. Ch. ASTRUC, *L'inventaire dressé en septembre 1200 du trésor et de la bibliothèque de Patmos. Édition diplomatique* (= *Travaux et mémoires 8 : hommage à P. Lemerle*), Paris, 1981. Voir aussi Ch. DIEHL, *Le trésor et la bibliothèque de Patmos au commencement du XIIIe siècle (d'après des documents inédits)*, dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 1 (1892), pp. 488-525.

Il faut actuellement déplorer l'interversion des deuxième et troisième quaternions : il faut donc lire les ff. 17 à 24 avant les ff. 9 à 16 ([14]).

Les numéros des folios (toujours au recto) sont indiqués par des chiffres arabes et grecs, tandis que les textes sont rarement numérotés (d'un chiffre grec), bien que cette numérotation ne corresponde pas à la réalité actuelle : cela nous fait supposer que le copiste du manuscrit a adapté la numérotation de son modèle ([15]).

Le manuscrit contient les textes suivants ([16]) :

ff. 1-4 : *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου προφυλακτικὸς λόγος ᾱ* (*Sermo prophylacticus* I) (*Sermo ineditus* ; *C.P.G.* 4912).

inc. *Ἐπειδὴ τῷ ἀγαθῷ προσερχόμεθα*

des. *καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς φυλάξει τὸ παρὰ Χριστοῦ Πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς μελλούσης ἀπολυτρώσεως εἰς δόξαν Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

(14) De là le désordre dans les quatre premières homélies «*De fato et providentia*». Une main récente a maintes fois indiqué ce désordre dans des notes aux marges inférieures (ff. 18[v], 19[v], 21[v], 23[v], 24[v], 144[v], 148[v], 152[v], 160[v]), bien que ces indications (par exemple f. 18[v] : *ὀπίσο γηρισον φυλ(λα) γ̄*) ne s'accordent ni avec l'ordre primitif, ni avec l'ordre actuel : on peut donc supposer que le désordre fût jadis beaucoup plus grand.

Pour le reste il n'y a plus de notes marginales à signaler sauf au f. 354 quelques lettres peu lisibles, superposées en 9 étages, probablement concernant le texte chrysostomien : *χρ/ ηκαι/ αρη/ τω/ β/ π/ - /ψα/ η.*

(15) *ζ̄* (f. 37[v] : 9e texte), *η* (f. 50 : 10e texte), *ιθ̄* (f. 193 : 20e texte), *κ̄* (f. 200 : 21e texte), *κᾱ* (f. 211[v] : 22e texte), *κβ̄* (f. 225[v] : 23e texte), *κγ̄* (f. 239 : 24e texte), *λδ̄* (f. 356 : 35e texte), *λε̄* (f. 362 : 36e texte).

(16) Pour chaque texte nous signalons les folios, le titre en grec et en latin, l'édition la plus récente (pour presque tous les textes c'est la *Patrologia Graeca* [*P.G.*]), les numéros dans la *B.H.G.*, la *C.P.G.* et dans l'inventaire de de Aldama, l'*incipit* et le *desinit* (ce dernier, seulement quand il diffère de l'édition). Nous utilisons les abréviations suivantes : *C.P.G.* = M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum qua optimae quaeque scriptorum Patrum Graecorum recensiones a primaevis saeculis usque ad octavum commode recluduntur*, 4 volumes, Turnhout, 1974-1983 ; *B.H.G.* = F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, troisième édition (= *Subsidia Hagiographica 8a*), Bruxelles, 1957 et F. HALKIN, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* (= *Subsidia Hagiographica 65*), Bruxelles, 1984 ; ALD. = J. A. DE ALDAMA, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum* (= *Documents, Études et Répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes X*), Paris, 1965.

ff. 4^{v}-6^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ προφυλακτικὸς λόγος β̄* (*Sermo prophylacticus* II) (édition ([17]) ; *C.P.G.* 4912, 4956 ; *B.H.G.* 1933d).
inc. *Μῦθοι μὲν ἑλληνικοὶ θεοὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων συλλήψεων*
des. *ᾧ ἡ δόξα.*

ff. 7-8^{v}, 17-19 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ προνοίας λόγος ᾱ* (*Homilia de fato et providentia* I) (*P.G.*, 50, 749-754 ; *C.P.G.* 4367 ; ALD. 428).
inc. *Πολλῆς γέμει ταραχῆς ἡμῶν ἡ ζωή*
des. *ἧς γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ τιμὴ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 19-24^{v}, 9 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ προνοίας λόγος β̄* (*Homilia de fato et providentia* II) (*P.G.*, 50, 753-758 ; *C.P.G.* 4367 ; ALD. 268).
inc. *Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα*
des. *μετὰ παρρησίας στῆναι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 9-12 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ εἱμαρμένης λόγος ᾱ* (*Homilia de fato et providentia* III) (*P.G.*, 50, 757-760 ; *C.P.G.* 4367 ; ALD. 310).
inc. *Οἶδα πρώην περὶ εἱμαρμένης*

ff. 12^{v}-16^{v}, 25-27 *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ εἱμαρμένης λόγος β̄* (*Homilia de fato et providentia* IV) (*P.G.*, 50, 759-766 ; *C.P.G.* 4367 ; ALD. 473).
inc. *Τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν*

ff. 27-32 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ εἱμαρμένης λόγος γ̄* (*Homilia de fato et providentia* V) (*P.G.*, 50, 765-770 ; *C.P.G.* 4367 ; ALD. 357).
inc. *Οὐδέν ἐστιν ὄντως δόγμα*

ff. 32-37^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ εἱμαρμένης λόγος δ̄* (*Homilia de fato et providentia* VI) (*P.G.*, 50, 769-774 ; *C.P.G.* 4367 ; ALD. 523).
inc. *Φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν*
des. *χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ δόξα, τιμὴ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 37^{v}-50 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὅτι Παλαιᾶς καὶ Καινῆς εἷς ὁ νομοθέτης καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ περὶ μετανοίας* (*De uno legislatore Veteris et Novi Testamenti*) (*P.G.*, 56, 397-410 ; *C.P.G.* 4192 ; ALD. 490 ([18])).
inc. *Τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον*
des. *ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 50-55 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία ὅτε Σατορνῖνος καὶ Αὐρηλιανὸς ἐξωρίσθησαν καὶ Γαϊνᾶς ἐξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ φιλαργυρίαν* (*Cum*

(17) Cf. G. ASTRUC-MORIZE, *Pseudochrysostomi* ..., pp. 35-38.
(18) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.

Saturninus et Aurelianus in exsilium acti essent) (*P.G.*, 52, 413-420 ; *C.P.G.* 4393).

inc. *Πολὺν ἐσίγησα χρόνον καὶ διὰ μακροῦ*

des. *χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 55-60^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς Εὐτρόπιον εὐνοῦχον, πατρίκιον καὶ ὕπατον* (*In Eutropium*) (*P.G.*, 52, 391-396 ; *C.P.G.* 4392).

inc. *Ἀεὶ μέν, μάλιστα δὲ νῦν, εὔκαιρον εἰπεῖν*

des. *χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ* (*sic*) *ἡ δόξα.*

ff. 60^{v}-81^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία ὅτε τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔξω εὑρεθεὶς Εὐτρόπιος ἀπεσπάσθη καὶ εἰς τὸ Παρέστη ἡ βασίλισσα ἐκ δεξιῶν σου ἐν ἱματίῳ διαχρύσῳ* (*De capto Eutropio et divitiarum vanitate*) (*P.G.*, 52, 395-414 ; *C.P.G.* 4528 ; ALD. 170).

inc. *Ἡδὺ μὲν λειμὼν καὶ παράδεισος*

des. *ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 81^{v}-97 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ῥητὸν τὸ λέγον Θὲς τὴν χεῖρά σου ὑπὸ τὸν μηρόν μου, καὶ εἰς διαφόρους μαρτυρίας* (*In illud: Pone manum tuam subter femur meum*) (*P.G.*, 56, 553-564 ; *C.P.G.* 4198 ; *B.H.G.* 2345 ; ALD. 80 ([19])).

inc. *Ἐθαύμασα μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὦ φιλόχριστοι*

des. *ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 97-114 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ μὴ πλησιάζειν θεάτροις καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀβραάμ* (*Contra theatra sermo*) (*P.G.*, 56, 541-554 ; *C.P.G.* 4563 ; *B.H.G.* 2355 ; ALD. 432).

inc. *Πολλοὺς οἶμαι τῶν πρώην καταλιπόντων*

ff. 114-125^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀκάκιον τὸν ποιμένα καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόβατον καὶ εἰς τὸ καταπέτασμα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱλαστήριον* (*De Christo pastore et ove*) (*P.G.*, 52, 827-836 ; *C.P.G.* 4189 ; *B.H.G.* 1189 ; ALD. 382 ([20])).

inc. *Πάλιν μαρτύρων μνήμη, πάλιν εὐσεβῶν ἑορταί*

ff. 125^{v}-149 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ὅτι τὸν ἑαυτὸν μὴ ἀδικοῦντα οὐδεὶς παραβλάψαι δυνήσεται καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους τρεῖς παῖδας, πεμφθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξορίας ἀπὸ Κουκουσὸν* (*sic*) *πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς πιστούς* (*De eo quod qui se ipsum iniuria non afficiat, a nemine laedi possit*) (*P.G.*, 52, 459-480 ; *C.P.G.* 4400 ; *B.H.G.* 488d) ([21]).

(19) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.

(20) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.

(21) Cf. les petites lacunes (note 5).

inc. Οἶδα μὲν ὅτι τοῖς παχυτέροις
des. τοῦτον παραβλάψαι δυνήσονται ([22]).

ff. 149-163 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς σφραγίδας τῶν βιβλίων καὶ ὅπως προσφέρει ὁ Ὑιὸς τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ Ὑιῷ, καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίαν* (*De sigillis sermo*) (*P.G.*, 63, 531-544 ; *C.P.G.* 4209 ; *B.H.G.* 2351 ; ALD. 246 ([23]).

inc. Μέγα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδιον
des. καὶ Θεῷ δόξαν ἀναπέμψομεν, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ff. 163-172 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν μακάριον Φιλογόνιον, γενόμενον ἀπὸ δικολόγου ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ὅτι τοῦ προνοεῖν τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων οὐδὲν ἴσον εἰς εὐδοκίμησιν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ῥᾳθύμως προσιέναι τοῖς μυστηρίοις κόλασιν ἀφόρητον ἔχει, κἂν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῦτο τολμήσωμεν. Ἐλέχθη πρὸ πέντε ἡμερῶν τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως (In Philogonium)* (*P.G.*, 48, 747-756 ; *C.P.G.* 4319 ; *B.H.G.* 1532, 1532d).

inc. Ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τήμερον παρεσκευαζόμην
des. μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, τιμή, κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ff. 172-193 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἑκάστῳ κλίματι ἐφεστήκεσαν ἄγγελοι* (*In incarnationem Domini*) (*P.G.*, 59, 687-700 ; *C.P.G.* 4204 ; *B.H.G.* 1910k ; ALD. 317 ([24])).

inc. Ὄντως ἐπεφάνη ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάρις
des. ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ff. 193-200[v] : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (*In illud : Exiit edictum*) (*P.G.*, 50, 795-800 ; *C.P.G.* 4520 ; *B.H.G.* 1903 ; ALD. 249).

inc. Μέλλοντος, ἀγαπητοί, τοῦ κοινοῦ Σωτῆρος
des. μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ff. 200[v]-211[v] : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ταῖς Καλάνδαις, μὴ προσελθόντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας Φλαβιανοῦ. Ἐλέχθη κατὰ τῶν παρατηρούντων τὰς νεομηνίας καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν χορείας τελούντων, καὶ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸ Πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιεῖτε.* (*In Kalendas*) (*P.G.*, 48, 953-962 ; *C.P.G.* 4328 ; *B.H.G.* 2212).

(22) Une petite lacune a fait tomber la fin à partir de *P.G.*, 52, 480, l. 6.
(23) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.
(24) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.

inc. *Καθάπερ χορὸς τὸν κορυφαῖον*
des. *ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δοξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 211^{v}-225^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ Ὅτ' ἂν παραδῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, καὶ εἰς τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ βαπτίσματος* (*In psalmum* XCVI : *Dominus regnat, exultet terra*) (*P.G.*, 55, 603-612 ; *C.P.G.* 4190 ; *B.H.G.* 1937 ; ALD. 379 ([25])).

inc. *Πάλιν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ μακαρίου Δαυΐδ*
des. *ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 225^{v}-239 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ῥητὸν Οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο.* (*In illud: Nolo vos ignorare*) (*P.G.*, 51, 241-252 ; *C.P.G.* 4380).

inc. *Οἱ ναῦται τοῦτο μάλιστα φιλοῦσι*
des. *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τ(ῶν)*

ff. 239-248^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνια* (*sic*) (*De baptismo Christi*) (*P.G.*, 49, 363-372 ; *C.P.G.* 4335 ; *B.H.G.* 1941).

inc. *Πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ σήμερον*
des. *ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 248^{v}-268^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία περὶ τοὺ ἁγίου Πνεύματος* (*De Spiritu sancto*) (*P.G.* 52, 813-826 ; *C.P.G.* 4188 ; ALD. 551 ([26])).

inc. *Χθὲς ἡμῖν, ὦ φιλόχριστοι, ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου*
des. à la fin, on remarque encore quelques lignes qui ne figurent pas dans l'édition : *ἐτίμησεν τὸ πλάσμα τὸ σόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς καθίσας· καὶ σὺ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν τάξει δούλου ἔστησας. Ταῦτα ὑπαγορεύει· προφῆται φθέγγονται, ἀπόστολοι θεσπίζουσι, μάρτυρες ὁμολογοῦσιν, εὐσεβεῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἡ ἐκκλησία συντίθεται, ἡ ἀγνωμοσύνη μάχεται, ὁ πιστὸς πεπληροφόρηται, ὁ Χριστὸς δοξάζεται· αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 268^{v}-289^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ εἰς τὸν πειρασμὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν ληστὴν καὶ κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν καὶ τί νοητέον τὸ Κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, καὶ εἴς τινα ῥητὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἑρμηνεία* (*De Epiphania*) (*Homilia inedita* ; *C.P.G.* 4735 ; *B.H.G.* 1936m).

inc. *Ὅπέρ ἐστιν ὁ ἥλιος τοῖς σώμασιν*
des. *δι' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ δόξα ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

(25) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.
(26) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.

ff. 289^{v}-295^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἁγίου Βάσσου. Ἐλέχθη εἰς τοὺς φόβους καὶ εἰς τὸ Δεῦτε μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι πρᾶός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ.* (*In sanctum Bassum martyrem*) (*P.G.*, 50, 719-726 ; *C.P.G.* 4512 ; *B.H.G.* 271 ; ALD. 77).

inc. *Ἔδει μὲν ἡμᾶς τοσαύτης λόγων πηγῆς* ([27])

des. *πρεσβείαις τῶν μνημονευθέντων ἁγίων, χάριτι δὲ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ πρέπει ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 295^{v}-300 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν* (*Post terrae motum*) (*P.G.*, 50, 713-716 ; *C.P.G.* 4366 ; *B.H.G.* 1700y).

inc. *Εἰ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀρρωστία ἐκώλυσε*

ff. 300-304 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὸν φαρισαῖον καὶ εἰς τὸν τελώνην καὶ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ προσευχῆς* (*In publicanum et pharisaeum*) (SAVILE, V, 261-264 ([28]) ; *C.P.G.* 4716 ; ALD. 202).

inc. *Καθάπερ νεφῶν συνδρομή*

des. *μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 304^{v}-316^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸ ταύτης ὁμιλήσας εἰς τὸν φαρισαῖον, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ εἰς δέον χρωμένους τῷ ἀποστολικῷ ῥητῷ τῷ λέγοντι Εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται, καὶ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης* (*De profectu Evangelii*) (*P.G.*, 51, 311-320 ; *C.P.G.* 4385).

inc. *Τοῦ φαρισαίου καὶ τοῦ τελώνου μνημονεύσαντες*

des. *δόξα, τιμὴ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 317-329^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὸν ἄσωτον καὶ περὶ μετανοίας καὶ εἰς τὸ ξύλον γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν λῃστήν* (*De filio prodigo*) (*P.G.*, 59, 627-636 ; *C.P.G.* 4200 ; ALD. 446 ([29])).

inc. *Πρώην ἡμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἡ μεγάλη*

ff. 329^{v}-340 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὸν περὶ φύσεως νόμον* (*De lege naturae*) (*P.G.*, 48, 1081-1088 ; *C.P.G.* 4185 ; ALD. 399 ([30])).

inc. *Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος*

des. *ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 340-348^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία ὅτι ἀτελεύτητος ἡ κόλασις καὶ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Εἴ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν θεμέλιον τοῦτον χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λίθους τιμίους, ξύλα, χόρτον, καλάμην, ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον φανερὸν γενήσεται· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ*

(27) Nous préparons une édition critique de ce texte et du texte suivant (*Post terrae motum*) pour le «*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*».

(28) Cf. H. SAVILE, *Iohannis Chrysostomi opera omnia*, vol. V, Eton, 1612, pp. 261-264.

(29) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.

(30) Ce texte est généralement attribué à Sévérien de Gabala.

ἀποκαλύπτεται καὶ ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον, ὁποῖόν ἐστι, τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει· εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται, ζημιωθήσεται, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός. (*In illud : Si quis aedificat super fundamentum*) (*P.G.*, 61, 75-82 ; *C.P.G.* 4428).

inc. *Οὐ μικρὸν ἡμῖν τὸ προκείμενον ζήτημα*

des. *ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

ff. 348^{v}-356 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία περὶ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων ἀπολαύσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν παρόντων εὐτελείας* (*De futurorum deliciis et praesentium vilitate*) (*P.G.*, 51, 347-354 ; *C.P.G.* 4388).

inc. *Σφοδρὸν τὸ καῦμα καὶ βαρὺς ὁ αὐχμός*

des. *δόξα, κράτος, τιμή, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

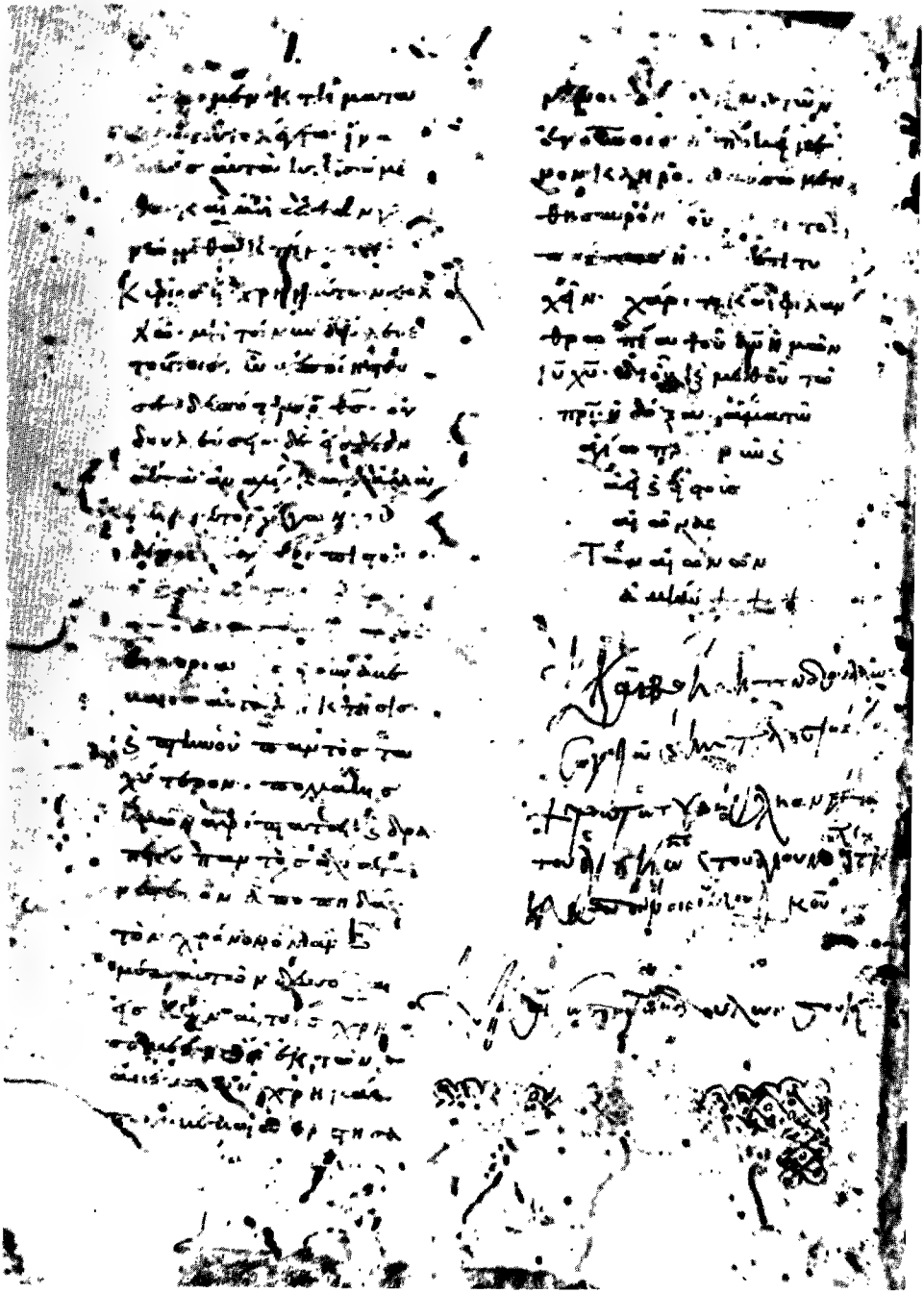
ff. 356-362 : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ Προσέχετε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* (*In illud : Attendite ne eleemosynam faciatis coram hominibus*) (*P.G.*, 59, 571-574 ; *C.P.G.* 4585 ; ALD. 307).

inc. *Οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ ἐπιστήμονες.*

ff. 362-369^{v} : *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀπελθόντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μαρτύρων ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιτελέσαι. Ἐλέχθη ἡ ὁμιλία ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰς μάρτυρας καὶ περὶ κατανύξεως καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης* (*De sanctis martyribus*) (*P.G.*, 50, 645-654 ; *C.P.G.* 4357 ; *B.H.G.* 1186).

inc. *Χθὲς μαρτύρων ἡμέρα.*

P. VAN DEUN.



Codex Patmiacus 165, f° 369^{v}.

LES TRAITÉS *ADVERSUS JUDAEOS* ASPECTS DES RELATIONS JUDÉO-CHRÉTIENNES DANS LE MONDE GREC

Le monothéisme juif se trouve à l'origine du christianisme ce qui explique le conflit idéologique qui, dès le début, surgit entre les deux religions. Dans sa phase initiale l'Église devait surtout se comporter de façon défensive et apologétique : celle, qui avait emprunté aux juifs tout l'Ancien Testament, voulait maintenant se faire valoir comme seule représentante du véritable Israël. La nature du terrain de recrutement du christianisme ne facilitait certainement pas cette prise de position. Les convertis possibles étaient, d'une part, des juifs, qui hésitaient devant toute rénovation de leur tradition séculaire, et, d'autre part, les païens et leur polythéisme pour qui la différence entre les deux religions monothéistes n'était certainement pas très grande, surtout dans les contrées où les juifs étaient assez nombreux. C'est pourquoi le judaïsme fit encore pas mal de convertis durant les premiers siècles du christianisme ([1]).

L'attaque s'avère être le meilleur moyen de défense et l'adversaire le plus redoutable était sans nul doute le judaïsme, précisément à cause de sa parenté et de la lutte concurrentielle qui s'ensuivit. C'est donc dans cette perspective qu'il faut situer la naissance du genre littéraire *Adversus Judaeos.* Il s'agit ici d'une série d'écrits polémiques anti-juifs dont le plus ancien exemple, la *Lettre de Barnabé,* doit être situé entre 115 et 140 ([2]). Les écrits de cette sorte connurent un très grand succès. Plusieurs dizaines en ont été conservés, mais un plus grand nombre encore s'est perdu. Ce genre continua sans interruption

(1) Au sujet du prosélytisme juif voir surtout M. SIMON, *Verus Israel. Étude sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'empire romain (135-425),* Paris, 1948, ch. X *Le prosélytisme juif,* pp. 315-355, avec supplément dans le *«Post-scriptum»,* Paris, 1964, pp. 482-488.

(2) Ed. F. X. FUNK et K. BIHLMEYER, *Die Apostolischen Väter* (*Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Quellenschriften,* 2. Reihe, 1. Heft, 1. Teil), Tübingen, 1970, pp. 10-34 ; P. PRIGENT et R. A. KRAFT, *Épître de Barnabé* (SC 172), Paris, 1971 ; F. SCORZA BARCELLONA, *Epistola di Barnaba* (*Corona Patrum,* 1), Turin, 1975.

jusqu'à la Renaissance, ce qui peut paraître bien curieux ([3]). Et ce à tel point que l'on s'est même demandé si tout cela n'était pas un exercice purement littéraire, puisque le judaïsme ne présentait plus aucun danger pour le christianisme ([4]). Durant tout un temps la valeur de ces traités, comme source historique, a été considérée comme nulle. C'est la raison pour laquelle plusieurs d'entre eux n'ont pas encore été convenablement édités.

Nous tâcherons d'abord de donner une idée générale de la forme et du contenu de ces écrits. En gros on peut distinguer trois genres ([5]).

1) Il y a d'abord le genre démonstratif (*expository*). Ici la doctrine chrétienne est expliquée au moyen de l'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament et on y fait beaucoup usage de citations bibliques. Il ne paraît donc pas impossible que très tôt déjà on ait mis en circulation, des recueils de témoignages dans lesquels les auteurs pouvaient puiser plus facilement que dans le texte original. Les mêmes passages bibliques qu'on retrouve partout semblent confirmer cette hypothèse ([6]). L'intention de ces textes est de convertir les juifs sur base d'une nouvelle exégèse de l'Ancien Testament : celui-ci est expliqué comme un reflet du Nouveau Testament. L'exemple le plus ancien de ce genre est la *Lettre de Barnabé*, déjà citée.

2) Les traités de controverse proprement (*argumentative*) représentent la seconde catégorie. On les retrouve le plus souvent sous forme de dialogue. Un juif et un chrétien ou un groupe de juifs et un chrétien discutent. Le chrétien réfute l'argumentation des juifs contre la nouvelle religion et les juifs doivent toujours baisser pavillon, bien que peu d'entre eux se convertissent. L'exemple type de ce genre est le *Dialogue avec Tryphon* de Justin, dont nous reparlerons ci-après.

(3) On trouve un sommaire et un commentaire des principaux traités *Adversus Judaeos* pour chaque domaine linguistique dans A. L. WILLIAMS, *Adversus Iudaeos. A Bird's-eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1935).

(4) Ceci est le point de vue de A. HARNACK, *Die Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani nebst Untersuchungen über die antijüdische Polemik in der alten Kirche* (TU 1, 3), Leipzig, 1883. A. B. HULEN, *The «Dialogues with the Jews» as Sources for the Early Jewish Argument against Christianity*, dans *JBL*, 51, (1932), pp. 58-70 s'y rallie. Critique concernant cette thèse M. SIMON, *o.c.*, pp. 167 sqq. Pour A. L.WILLIAMS qui analyse chaque traité séparément et qui n'a que peu d'intérêt pour l'ensemble de ce genre, les controverses sont toujours réelles.

(5) Classification de A. B. HULEN, *a.c.*, p. 58.

(6) Au sujet de ces recueils de témoignages voir A. L. WILLIAMS, *o.c.*, ch. I *The earliest books of testimonies*, pp. 1-13).

3) Le troisième genre est beaucoup plus agressif. Ici les juifs sont dépeints comme un peuple abandonné de Dieu, sans aucune chance de salut. Toute tentative pour les convertir est donc vaine : les juifs et tous ceux qui sont en contact avec eux sont condamnés sans autre forme de procès. Ces invectives se présentent le plus souvent sous forme d'homélies, par exemple les huit homélies *Adversus Judaeos* de Jean Chrysostome, dont je traiterai d'une manière plus détaillée un peu plus loin.

Il va de soi que cette division en trois catégories ne doit pas être prise au sens strict et que deux ou même trois de ces caractéristiques peuvent s'entremêler dans un même traité. C'est pourquoi il vaut mieux parler de l'aspect dominant d'un traité ([7]).

N'importe quel texte, même purement littéraire, a une valeur historique et il est toujours le reflet de son époque. Ceci est encore plus vrai pour les textes polémiques. Quand on se met à lancer des écrits contre les juifs cela prouve qu'on entretenait des contacts avec eux ou que du moins c'était chose possible ; autrement dit ces juifs présentaient un certain danger pour l'attaquant, l'Église chrétienne ([8]). J'essayerai de le démontrer au moyen de trois exemples, écrits en langue grecque, et qui se trouvent éloignés l'un de l'autre de quelques siècles. J'ai choisi le *Dialogue avec Tryphon* de Justin, qu'on doit dater des environs de l'année 150 ([9]), les huit homélies contre les juifs qui ont été prononcées par Jean Chrysostome dans les années 386-387 ([10]), et le traité anonyme, *Trophées de Damas*, de 681 ([11]).

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(7) M. SIMON, *o.c.*, pp. 173-175 trouve également que cette classification est un peu trop artificielle.

(8) Cf. B. BLUMENKRANZ, *Vie et survie de la polémique antijuive*, dans *Studia Patristica*, I, 1 (TU 63), Berlin, 1957, pp. 460-461.

(9) Ed. G. ARCHAMBAULT, *Justin. Dialogue avec Tryphon. Texte, traduction française, introduction, notes et index* (*Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du christianisme*, 8), vol. I-II, Paris, 1909 ; J. GOODSPEED, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, Göttingen, 1915, pp. 90-265 (réimpr. New York, 1950). Édition et commentaire des neuf premiers chapitres dans J. C. M. VAN WINDEN, *An Early Christian Philosopher. Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho Chapters One to Nine. Introduction, Text and Commentary* (*Philosophia Patrum*, 1), Leyde, 1971.

(10) Ed. *PG*, 48, col. 843-942.

(11) Ed. G. BARDY, *Les Trophées de Damas. Controverse judéo-chrétienne du VIIe siècle. Texte grec édité et traduit. PO*, 15, 2, Paris, 1927, pp. 171-292.

Justin ([12]) est connu sous le nom de saint Justin Martyr parce qu'il est mort à Rome comme martyr de l'Église chrétienne. Il était né à Flavia Néapolis, c.-à-d. Šechem, pays des Samaritains. Il se nomme lui-même Samaritain, mais dit qu'il appartient au groupe des non-circoncis. Originairement philosophe, adhérent au moyen-platonisme, il s'est converti au christianisme. Cette conversion se manifeste d'une façon très claire dans son *Dialogue avec Tryphon*. Il y règle son compte à la philosophie grecque sans renier toutefois son état de philosophe ([13]). C'est précisément à cause de son manteau de philosophe, qu'il porte toujours après sa conversion, que le juif Tryphon le contacte. *Φιλόσοφε, χαῖρε*, dit-il ([14]). Il se saluent amicalement et poliment quoiqu'ils ne se connaissent pas. Ils se promènent et les amis de Tryphon les accompagnent. Tryphon lui donne la raison pour laquelle il l'a accosté : «J'ai appris à Argos de Corinthos le Socratique, qu'il fallait se garder de mépriser et de dédaigner ceux qui portent cet habit ; mais au contraire leur témoigner toutes sortes d'amabilités et les fréquenter, afin de voir si de ce commerce pourrait sortir quelque utilité pour eux ou pour moi ... et ceux-ci se sont joints à moi, dans l'espoir d'entendre de toi quelque propos profitable» ([15]). Justin lui demande alors qui il est et Tryphon répond : *εἰμὶ δὲ Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς*. «Je suis hébreu de la circoncision ; j'ai fui la guerre actuelle et je passe la plus grande partie de mon temps en Hellade et à Corinthe» ([16]). Cette introduction imite clairement le style des dialo-

(12) Au sujet de la vie, de la conversion et du martyre de Justin voir L. W. BARNARD, *Justin Martyr, his Life and Thought*, Cambridge, 1967, ch. I, *Life, Conversion and Martyrdom*, pp. 1-13.

(13) La personnalité de Justin est étudiée à fond par R. JOLY, *Christianisme et philosophie. Études sur Justin et les Apologistes grecs du deuxième siècle* (Université libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, LII), Bruxelles, 1973.

(14) JUSTIN, *Dial.*, I, 1. Texte et traduction du *Dialogue avec Tryphon* seront cités d'après l'édition d'Archambault.

(15) JUSTIN, *Dial.*, I, 2 : *Ἐδιδάχθην ἐν Ἄργει ὑπὸ Κορίνθου τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ καταφρονεῖν οὐδὲ ἀμελεῖν τῶν περικειμένων τόδε τὸ σχῆμα, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς φιλοφρονεῖσθαι προσομιλεῖν τε αὐτοῖς, εἴ τι ὄφελος ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας γένοιτο ἢ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἢ ἐμοί ... οὗτοι τε συνεφέπονταί μοι, προσδοκῶντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκούσεσθαί τι χρηστὸν ἐκ σοῦ.*

(16) JUSTIN, *Dial.*, I, 3 : *εἰμὶ δὲ Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς, φυγὼν τὸν νῦν γενόμενον πόλεμον, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Κορίνθῳ τὰ πολλὰ διάγων*. L'identification de Tryphon avec le rabbin bien connu Tarphon est certainement à exclure : l'aimable Tryphon ne ressemble en rien à Tarphon, qui était extrêmement anti-chrétien et qui jura qu'il brûlerait tous leurs livres, y compris les évangiles, quoiqu'on y retrouvât

gues socratiques de Platon et on y retrouve aussi toutes sortes d'allusions littéraires ([17]). Mais les indications de lieu et de temps sont extrêmement précises. Le juif Tryphon a fui la Palestine. Par la guerre, qui fait rage là-bas, il entend l'insurrection de Bar Kochba contre la domination romaine, qui fut réprimée de façon sanglante en 135. Tryphon partit pour la Grèce et fit connaissance avec la philosophie grecque à Argos. La mention de ce lieu n'est pas due au hasard : par Philon, nous apprenons qu'à Argos, il y avait une communauté juive très florissante ([18]). De même que Corinthe, où Tryphon réside maintenant de préférence, n'est pas un ville étrangère non plus pour les juifs ([19]).

On pourrait considérer tout cela comme un encadrement purement littéraire par lequel Justin tente de rendre son dialogue fictif plus vivant. C'est possible, mais cela n'enlève rien à la valeur. Car Justin fait ici mention de faits et de circonstances qu'il connaît bien. Il est le personnage principal du dialogue et les difficultés de son partenaire Tryphon il peut bien les avoir vécues de près lui aussi.

Nous ne savons pas grand-chose de la vie de Justin. Par exemple, nous ignorons quand et pourquoi il a quitté Šechem, sa ville natale. Nous savons qu'il est issu d'une famille païenne et qu'il s'est converti au christianisme par la voie du platonisme. Si on ignore où et quand cette conversion a eu lieu, on la place le plus souvent juste avant l'insurrection de Bar Kochba, parce que cette rébellion est mentionnée dans le *Dialogue avec Tryphon* ([20]). Cette conversion peut avoir eu lieu à Éphèse où l'historien de l'Église, Eusèbe, (IIIe siècle) situe le dialogue ([21]) ou à Corinthe où le juif Tryphon déclare qu'il vit la

le nom de Dieu. Cf. L. W. BARNARD, *o.c.*, p. 24 ; N. HYLDAHL, *Philosophie und Christentum. Eine Interpretation der Einleitung zum Dialog Justins*, Copenhague, 1966, p. 96. S. KRAUSS, *The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers. The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 5 (1893), pp. 125-126), croit qu'il y a une analogie linguistique entre le grec *Τρύφων* et l'hébreu טַרְפִּין. Si nous savons que *Τρύφων* était un nom propre très commun et qu'il était souvent porté par des juifs, il n'est plus nécessaire de chercher des identifications possibles, cf. W. PAPE-G. BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen II*, Graz, 1959[3], s.v. *Τρύφων*.

(17) Cf. J. C. M. VAN WINDEN (*o.c.*, cf. n. 9), pp. 22-29.

(18) PHILON d'ALEX., *De legatione ad Gaium*, 281.

(19) PHILON D'ALEX., *De legatione ad Gaium*, 281. Là Paul a prêché dans la synagogue, cf. les deux lettres aux Corinthiens.

(20) Cf. L. W. BARNARD (*o.c.*, cf. n. 12), p. 13.

(21) EUSÈBE, *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 18, 6 : *καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους συνέταξεν,*

plupart du temps et où l'on doit peut-être situer le dialogue. De même qu'on peut aussi citer Šechem, où Justin a passé sa jeunesse. Dans cette dernière éventualité, il ne paraît pas impossible que Justin ait quitté cette ville précisément à cause de sa conversion au christianisme. Nous ne devons d'ailleurs pas oublier que jusqu'au moment de la promulgation de l'Édit de Tolérance en 313 par l'empereur Constantin, le christianisme était simplement toléré et de temps à autre fortement persécuté. Les juifs au contraire étaient traités de façon différente. On ne prenait des mesures répressives contre le judaïsme qu'en cas de troubles politiques ou de révolte contre les dominateurs romains. C'est ce qui arriva pendant et après la révolte de Bar Kochba : les Romains détruisirent alors 985 villages et tuèrent 580.000 personnes ([22]). Sinon le judaïsme était à ce moment-là bien une *religio licita*, reconnue par les autorités romaines, ce qui n'était sûrement pas le cas pour le christianisme ... Le chrétien Justin ne se trouve donc pas en meilleure position que son adversaire juif, Tryphon, ce qui explique, partiellement du moins, le ton courtois du dialogue.

Après la scène de la rencontre suit un débat théologique de deux jours. La but de Justin est de convertir les juifs à la croyance en Jésus-Christ, le fils de Dieu, de les initier à la nouvelle religion et de les faire participer ainsi au salut. Il essaie d'y parvenir d'une manière rationnelle à partir de son éducation philosophique en argumentant lui-même et en écoutant les arguments de l'adversaire. Durant la seconde journée d'autres membres de la communauté juive les rejoignent, mais Tryphon reste leur porte-parole. Il est normal que Justin, le rapporteur et apologiste du christianisme se conformant à la méthode socratique ne cède que très peu la parole à la partie adverse et la laisse faire des concessions, qu'un juif convaincu ne ferait jamais. Même si le *Dialogue avec Tryphon* est le compte rendu d'un véritable débat, ce n'est tout compte fait pas un récit journalistique : Justin veut gagner le lecteur à la doctrine chrétienne. Pour atteindre cet objectif, la réalité doit être quelque peu embellie. Mais, à la fin de la discussion, les juifs ne se sont pas convertis ! Ceci est réellement important. S'ils

ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα τῶν τότε Ἑβραίων ἐπιστημότατον πεποίηται.

(22) Cf. DION CASSIUS, *Hist. rom.*, LXIX, 14, 1.

ne se sont pas convertis, ce n'est ni par esprit de contradiction ni parce qu'ils sont possédés par le diable. Au contraire, ce sont des gens aimables et cultivés, qui se trouvent toujours prêts à participer à une discussion honnête. Tryphon l'a affirmé au début : il veut apprendre. Mais ils ne sont pas convaincus, tout simplement parce que Justin n'était pas assez convaincant. Ceci ne peut être une altération de la réalité, mais doit être l'expression de la position inconfortable dans laquelle le christianisme se trouvait à ses débuts. Le dialogue se termine ainsi : Tryphon concède qu'il a pris un grand plaisir à la conversation. Elle l'a incité, ainsi que ses amis, à étudier la Bible avec plus d'attention. Il espère que plus tard Justin pensera à eux comme à des amis. Les juifs souhaitent à Justin, qui est sur le point de s'embarquer pour une destination non mentionnée, bon voyage et beaucoup de bonheur. Et Justin répond à leurs souhaits en disant : «La meilleure prière que je puisse faire pour vous, amis, c'est de demander que vous reconnaissiez que le bonheur est donné à tout homme par cette voie et que vous en veniez vous aussi à croire comme nous que Jésus est le Christ de Dieu» ([23]). Donc aucune trace d'inimitié, mais pas de victoire éclatante non plus.

Nous ne saurons certainement jamais si le dialogue du chrétien Justin avec le Juif Tryphon a vraiment eu lieu et si le débat s'est déroulé de cette façon-là. Les avis sont partagés et il y a des arguments pour et contre. Plus importante est la question de savoir si de tels débats entre juifs et chrétiens étaient possibles et s'ils ont réellement eu lieu. La réponse est sans nul doute affirmative. Il y a tout d'abord les facteurs externes qui démontrent l'historicité de pareilles discussions. Les spécialistes des traités *Adversus Judaeos* négligent fréquemment la littérature hébraïque. Dans le Talmud et le Midrash, on polémise pourtant souvent contre les *Minim* ([24]). Et par *Minim* on n'entend

(23) JUSTIN, *Dial.*, CXLII, 3 *Οὐδὲν ἄλλο μεῖζον ὑμῖν εὔχεσθαι δύναμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἢ ἵνα, ἐπιγνόντες διὰ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ δίδοσθαι παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ εὐδαιμονεῖν πάντως καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ὅμοια ποιήσητε, τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

(24) *Min* signifie «espèce, sorte» et correspond au grec *γένος*. *Minim* est donc originairement un groupe qui se distingue. Pour FRIEDLAENDER, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnostizismus*, Göttingen, 1898, les Minim sont des gnostiques, pour R. T. HERFORD, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, Londres, 1903, ce sont des judéo-chrétiens. M. SIMON (*o.c.*, cf. n. 1), ch. VII, *Les chrétiens dans le Talmud*, pp. 214-238 a démontré que le terme Minim ne signifiait pas seulement des juifs

certainement pas seulement les juifs christianisés ou les chrétiens judaïsés. Je le vois plutôt comme un nom collectif pour la grande variété de sectes qui caractérisait les premiers siècles du christianisme, variété qui n'était pas toujours distinguée par l'orthodoxie juive. Dans le Talmud, il est souvent fait allusion à des discussions entre chrétiens et rabbis. Là, les controverses au sujet du texte biblique exact et de son exégèse sont à l'ordre du jour. Et même si les *Minim* ne sont pas explicitement nommés, de longs passages répondent exactement aux arguments de réfutation du judaïsme que les chrétiens emploient dans la littérature anti-juive ([25]).

Le témoignage du père de l'Église Jérôme plaide également pour l'existence de cette sorte de contacts. Dans ses œuvres il en parle régulièrement. Polémiser avec les juifs est une entreprise scabreuse, dit-il. Les discussions sont très violentes car les juifs sont friands de débats concernant des matières religieuses. Ils profitent de chaque occasion pour mettre les chrétiens au pied du mur et pour les ridiculiser ([26]). Jérôme parle naturellement de ses propres expériences au quatrième siècle. Mais quand nous constatons que l'on retrouve les mêmes arguments, comme l'authenticité et l'interprétation de certains passages bibliques, non seulement dans les disputes réelles mentionnées par Jérôme, mais aussi dans le *Dialogue avec Tryphon* de Justin, nous ne pouvons plus douter que Justin ait également connu de telles discussions.

Enfin, on ne doit pas sous-estimer les indications internes du *Dialogue avec Tryphon.* Si nous le situons à Éphèse, comme le fait Eusèbe, alors l'esquisse que fait Justin du plan d'ensemble, correspond tout à fait à la situation urbaine de cette période. Tryphon est dépeint comme un juif hellénisé et éclairé qui possède un grand bagage de culture païenne et ses compagnons sont assez instruits pour pouvoir suivre l'exposé. Qu'à ce moment-là, les juifs d'Éphèse aient été intégralement hellénisés est prouvé entre autres par les inscriptions

convertis au christianisme, mais qu'il s'appliquait aussi à des chrétiens de n'importe quelle tendance, puisque les juifs considéraient le christianisme comme un grand reniement de la foi.

(25) Cf. M. SIMON (*o.c.*, n. 1), pp. 222-223.

(26) *E.a.* JÉRÔME, *In Es.*, III, VII, 14 : ut cum Iudaeis conferamus pedem, et nequaquam contentioso fune praebeamus eis risum nostrae imperitiae.

grecques sur les tombes qu'on y a retrouvées. Même les noms hébreux sont hellénisés ([27]).

Il n'y avait donc pas de problèmes linguistiques ni culturels. D'autre part Justin fait preuve d'une bonne connaissance du judaïsme. Dans le *Dialogue avec Tryphon*, on retrouve beaucoup d'éléments de l'Hagadah ([28]), et ses descriptions de certaines coutumes juives sont basées sur la réalité. Par exemple, les lois lévitiques sur l'alimentation et le jeûne rituel des juifs, n'ont pas de secrets pour lui. De même, quand il reproche aux juifs leur polygamie ([29]), une accusation qu'on ne retrouve chez aucun autre père de l'Église, ce ne sont pas des paroles creuses puisque la polygamie était permise durant la période talmudique.

La conclusion est donc évidente : le *Dialogue avec Tryphon* de Justin est peut-être un dialogue fictif ou l'adaptation littéraire d'un dialogue réel, mais il est certain qu'il nous donne un assez bonne description de la manière dont juifs et chrétiens entraient en contact et de leur attitude mutuelle à ces moments-là.

* * *

Les homélies *Adversus Judaeos* de Jean Chrysostome ne posent pas de problèmes de ce genre. Elles ont certainement été prononcées à Antioche dans les années 386 et 387 à l'occasion des fêtes de fin d'année de Yom Kippour, Rosh hashanah, etc. ([30]). Du haut de sa chaire à l'église, Jean Chrysostome s'emporte contre les chrétiens qui se joindraient à la célébration des juifs et qui se rendraient à la

(27) Cf. S. KRAUSS., *Ephesus*, The Jewish Encyclopedia, V (1943), p. 185.

(28) GOLDFAHN, *Justin Martyr and the Agada*, Graetz's Monatschrift, 22 (1873), en a parlé (non consulté ; S. KRAUSS, *The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers*, (a.c., n. 16), p. 134 y renvoie).

(29) JUSTIN, *Dial.* CXXXIV, 1 : *τοῖς ἀσυνέτοις καὶ τυφλοῖς διδασκάλοις ὑμῶν, οἵτινες καὶ μέχρι νῦν καὶ τέσσαρας καὶ πέντε ἔχειν ὑμᾶς γυναῖκας ἕκαστον συγχωροῦσι.*

(30) J. JUSTER, *Les Juifs dans l'empire Romain*, I, Paris, 1914, p. 62 cite Usener, qui, en 1889, fixait une date exacte pour chaque homélie, allant d'août 387 à septembre 389. M. SIMON, *La polémique anti-juive de S. Jean Chrysostome et le mouvement judaïsant d'Antioche*, dans *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 4 (1936) (Mélanges F. CUMONT), p. 403 suit E. SCHWARTZ, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln*, Berlin, 1905, p. 164 sq., qui date les homélies de 386 et de 387.

synagogue durant ces jours. Le ton ainsi que le choix des mots sont très grossiers. En voici quelques exemples :

Adv. Jud. I, 1 : «Une maladie s'est développée dans le corps de l'Église ... Quelle est donc cette maladie ? Les fêtes des misérables et malheureux juifs sont célébrées sans interruption, l'une après l'autre : trompettes, fêtes des tabernacles, jeûnes. Et beaucoup de ceux qui appartiennent à nos rangs et qui prétendent avoir notre esprit, sont présents à ces fêtes en tant que spectateurs, et certains même les célèbrent avec eux et s'associent au jeûne» ([31]).

La métaphore du judaïsme comme maladie domine toute cette œuvre.

Adv. Jud. I, 2 : «Comme des bêtes, privées de raison, qui deviennent plus désobéissantes et qui sont plus difficiles à contenir quand leur râtelier est bien garni et quand elles sont bien en chair, et qui alors ne supportent plus le joug, ni les rênes, ni la main du conducteur, ainsi se comporte le peuple juif : mus jusqu'au plus grand mal par l'ébriété et l'obésité, ils dansaient et n'acceptaient pas le joug du Christ et ils ne tiraient plus la charrue de la doctrine» ([32]).

Adv. Jud. I, 7 : «Que voulez-vous que je dise encore ? Leur rapacité, leur cupidité, la trahison des pauvres, les vols, leur mentalité de grappilleurs ? Toute une journée ne suffirait même pas pour raconter tout cela» ([33]).

Adv. Jud. IV, 1 : «Si aujourd'hui les juifs, qui sont pires que tous les loups, ourdissent le plan d'encercler nos moutons, nous devons les

(31) *νόσημα ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας πεφυτευμένον ... τί δέ ἐστι τὸ νόσημα ; Ἑορταὶ τῶν ἀθλίων καὶ ταλαιπώρων Ἰουδαίων μέλλουσι προσελαύνειν συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπάλληλοι, αἱ σάλπιγγες, αἱ σκηνοπηγίαι, αἱ νηστεῖαι· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν τεταγμένων καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα λεγόντων φρονεῖν, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἀπαντῶσι τῶν ἑορτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ συνεορτάζουσι καὶ τῶν νηστειῶν κοινωνοῦσι.* Les trompettes se réfèrent au nouvel an juif, le jeûne à Yom Kippour.

(32) *καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἄλογα, ἐπειδὰν δαψιλοῦς ἀπολαύσῃ φάτνης, εἰς πολυσαρκίαν ἐκβάντα, φιλονεικότερα καὶ δυσκάθεκτα γίνεται, καὶ οὔτε ζυγοῦ, οὔτε ἡνίας, οὔτε ἡνιόχου χειρὸς ἀνέχεται· οὕτω καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δῆμος, ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης καὶ πολυσαρκίας εἰς κακίαν ἐσχάτην κατενεχθέντες, ἐσκίρτησαν καὶ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδὲ τὸ ἄροτρον τῆς διδασκαλίας εἵλκυσαν.*

(33) *Τί βούλεσθε ἕτερον εἴπω ; τὰς ἁρπαγάς, τὰς πλεονεξίας, τὰς τῶν πενήτων προδοσίας, τὰς κλοπάς, τὰς καπηλείας ; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πᾶσα ἡμῖν πρὸς ταύτην ἀρκέσει τὴν διήγησιν ἡ ἡμέρα.*

empoigner et nous battre, pour qu'aucun de nous ne devienne la proie de ces bêtes sauvages» ([34]).

Adv. Jud. IV, 7: «Si vous avez un serviteur, si vous avez une femme, tenez-les à la maison avec beaucoup de circonspection. Car, si vous ne permettez pas qu'ils aillent au théâtre, avec plus de raison encore vous devez leur défendre de fréquenter la synagogue : car ce crime-là est encore plus grand que le premier. Ce qui se passe là c'est le péché, l'impiété y règne» ([35]).

Et ce ne sont que quelques exemples. Toutes les homélies sont écrites de cette manière. D'où vient chez Jean Chrysostome cette haine contre le judaïsme ? Pour la comprendre, il faut d'abord connaître l'arrière-plan sur lequel ces homélies doivent être projetées ([36]).

À la fin du quatrième siècle, Antioche est une métropole d'environ 200.000 habitants, esclaves, femmes et enfants non compris. Les chrétiens en forment la moitié. Il y a une importante école théologique où l'on s'adonne à l'exégèse de la Bible selon la signification historique et littérale. Différents commentaires bibliques sont sortis de cette école. Mais, à Antioche, il y a aussi une communauté juive très florissante. Depuis la fondation de la ville, durant la période hellénistique, les juifs y auraient acquis le droit de cité complet ([37]). On n'avait

(34) *ἐπειδὴ δὲ σήμερον οἱ λύκων ἁπάντων χαλεπώτεροι Ἰουδαῖοι περίστασθαι ἡμῶν τὰ πρόβατα μέλλουσιν, ἀνάγκη πυκτεύειν καὶ μάχεσθαι, ὅπως μηδὲν ἡμῖν θηριάλωτον γένηται.*

(35) *κἂν οἰκέτην ἔχῃς, κἂν γυναῖκα, κάτεχε ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σφοδρότητος. εἰ γὰρ εἰς θέατρον οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις ἀπελθεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ συναγωγῆς τοῦτο χρὴ ποιεῖν· μείζων γὰρ ἡ παρανομία ἐκείνης αὕτη· ἐκεῖ ἁμαρτία τὸ γινόμενον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀσέβεια.*

(36) Pour l'histoire d'Antioche en cette période voir G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton, 1961, ch. 15 *Theodosius I and Arcadius, A.D. 379-408*, pp. 414-449.

(37) Selon FLAVIUS JOSEPH, *Contra Apionem*, 2, 39 ; *Ant.*, 12, 119 ; *Bell.*, 7, 43 sqq. G. DOWNEY, *o.c.*, p. 80 croit que c'est exagéré et il pense que l'hypothèse selon laquelle des juifs, comme les vétérans de Seleucos I, fondateur de la ville, pouvaient, s'ils le souhaitaient, se faire inscrire à titre individuel sur la liste des citoyens, est plus plausible. Comme véritables citoyens, les juifs auraient également dû adorer les dieux de la ville, dit Downey, ce qu'ils ne pouvaient certainement pas faire en leur qualité de juifs. C. H. KRAELING, *The Jewish community at Antioch*, dans *JBL*, 60 (1932), pp. 137-139 pense également que ce privilège n'était accordé qu'à certains juifs. Par la création d'un *πολίτευμα* juif dans la ville d'Antioche, les Juifs pouvaient observer leurs propres lois et de ce fait maintenir leur individualité religieuse.

pas prévu de quartier spécial pour eux. Ils se sont éparpillés à travers la ville et ils y ont au minimum deux synagogues ([38]). Ils vivent généralement dans l'aisance et leur influence y est très grande. Comme pièce à conviction nous pouvons citer Libanius, le célèbre orateur païen – Jean Chrysostome aussi s'est formé à son école – qui entretenait des relations amicales avec le patriarche juif qui appartenait à la famille Hillel. Différentes lettres de Libanius lui sont adressées : ce sont pour la plupart des lettres de recommandation surtout en faveur de païens ([39]). Libanius a également collaboré avec d'autres dirigeants juifs, très probablement des membres du sanhédrin ([40]). Les homélies de Jean Chrysostome prouvent que cette puissance juive ne s'étendait pas seulement sur les païens mais aussi sur les chrétiens ; beaucoup de chrétiens assistent aux services religieux juifs et vont consulter les rabbis pour leurs problèmes juridiques. C'était fort normal qu'ils aient plus confiance en la juridiction juive qu'en la justice de l'État, car cette dernière était très mauvaise et assez corrompue. Libanius en témoigne également ([41]).

Durant cette période donc, Antioche semble encore être un terrain fertile pour le prosélytisme juif. Il n'y a pas si longtemps régnait l'empereur Julien le Philosophe – de 361 à 363 – et ce règne a laissé quelques traces, spécialement dans cette ville. Julien était chrétien de naissance mais il s'était converti au paganisme. Sa politique était carrément anti-chrétienne. Son objectif principal était de restaurer complètement la gloire ancienne de l'hellénisme et d'éliminer le christianisme, comme représentant un culture inférieure. Pendant son règne très court, Julien avait résidé quelque temps à Antioche et il

(38) Selon le témoignage de Jean Chrysostome, une dans le centre de la ville (dans le quartier Kerateion) et une autre dans le faubourg Daphné : *Adv. Iud.*, I, 6 (col. 852) *ἡ ἐνταῦθα συναγωγὴ καὶ ἡ ἐν Δάφνῃ* ; *Adv. Iud.*, V (col. 904) *τῶν Ἰουδαίων διαγωγὰς καὶ συναγωγὰς τάς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, τάς τε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ.* C. H. KRAELING, *o.c.*, pp. 140-145 essaie de déterminer un centre où la communauté juive résidait de préférence. Il tâche de le faire surtout sur base de l'emplacement de la synagogue et des témoignages du Talmud.

(39) Cf. M. STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism II*, Jérusalem, 1980, pp. 580-599 avec texte, traduction et commentaire.

(40) Selon M. STERN, *o.c.*, p. 595, on entend par *τοῖς πατριάρχαις* de la lettre 1097, les membres du Sanhédrin.

(41) Cf. R. A. PACK, *Studies in Libanius and Antiochene Society under Theodosius*, Michigan, 1935.

n'avait pas été sans remarquer la puissante communauté juive ([42]). Il chercha donc appui chez les juifs et il leur avait même promis de reconstruire le temple de Jérusalem ([43]). Cela a échoué et le règne de Julien n'a été qu'un court intermède anti-chrétien. Mais néanmoins tout cela s'était passé quelques années seulement avant que Jean Chrysosotome ne prononçât ses homélies et, durant ce court laps de temps, la puissance juive avait augmenté considérablement. En outre le mouvement séparatiste arien à l'intérieur de l'Église chrétienne était encore frais dans les mémoires. Antioche fut également le théâtre où se déroula la plus grande partie de ce combat. L'arianisme avait une tendance archaïque : Arius croyait que le Fils et le Saint-Esprit étaient des créatures du Père et de ce fait il était anti-trinitaire. Cette tendance était donc monothéïste au sens strict du mot et encore mieux en accord avec la croyance juive. Tout porte donc à croire qu'à Antioche l'arianisme a joué en faveur des juifs et que ce mouvement a incité certains chrétiens à se tourner vers le judaïsme ([44]).

Mais le menu peuple ne se sent pas tellement attiré vers cette haute théologie. D'une religion, ils attendent d'abord le salut, éventuellement dans l'au-delà, mais aussi une aide immédiate quand ils se trouvent dans le besoin. D'instinct ils se sentent attirés par les lieux de pèlerinage et, devant les reliques, ils prient pour l'accomplissement de guérisons miraculeuses. Une orthodoxie imposée d'en haut est impuissante devant de telles tendances. Dans un système religieux bien structuré et appuyé sur une longue tradition, il est tenu compte de ces penchants humains : tenus dans les limites et faisant partie du système, ils ne présentent aucun danger. Mais même si le christianisme avait été déclaré religion d'état et même si l'on prenait des mesures répressives contre les hétérodoxes, au IVe siècle le christianisme ne s'était pas encore implanté depuis assez longtemps pour pouvoir empêcher les néophytes de se tourner vers les espérances de salut d'autres cultes.

Or à Antioche, les juifs conservaient depuis le second siècle avant notre ère les reliques des Sept Macchabées et de leur Mère, martyrs

(42) Au sujet des relations de Julien avec Antioche, voir G. DOWNEY (*o.c.*, cf. n. 36), pp. 380-397.

(43) À ce sujet, M. STERN, *o.c.*, pp. 506-508.

(44) Cf. M. SIMON, *La polémique anti-juive de S. Jean Chrysostome*, pp. 410-411.

du judaïsme sous le roi Antiochus Epiphanes (174-165) ([45]). Leur tombe se trouvait dans la synagogue principale de la ville ([46]). C'était là que non seulement les juifs mais, plus tard, les chrétiens aussi affluaient dans l'espoir d'obtenir des signes miraculeux. Ils considéraient les rabbins comme les médiateurs entre les simples mortels et le miracle et même comme des thaumaturges qui, au moyen d'amulettes et de philtres, pouvaient effectuer des guérisons miraculeuses ([47]). Il va de soi que ces chrétiens assistaient aux services religieux dans cette synagogue, qui était reliée à ce lieu de culte, et tout naturellement ils visitaient également les autres synagogues et célébraient avec les juifs les fêtes juives. Ainsi ils prenaient une double assurance pour leurs chances de salut : d'une part dans le christianisme et d'autre part dans le judaïsme.

C'est en effet ce genre de chrétiens que visent les homélies de Jean Chrysostome. Les juifs, contre lesquels il s'emporte, n'écoutent pas ses sermons, mais bien les chrétiens, ces chrétiens qui se sentent tellement attirés par le judaïsme pour les raisons exposées plus haut. Et ses attaques sont si violentes parce qu'il se sent totalement impuissant devant la situation, car le phénomène des chrétiens judaïsants a pris des proportions inquiétantes. Au moment où Jean Chrysostome prononce ses homélies – 386-387 – les reliques des Macchabées ont déjà été neutralisées. Quelques années auparavant – probablement durant les mouvements de révolte anti-sémitique après le règne de Julien – la synagogue de Kerateion, et de ce fait également le tombeau des Macchabées, sont tombés aux mains des chrétiens. La synagogue a été transformée en basilique et les Macchabées ont été incorporés dans le martyrologe chrétien comme seuls représentants de la période pré-chrétienne ([48]). Jean Chrysostome lui-même a encore fait leur

(45) Cf. MALALAS, *Chronographia*, VIII, 324. Le martyre des Macchabées est exposé dans *2 Macch.*, VI, 18-VII, 42.

(46) Cf. M. SIMON, *La polémique anti-juive de S. Jean Chrysostome*, pp. 412-420.

(47) Sur les éléments superstitieux que les chrétiens reprirent aux juifs, voir M. SIMON, *Verus Israel*, ch. XII, *Superstition et magie*, pp. 394-431.

(48) Dans le martyrologe syriaque de Wright (éd. H. LIETZMANN, *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien*, Kleine Texte, 2, Bonn, 1911, p. 13 : Aug. 1 am 1. im Monat nach den Griechen die Martyrer, welche sind von denen, die beigesetzt sind in Antiocheia, und zwar in Kerateia, welche sind die Söhne der Samuna, sie (sind es) die geschrieben sind in den Makkabäern.).

éloge ([49]). Mais ses huit homélies *Adversus Judaeos* prouvent que les contacts, qu'une grande partie de la population d'Antioche entretenait avec le judaïsme, n'ont pas été rompus pour autant.

* * *

Venons-en au troisième volet de la comparaison. Le traité anonyme, *Trophées de Damas*, se présente également sous la forme d'un dialogue entre juifs et chrétiens. Nous pouvons le dater très précisément de 681. Le manuscrit porte comme titre : *Trophées de la divine et invincible église de Dieu et de la Vérité, remportés sur les juifs à Damas, la métropole aimée du Christ et magnifique, la vingtième année de Constantin soutenu par Dieu, notre empereur après Constantin, au mois d'août de la 9e indiction* ([50]).

Une expression de l'Église triomphante. Aussi le dialogue se termine par la consternation complète de la part des juifs : «Entendant ces choses et d'autres encore, les juifs éprouvèrent de la honte, se tinrent immobiles, se turent, se troublèrent, s'agitèrent, s'assombrirent, s'embarrassèrent, rougirent, changèrent, se hâtèrent, n'attendirent pas, se levèrent, s'enfuirent comme s'ils étaient poursuivis par le feu, tombèrent comme des hommes ivres ; toute leur sagesse fut consumée, ils s'en allèrent tous : les uns en silence, les autres en murmurant ; quelques-uns poussant des gémissements, d'autres disant : Adonaï, l'abbé a vaincu. D'autres, secouant la tête, se disaient mutuellement : «Par la loi, je crois que nous sommes dans l'erreur». Certains, plus âgés, prononçaient des paroles risibles, se disant les uns aux autres : «Abala ! De combien de jambons avons-nous été privés !». Quelques-uns, dès lors, d'ennemis devinrent amis des chrétiens. D'autres guettent l'occasion, attendant pour venir au baptême ; ceux qui me sont très chers sont venus à l'Église en toute simplicité et vérité, ils ont reçu le sceau (du baptême) et soutiennent invinciblement leur foi

(49) *De Macabeis hom. 1-3*, *PG*, 50, col. 617-628.

(50) Les *Trophées de Damas* sont conservés dans un seul manuscrit, *Paris. Coislinianus*, 299 du XIe siècle. Description G. BARDY (*o.c.*, cf. n. 11), pp. 183-184. Titre : *ΤΗΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΑ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΩ ΤΗ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΜΠΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ, ΤΩ ΕΤΕΙ ΤΩ ΕΙΚΟΣΤΩ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΣΤΗΡΙΚΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΗΝΙ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΩ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ Θ'*.

contre les juifs, combattant pour nous, devant nous, avec nous, et obéissant au Père, au Fils et au Saint Esprit, à qui est la gloire et la puissance dans les siècles des siècles» ([51]).

Damas nous paraît être un bien curieux endroit pour de tels cris de triomphe de la part de l'Église : en effet, en 681, la ville était gouvernée par les Mahométans. Jusqu'à la première moitié du VIIe siècle Damas faisait partie de l'empire byzantin. L'administration byzantine était chrétienne et très fanatique. Même la population chrétienne était opprimée et les juifs et les Samaritains encore plus. Lorsqu'en 613, les Perses s'emparèrent de Damas, ne fût-ce que pour un temps assez court, les juifs prirent le parti de l'envahisseur dans l'espoir de jouir d'un peu plus de tolérance et éventuellement d'acquérir l'autonomie pour les communautés juives de Syrie et de Palestine ([52]). Depuis Damas, les Perses voulaient en effet conquérir la Palestine ([53]). Mais en 635, Damas tombait aux mains du calife Omar. Les conséquences ne se faisaient pas attendre : un grand nombre de chrétiens se convertirent à la religion islamique. Les autres gardaient une certaine liberté d'action ([54]). Le sud-est de la ville fut attribué aux juifs. Leur situation s'était beaucoup améliorée en comparaison de ce qui fut leur vie sous la domination byzantine. Les Ommayades, qui en 661 firent de Damas la capitale du royaume arabe, étaient très tolérants vis-à-vis des juifs et des chrétiens. Mais les

(51) *Troph.*, 4, 7, 1-2 : *Ταῦτα καὶ τούτων ἕτερα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἰουδαῖοι ἠσχύνθησαν, ἡσύχασαν, ἐφημώθησαν, ἐταράχθησαν, ἐσαλεύθησαν, ἐσκοτίσθησαν, ἠπόρησαν, ἠρυθρίασαν, ἠλλοιώθησαν, ἔσπευσαν, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν, ἀνέστησαν, ἔφυγον ὡς ὑπὸ πυρὸς διωκόμενοι, συνέπεσαν ὡς μεθύοντες, πᾶσα ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν κατεπόθη, οἴχοντο, ἅπαντες οἱ μὲν σιωπήσαντες, οἱ δὲ ὑπογογγύζοντες, ἄλλοι στενάζοντες, ἕτεροι καὶ λέγοντες· Ἀδοναΐ, ὁ ἀββᾶς ἐνίκησεν, ἄλλοι, τὴν κεφαλὴν σείοντες, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον· μὰ τὸν νόμον, νομίζω πλανώμεθα. Γηραλαιότεροι δέ τινες, καὶ γελοίου ἐφθέγγοντο ῥήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες· ἀβάλα πόσων χοιραίων ἐστερήθημεν. Τινὲς μὲν ἐκ τότε φίλοι ἀντ' ἐχθροῖς τοῖς χριστιανοῖς γεγόναci· ἄλλοι καιροσκοποῦσιν, ἐκδεχόμενοι προσελθεῖν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἐμοὶ προσφιλεῖς, καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσήλθασιν εἰλικρινῶς καὶ ἀληθινῶς, καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα δεξάμενοι, καὶ κατὰ ἰουδαίων ἀηττήτως δογματίζουσιν ὑπέρμαχοι καὶ πρόμαχοι καὶ σύμμαχοι.*

(52) A. LEVANON, *Damascus*, dans *Encyclopedia Iudaeica*, V (1971), col. 1239 renvoie à l'historien arménien, l'évêque Sebeos (VIIe s.) et au moine Astrategius de Mar-Saba.

(53) Selon Sophronius, voir A. LEVANON, *ibid.*

(54) Cf. R. JANIN, *Damas*, dans *DHGE*, XIV (1960), col. 43.

chrétiens ne doivent certainement pas se comporter en triomphateurs. On pourrait pour cette raison considérer le traité comme une fiction purement littéraire, sans relation aucune avec la réalité. Le choix de Damas devrait alors être considéré comme purement symbolique, avec un renvoi à *Isaïe*, 8, 4 : le «pouvoir de Damas» ferait allusion au pouvoir de Satan ([55]).

Le prologue explique *in extenso* le motif de la discussion entre juifs et chrétiens : les juifs doutent de leur religion et de la malédiction dont ils seraient victimes et ils souhaitent avoir une entrevue secrète avec une personne qui pourrait résoudre leurs problèmes. Un enfant les conduit chez un moine. Ni le nom de ce moine, ni les noms des juifs ne sont cités et l'auteur du traité dit : «il sera plus utile de faire le récit comme si un dialogue avait lieu entre deux personnages» ([56]). En tout cas nous avons à faire à une situation totalement abstraite. Il est illogique aussi que le second, le troisième et le quatrième entretien aient lieu en public. Ici on ne parle plus du moine. On y désigne les chrétiens par 'nous' et les juifs ont fait appel à des spécialistes, versés dans la Bible. Mais les protagonistes sont tout aussi abstraits *ὁ Ἰουδαῖος* vis-à-vis de *ὁ χριστιανός*. La fin grotesque de cette discussion, qui a duré quatre jours, met hors de doute qu'il s'agit ici d'un dialogue purement fictif. Néanmoins l'auteur est au courant de la situation réelle à Damas et comme tel il est tout de même une bonne source. Lui-même représente sans doute le moine du dialogue. Il vit probablement dans un des cloîtres situés aux alentours de la ville ([57]). Le titre de cet ouvrage nous donne la preuve qu'il est resté fidèle à l'empereur et à l'empire byzantin. C'est pourquoi il minimise la domination arabe. Durant le second entretien, il fait dire au chrétien : «l'Église a été en paix pendant de longs temps et notre empire a possédé une paix profonde», mais pour être honnête il ajoute : «Il n'y a pas encore cinquante ans que les guerres actuelles – sans doute les campagnes contre les Arabes – ont commencé» ([58]). L'esquisse qu'il fait de l'endroit où se déroule le second entretien est typique d'une

(55) Cf. A. L. WILLIAMS (*o.c.*, cf. n. 3), p. 162.

(56) *Troph.*, 1, 1, 1 : *ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς γὰρ πρὸς ἕνα τὴν ἱστορίαν συμφερότερον γίνεσθαι.*

(57) A. L. WILLIAMS (*o.c.*, cf. n. 3), pp. 162-163 en est également persuadé.

(58) *Troph.*, 2, 3, 2 : *εἰρήνευσεν ἡ ἐκκλησία χρόνους μακρούς, καὶ βαθεῖαν εἰρήνην τὸ βασίλειον ἡμῶν ἐκέκτητο· οὕπω γὰρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη οἱ παρόντες πόλεμοι ἐγερθέντες ἔχουσι.*

ville orientale et cosmopolite, où régnait une grande liberté, précisément à cause de la composition disparate de la population, une ville comme l'était sans doute Damas dans ces temps-là. L'auteur le présente comme suit : «Nous nous rassemblons donc pour discuter, selon les conventions, nous et les chefs des juifs ; une nombreuse foule de peuple est présente : des juifs, des Grecs, des Samaritains, des hérétiques, des chrétiens, car le lieu est public et tout à fait en vue. Les juifs semblent tous poussés par un faux zèle de vaine recherche ; ils parlent avec précipitation ; leurs attitudes sont insolentes, leurs paroles vives, et ils nous interrogent ainsi en grec» ([59]). Qu'on parlât le grec était normal : le grec était alors langue courante à Damas. Ce qui est surprenant c'est que dans cet amalgame de peuples et de religions, il ne cite pas les Musulmans. Pourtant, à ce moment-là, on ne pouvait pas en faire abstraction ([60]). Mais attacher trop d'importance aux dominateurs sonnerait faux dans le chant triomphal du christianisme. Alors cela ne paraîtrait plus naturel de faire dire au chrétien : «Ce qu'il y a de plus étonnant, c'est que l'Église attaquée soit restée invaincue et indestructible et que malgré toutes les attaques dirigées contre elle, son fondement soit resté inébranlable» ([61]). Notre auteur préfère donc ne pas parler du grand nombre de chrétiens qui s'étaient convertis à l'Islam. S'attaquer à la religion de l'occupant était trop dangereux. Mais le climat de tolérance relative de la part des Musulmans fait que les doctrines différentes, mais apparentées, s'avèrent encore beaucoup plus dangereuses pour la chrétienté. Aussi ne faut-il pas s'étonner que dans le même manuscrit, tout de suite après les *Trophées de Damas*, on trouve un traité contre les monophysites, du même auteur, conçu de la même manière ([62]). En ce qui concerne les juifs, leur position privilégiée à Damas, en 681 doit être sapée avec le plus grand zèle,

(59) *Troph.*, 2, 1, 1 : *Συνελθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἰουδαίων οἱ πρόκριτοι, συμπαρόντος καὶ πλήθους οὐκ ὀλίγου λαῶν, ἰουδαίων, ἑλλήνων, σαμαρειτῶν, αἱρετικῶν; χριστιανῶν, δημόσιος γὰρ ἦν καὶ μάλα ὁ τόπος ἐμφανέστατος ... καὶ γλώττῃ ἑλληνίδι, ἐρωτῶσιν τοιάδε.*

(60) Plus tard ils apparaissent dans *Troph.*, 2, 8, 2 : *ἰδοὺ πάρεισι καὶ Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος, καὶ Σαρακηνῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν τινες, καὶ χριστιανῶν συνάθροισις, καὶ θέατρον ἁπλῶς οὐ μικρόν.* Mais à ce moment-là la victoire du chrétien est déjà certaine : le prêtre de Jérusalem concède : *ἁπλῶς ἐνίκησες, ἐνίκησες.*

(61) *Troph.*, 2, 3, 4 : *Τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὅτι καὶ πολεμουμένη ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἀήττητος καὶ ἄσβεστος ἔμεινεν, καὶ πάντων κατ' αὐτῆς προσκρουόντων, ὁ θεμέλιος ἀκίνητος ἔμεινεν.*

(62) Ed. G. BARDY (*o.c.*, cf. n. 11), pp. 276-284.

tout d'abord parce que leur monothéisme fort strict est très bien vu par les occupants, qui sont eux-mêmes strictement monothéistes, ensuite parce qu'ils proscrivent le culte des images. Car précisément un an plus tôt, en 680, l'iconoclasme était né dans le sein de l'Église.

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Tâchons maintenant, à l'aide de ces exemples, de parvenir à une conclusion générale, qui soit également applicable aux autres traités *Adversus Judaeos.* Par trois fois, le théâtre où se déroulait l'action était la grande ville avec son amalgame de races et de religions, un lieu qui favorisait fortement la liberté d'action et de pensée. La communauté juive y était toujours importante. Les juifs étaient bien intégrés dans la société, la plupart d'entre eux étaient hellénisés, mais ils avaient quand même conservé leur spécificité juive. Beaucoup occupaient une position assez privilégiée et ce également sur le plan social. Dans les trois cas que nous avons étudiés, la situation des chrétiens paraît moins favorable : Justin vivait alors que le christianisme ne jouait pas encore — et de loin — un rôle primordial, lui-même mourut en martyr ; à Antioche, Jean Chrysosotome devait faire face au problème des chrétiens judaïsants ; les *Trophées de Damas* sont écrits au moment où un grand nombre de chrétiens se convertissaient à l'Islam et où l'Église se divisait sur la question de l'iconoclasme. Tout cela faisait du judaïsme un rival redoutable. Il y avait bel et bien des contacts entre juifs et chrétiens. Généralement ces relations étaient assez bonnes, trop même aux yeux des autorités ecclésiastiques qui crurent devoir endiguer la force d'attraction des synagogues. C'est à ce but que concourent les traités *Adversus Judaeos.* Les indications de temps et de lieu ne sont naturellement pas toujours aussi précises que dans les trois exemples cités, mais l'arrière-plan devant lequel l'action se déroule est toujours comparable : une grande ville avec une communauté juive florissante face à une communauté chrétienne à problèmes d'où le grand attrait du judaïsme sur des chrétiens indécis.

Parmi le grand nombre de traités *Adversus Judaeos,* il y en a quelques-uns bien sûr qui sont purement fictifs et théoriques, des imitations sans importance, comme on en trouve dans tous les genres. Parfois il est difficile de faire la distinction. Mais en les maniant avec quelque prudence, les traités *Adversus Judaeos* sont certainement des sources utiles pour l'étude des relations judéo-chrétiennes.

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THE DISHONEST SOLDIER CONSTANTINE PLANITES AND HIS NEIGHBOURS

The soldier Constantine Planites caused trouble to many. It took time and effort for the monks of Our Lady of Lembos (Lembiotissa), to fend off his groundless financial claims. More recently, the interpretation of his case presented the students of Byzantine social history with a difficult challenge.

Constantine Planites claimed from the monastery an *epiteleia* of two *hyperpyra* for a certain plot of land which was owned, according to his own testimony, by his uncle Basileios Planites and the latter's son-in-law Constantine Rentakes ([1]). This latter statement of Constantine was to become the main stumbling block in the interpretation of his case. The *epiteleia*, at least in its most common function, was considered to be a compensation paid by a buyer of land to its original owner for the land-tax the latter continued to pay to the treasury until the change of ownership was officially registered at the next cadastral revision ([2]). Since, however, Constantine Planites did not include himself among the owners of the land in question, his right to *epiteleia* seemed to require a different explanation.

The explanation given was quite a radical one. Although the sources make no mention of it, Constantine Planites was promoted to a "pronoiaire" whose *pronoia* encompassed the lands of his relatives. For the land they ceded to Lembiotissa, the monastery owed Constantine an *epiteleia*. But since a pronoia-holder assumedly paid no taxes to the state for which he would need a compensation, this *epiteleia* was

(1) F. MIKLOSICH-J. MULLER, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. IV (hereafter MM IV), Vienna, 1871, p. 89.

(2) F. DÖLGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung, besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, in *Byzantinischen Archiv*, 9, Leipzig, 1927, p. 55 ; IDEM, *B.Z.*, 49 (1956), pp. 501-502, cf. *B.Z.*, 51 (1958), p. 209 ; H. GLYKATZI (-AHRWEILER), *L'épiteleia dans le cartulaire de la Lembiotissa*, in *Byzantion*, 24 (1954) (reprinted in H. AHRWEILER, *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, London, 1971), pp. 73-76.

considered to be of a new type : a payment to the profit of a private person intended to maintain, in this case, the holder's income from his *pronoia* in spite of changes of the property rights over the lands it embraced ([3]). So in a recent study, the Planites case was presented as one of the "excellent examples of the flexibility that the *epiteleia* (of this new type, C.Z.) gave to the *pronoia* system" ([4]). Following this line of reasoning, George Ostrogorsky went as far as to conclude that Constantine Planites held as *paroikoi* his own uncle Basileios and his "cousin-in-law" Constantine Rentakes, soldier and *vestiaritēs* ([5]). Yet even for Byzantine "feudalism" famous for its *Besonderheiten*, a case of a "feudalist" holding as serfs his relatives and peers appears to be rather far-fetched.

A reconsideration of the entire dossier concerning the Planites family presents, indeed, a very different picture. It will also serve us as a point of departure for some additional remarks on the nature of the *epiteleia* and related questions.

The whole story began in 1242, when Constantine's father entered the monastery of Lembiotissa under the name Maximos and, for his wordly maintenance and the salvation of his soul, donated to it the entire hereditary plot of his family. Maximos' brother Basileios and their mother Anysia consented, under certain conditions, to this donation of their common property. They were to retain half of the plot to the end of their lives, to enjoy the protection of the monastery from fiscal and other authorities and not to be bothered by any demands from the monks themselves. The fiscal responsibilities were arranged accordingly. The monastery took over the payment of the land-tax for the entire plot which amounted to three *hyperpyra* ; for their half, Basileios and Anysia pledged themselves to repay it a yearly compensation (*epitelesmon*) of one and a half *hyperpyra* ([6]).

Shortly before his death, in 1255, Maximos confirmed this arrangement in his testament, heaping elaborate curses upon his relatives should they dare to challenge the rights of the monastery over the

(3) H. GLYKATZI (-AHRWEILER), *L'épiteleia*, pp. 84-88.

(4) M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)*, Oxford, 1975, p. 230.

(5) G. OSTROGORSKY, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 58-60.

(6) MM IV, pp. 66-69.

donated property. He defined precisely the bequests set for each of his two sons : fifteen *hyperpyra* and some cloths for Constantine, some valuables and the property of his late wife for Theophilopoulos ([7]). Then he died.

In Mai 1256, the monastery obtained a special *horismos* from Theodore II Lascaris which expressly included among its possessions the "recently created *metokhion*" donated by Maximos Planites ([8]). As if this were not enough, the monks secured in 1257 a ratification of late Maximos' donation by Basileios and Anysia. Both attested anew to the validity of their original commitment and confirmed that after their death the donation was to become unconditional ([9]). The acquisition appeared to be sealed by a chrysobull issued by John IV Ducas in September 1258. Not only the fields and olive trees of the Planites family were listed among the possessions of the monastery, but also Basileios Planites himself whose personal independence was so strictly stipulated in the document of 1242 ([10]).

Yet this repeated need of confirmations forshadowed the troubles to come. The property rights over the Planites' land were never properly transferred to the monastery, and the entire arrangement turns out to have been always dependent on the goodwill of the members of the family. With the new generation coming into its own, it started falling apart. In 1259, Basileios' son-in-law Constantine Rentakes demanded half of the plot back. He claimed that since the initial transfer was performed "in his absence", it could not be considered valid as far as it concerned his (future) inheritance. This was not a bona fide argument. Maximos, Basileios and Anysia jointly signed the donation of their entire plot to Lembiotissa no doubt long before Constantine Rentakes married into the family ; in any case, he was not absent for seventeen years. Nevertheless, his rights were confirmed by the Emperor Michael VIII and, in the subsequent settlement, recognized by the monks ([11]). In recovering his (that is,

(7) MM IV, pp. 74-75.

(8) MM IV, pp. 220-221. For the dating of the Lembiotissa documents, see F. DÖLGER, *Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, in *B.Z.*, 27 (1927), pp. 291-320.

(9) MM IV, pp. 86-88.

(10) MM IV, p. 25.

(11) MM IV, pp. 79-80.

Basileios') part of the land, Constantine Rentakes drew upon his head the curse of all 318 Fathers of Nicaea, but that seems to have been the only obstacle.

In his settlement with the monastery, Constantine Rentakes let it retain the other half of the plot unconditionally, in accordance with the ancient donation of Maximos Planites. However, he should have spoken only for himself. The appearance on the scene of Maximos' son Constantine Planites gave a different turn to the situation. An infant in 1242 and apparently still a minor in 1255, Constantine became a soldier and by 1268 he had spent long ago the fifteen *hyperpyra* bequeathed him by his father. So together with his uncle Basileios – the property rights over the entire family estate still remained undivided – he sold piece by piece all of that part of his father's donation which remained with the monastery in 1259. The monks did not even attempt to stop Constantine Planites or to contest his right to dispose of his property. How could they ? The entire time they enjoyed the usufruct of the last half of Maximos' donation, they duly paid Constantine an *epiteleia* of one and a half *hyperpyra*, thus recognizing his ownership over the land and compensating him for the land-tax he owed to the treasury. Yet when Constantine tried to have it both ways and to exact the *epiteleia* after having sold the land, the monks naturally rebelled. They appealed to John Tornikes, Duke of Thrakesion, who ruled that since they held nothing more from the original donation of Maximos Planites, they owed nothing to his heir ([12]).

The cautious monks required from Constantine Planites a written commitment to abide by this decision. It is the statement he then issued that obscured the entire affaire. For Constantine Planites explained his shameless extortion of the *epiteleia* – it turned out, by the way, that he requested two *hyperpyra* instead of the original one and a half – by alleging that he was not aware of the sale of the land performed by Basileios Planites and Constantine Rentakes in his absence ([13]). This statement, however, contradicts the findings of John

(12) MM IV, pp. 73-74 ; the date of this document, March 1268, was established by H. GLYKATZI (-AHRWEILER), *L'épiteleia*, p. 88. Tornikes admitted that the monastery retained the building and the yard of Maximos' *metokhion*, yet he considered it too insignificant to justify any claims on Constantine's side.

(13) MM IV, p. 89, of October 1268.

Tornikes. The latter, citing numerous witnesses, established in his ruling that the land was sold by Basileios, Maximos' brother, and by Constantine, Maximos' son, and so it certainly was the case. And as to Constantine Planites' version, we must conclude that he simply lied trying to put a good face on the matter already lost. What else would one expect from a dissolute soldier who denied his father the prayers for the repose of his soul and was willing to share the fate of Judah the traitor, all in order to realize a profit on some non-performing property ?

Constantine Planites was thus neither a *pronoia*-holder, nor "a member of a prominent Smyrniot family". His father and uncle were well-to-do peasants, and the tax of three *hyperpyra* they jointly paid for the family plot was only slightly above the contemporary average ([14]). Having inherited his father's share, Constantine Planites did not rush to dispossess the monks who actually held the land. Instead, he had it registered in his *praktikon* together with the compensation (*epiteleia*) repaid by the monks for the land-tax he owed to the treasury. This arrangement which can be defined as passive ownership, lasted for almost ten years, and it coud have continued had Constantine Planites not acted as he did.

Another case which also involves *epiteleia* can be considered here as an epilog to Planites' story. That very year when this unworthy son was selling "to anybody and everybody" the last acres and olive trees of his father's donation, the monastery of Lembiotissa was approached by a soldier's widow, Anna Angelina, who decided to "eternize the memory" of her husband by a pious offering. Whatever Anna's original intentions, the monks insisted upon paying her and her children "a token of grace and love" which amounted to fourteen *hyperpyra* for the plot of forty *modioi*. Anna considered it a "small grace" and stressed that the determination of the price was left entirely to the discretion of the monks ; if the land in question was better than the third category, for which the price would have been only fair, the monastery may have received it at a certain discount. Yet as it was, Anna Angelina had actually sold the field and so in a pious gesture, "for the

(14) K. KHVOSTOVA, *Rassloenie pozdnevizantijskikh krestjan*, in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 41 (1980), pp. 3-20, esp. p. 10, estimates the average tax for a single household at one *nomisma* ; the Planites plot supported two households, Maximos' and Basileios'.

salvation of the soul of my blissful husband", she waived the *epiteleia*, thus confirming the transfer of the property rights over the plot to the monastery. As for the monks, they made the contract state as emphatically as possible that none of Anna's heirs could ever challenge their rights over the land for which they had rightfully paid ([15]). They had burned their fingers enough on gratuitous donations.

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More cases can be cited in which the payment of an *epiteleia* by a beneficiary of a grant indicated that the ownership rights over the property transferred actually remained with the grantor. So the metropolitans of Smyrna, while granting plots of land to the monastery of Lembiotissa in 1237 or to the old monk Kallinikos Skullatos in 1274 ([16]), made clear that their gifts, ostensibly irrevocable, may well be reconsidered by their successors unless the *epiteleia* were paid as stipulated.

However, most of the contracts which contained an *epiteleia*-clause were contracts of sale. The land transferred was paid for in full ; why then was the fiscal responsibility still the seller's ? According to the already cited explanation, this situation was temporary, pending the general revision of the cadasters and the *praktika* which would officially fix the transfer of ownership. Yet this is not the way the sources present it. In all the contracts in question, the payment of the *epiteleia* was stipulated as a permanent liability of the buyer towards the seller to be discharged every year, with no reference ever to its eventual termination by a cadastral revision. On the other hand, numerous contracts of sale in the Lembiotissa files do not mention the *epiteleia* at all ; in the documents of other archives, this term is barely found. One cannot claim that all the contracts without the *epiteleia*-clause were concluded just on the eve of a cadastral revision or by landowners exempt from taxes. In short, the institution of *epiteleia* needs a further elucidation.

A clue to the emergence of the *epiteleia*-clause in the contracts of sale can be found in the status of the sellers, who were almost without exception *paroikoi.*

(15) MM IV, pp. 169-170.
(16) MM IV, pp. 52-54 and 84-85; cf. 131-132.

The *paroikoi* as they figure in the thirteenth century documents represent a much wider stratum of peasantry than the long-term tenants defined as *paroikoi* in the earlier legal sources ([17]). Every peasant who did not hold a personal title of ownership (*praktikon*) for the land he tilled, and yet paid taxes and not a rent (*mortē*) on it was considered a *paroikos* on this land. This land remained in the hereditary possession of a peasant family, which could not be evicted from its plot as long as it paid the taxes and the imposts due ([18]). The land held by *paroikoi* belonged, for fiscal and other purposes, to the territory (*perioros*) of their village. The privately owned land, on the other hand, enjoyed the status of "separately surveyed" (*idioperioriston*). It seems to have been possible for a peasant family to obtain this status for its plot only in exceptional cases, for example when one of its members joined the army or engaged in some other career in the

(17) The basic works for the period considered which also provide the background data : P. CHARANIS, *On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, 19 (1951) (reprinted in *Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1973), pp. 94-153 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *Quelques problèmes* ; J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Ein Problem der spatbyzantinischen Agrargeschichte*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 30 (1981), pp. 207-237 ; B. PANCHENKO, *Krestjanskaja sobstvennost' v Vizantii*, in *Izvestija Russk. Arkheolog. Inst. v Konstaninopole*, 9 (1904), pp. 1-234, still merits attention for many valuable insights.

(18) J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Ein Problem*, esp. pp. 225-228, 233-234, considered only the peasants paying a *mortē* as *paroikoi*, while defining those paying taxes (*telos*, *telesmata*) as "Kleingrundbesitzer". However, the very document he studied, the chrysobull of Michael VIII of 1262 now reedited by E. VRANOUSSI, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου. Α'. Αὐτοκρατορικά*, Athens, 1980, no. 30, suggests in fact a different conclusion. The emperor transferred to the monastery of St. John on Patmos the plot Petake Gonia, previously tilled by the peasants from the village Malachion. The peasants from Malachion, expressly defined as *paroikoi*, *ibid.*, 1.2, claimed that they held this plot, like the rest of their land, as a hereditary possession and paid on it the state taxes. The emperor countered that he would never have taken it from them unless that particular plot was proven to be held by the villagers on a temporary basis, for a rent and not for taxes. Thus the payment of a *mortē* in this as well as in other contemporary cases indicated that the tenant had no claim whatsoever to the land and used it only by the goodwill of its owner. This certainly was not the case with the paroikal plots. Besides, Karayannopulos himself had to admit that in manty cases the *paroikoi* are expressly attested to having paid taxes ; his solution that they paid both the taxes and the rent for the same land finds no confirmation in the sources he cites.

imperial service ([19]). The vast majority of peasants appear in the sources as *paroikoi*, for their land legally belonged to the state or to the private landowners.

Paroikoi families, which kept their plots for generations, invested in their improvement, planted vineyards and olive trees and, as to be expected, also sold them. However, their right to the land was assured solely by the taxes they paid for it. Thus when ceding their land to others, they were not entitled to rid themselves of the fiscal burden they bore as its holders. Nor did the official transfer of the fiscal liabilities to the buyer, necessary to finalize the transaction, follow automatically, as in the case of privately owned land ; it could be delayed and, in exceptional cases, also denied.

One way to deal with the problem was to obtain the official authorization in advance. So in 1193, when two peasants from the village Sillamos on Crete decided to sell their vineyards, they "gave notice" beforehand to the representative of the fisc, "their lord" the *logaristēs* Michael Chrysoberges, who then issued a writ to the local priest and clerc authorizing him to register the deal. In the contract drawn up by the latter, it was stipulated that the responsibility for the tax imposed on the vineyards was to be assumed by the buyer ([20]). However, this procedure seems to be rather awkward and it is not recorded elsewhere. Under the Nicaean emperors, an easier solution was found in the institution of the *epiteleia*.

A short *epiteleia*-clause in a contract would not usually disclose much about its social function. There are, however, several cases in which an *epiteleia*, passing in a series of documents, acquires an history of its own. These are more instructive.

In 1232, the peasant Michael Kakabas, together with a bunch of relatives, sold to the monastery of Lembiotissa twenty seven olive trees having stipulated an *epiteleia* of one *nomisma* ([21]). For some reason Kakabas' land turned out to be so attractive for the monks that in a few years they acquired his entire plot (*hypostatikon*) ([22]). In the

(19) Constantine Planites is a good example. Even more interesting is the struggle of Pothos, Manteianos and the others, amply recorded in the Lembiotissa archive, for the recognition of their ownership rights on their plots, situated on the territory of the village Bare.

(20) MM VI, pp. 124-127.

(21) MM IV, pp. 77-79.

(22) MM IV, p. 85.

second half of 1235 or in 1236, this transaction was approved by John Angelos, Duke of Thrakesion ([23]), who, in his turn, stipulated an *epiteleia* to be paid by the monks in compensation of the taxes previously paid by Kakabas. Kakabas himself was alloted another plot elsewhere, paying taxes on it and remaining as he was a *paroikos* on the state land. Thus the *epiteleia* imposed on the monastery was supposed to be paid directly to the fisc and was tantamount to a direct tax. Why then was it presented as a compensation for the tax of others ? The reason is clear. Towards 1235, the monastery of Lembiotissa obtained a complete exemption from taxes, and the incorporation of Kakabas' land and trees in its properties would have meant an exemption for this plot as well. That is what John Angelos attempted to avoid. In vain, however. After concluding the deal, the monastery simply refused to pay the *epiteleia* under the curious pretext that its new acquisition was "worthless and profitless". After three years, the *epiteleia* was, indeed, remitted by the understanding *apographeus* John Kostomoires ([24]).

In another case in 1274, two *paroikoi*, Michael Tzykapites, a priest, and Theotokos Koskinas, sold forty four olive trees to the neighbouring estate-owner Theodore Komnenos Branas. The buyer took upon himself the obligation to pay them every March the *epiteleia* of one and a third *hyperpyra* ([25]). In 1281, Komnenos Branas donated the trees to Lembiotissa ; the obligation to pay the *epiteleia* passed to the monastery ([26]). Finally in 1284, the same olive trees appeared in the chrysobull of Andronicus II confirming the rights of Lembiotissa to all its possessions. And again, the emperor reaffirmed its duty to pay the yearly *epiteleia* to Tzykapites and Koskinas ([27]). Andronicus was not that time in such a pious mood as to remit to Lembiotissa the taxes due for its new acquisition as his predecessors did for its old possessions.

(23) On the person and the date, see H. AHRWEILER, *L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317)*, in *Travaux et mémoires*, 1 (1965) (reprinted in *Byzance : les pays et les territoires*, London, 1976), pp. 142-143.

(24) MM IV, pp. 85-86.

(25) MM IV, pp. 115-117.

(26) MM IV, pp. 98-99.

(27) MM IV, p. 31.

The practice of perpetuating the *epiteleia* as a means of preserving the fiscal status of the land was not restricted to the acquisitions of the Lembiotissa monastery. Towards 1315, the monks of Docheiariou amassed, partly by purchase partly by donations, 330 *modioi* of paroikal land (*apo diaphorōn paroikikōn hypostaseōn*) in the village of St. Elija. Then, according to the *apographeus* Kontenos, the monks requested him to fix officially their rights to this land, expressing their readiness to pay the tax (*kephalaion*) which he duly imposed ([28]). The monks, on the other hand, presented Kontenos' action in a later document as "cutting off" the land in question from their lawful domain ([29]). And indeed, the land, though left in the possession of the monastery, retained its "paroikal" status, for the land-tax, as in the case of Kakabas, was presented as an *epiteleia.* The monks were ordered to pay it to a certain Komnenoutzikos and after his death they continued – or at least were supposed to continue – to pay it to the treasury, until they obtained an imperial *prostagma* abolishing the *epiteleia.*

In the cases considered, the *epiteleia,* whether stipulated in private contracts or imposed by the state officials, provided the treasury with an efficient means of control over the transfer of state lands into private hands ([30]). The documents preserved contain, as to be expected, mostly records of the accomplished transactions. It can also be assumed that the state did not usually infringe upon the traditional liberty of the *paroikoi* to dispose of their plots, especially since most buyers, unlike the monasteries, had to pay the land-tax in any case. However, the sale of a plot by a *paroikos* could be also denied the approval and annulled. An example of such a procedure is the case of the Gounaropouloi and the heirs of Blateros.

(28) *Actes de Docheiariou,* ed. N. OIKONOMIDES, Paris, 1984, no. 15. This mutilated document was convincingly dated by the editor to 1315-1316 and attributed to the *agrographeus* Kontenos.

(29) *Actes de Docheiariou,* no. 22, ll. 9-11, cf. no. 20, ll. 58-59.

(30) So efficient that the state applied it even when transferring lands of its own accord. In 1321, the Lavra monks petitioned the emperor to cede to them the pasture lands of the imperial estate tou Makrigenou, for which they tactfully proposed to pay the tax. Their request was granted, yet instead of the tax they were ordered to pay an *epiteleia* to the estate, which thus remained the owner of the land ; see *Actes de Lavra II, de 1204 à 1328,* ed. P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Paris, 1977, no. 110.

This case is rather well known ([31]), and we will restrict our exposition to the most essential details. In november 1207, three brothers Gounaropouloi sold a fourth of their common plot to Basileios Blateros who held as a *pronoia* their village Bare ([32]). No *epiteleia* was stipulated ; since it was Blateros who collected the taxes from the *paroikoi* of his *pronoia* ([33]), it would have made little sense to have required an *epiteleia* from him only to pay it back to him as a tax. However, Blateros died a few months later, and when his widow Anna bought from one of the Gounaropouloi the latter's share in the remaining plot, she was duly obliged to pay the *epiteleia* to the seller ([34]). In the years to come, Anna gave part of this land as a dowry to her daughter ; the other part she retained herself. Yet it was only after 1227 when the village Bare was granted by the Emperor John Vatatzes to the monastery of Lembiotissa that Anna remembered to do what she should have done long ago : She tried to detach her acquisitions from the territory (*perioros*) of the village and to establish them as a separate estate ([35]). She and her son-in-law, the *vestiaritēs* John Rabdokanakes, almost succeeded in changing the status of the land. The two imperial *prostagmata* issued on their behalf show that their claims were not in themselves unreasonable ([36]). Yet the monks managed to convince the emperor to grant them the village Bare without any joint owners, and so in the last round the case was decided against Blateros' heirs. The final verdict was pronounced by the highest official of the state, the *mesazōn* Demetrios Tornikes, which makes his argumentation all the more significant. Tornikes proclaimed the sale of the land by the Gounaropouloi null and void because they

(31) See esp. P. CHARANIS, *The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 4 (1948) (reprinted in *Social, Economic and Political Life*), pp. 103-106.

(32) MM IV, pp. 185-187.

(33) See n. 52 below.

(34) MM IV, pp. 183-184. There are indications that Anna continued to buy land from the other members of the family, *ibid.*, pp. 189-190, though no other contracts are preserved.

(35) *Πειρωμένη* (sc. Anna) *ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τῶν συνόρων τοῦ τοιούτου χωρίου γῆν, ἣν ἀνακαλεῖται ὡς ἐξ ἀγορασίας περιελθοῦσαν αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Βάρης παροίκων*, and cf. *μὴ βουλομένη* (sc. *ἡ βασιλεία μου) δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιόρου τοῦ τοιούτου χωρίου ὅλως ἀποσπασθῆναί τι*, MM IV, p. 194.

(36) MM IV, pp. 218-220.

did not own what they sold : The fields which they held as *paroikoi* constituted an inalienable property of the state ([37]). On the same legal grounds, the state could block any sale of land by any "state" *paroikos*, though, as said, it does not seem to have exercised this option very often.

This legal status of the paroikal holdings explains the appearance of the *epiteleia*-clause in the contracts which established their sale. As long as the buyer did not insist on changing the status of the land, he could continue to exploit it while compensating the seller for his fiscal liabilities. On the other hand, the imposition of the *epiteleia* enabled the seller to cede to the buyer the actual possession of the property without prejudicing the future determination of its status, which remained the prerogative of the state.

* * *

In the cases considered so far, the ultimate beneficiary of the *epiteleia* was the treasury. It remains to examine the evidence for that other variety of *epiteleia* mentioned at the start, the obligation of the buyer to assume the liabilities of the seller towards a private person, a *pronoia*-holder or a tax-exempt landowner.

The payment of *epiteleia* to *pronoia*-holders is attested to in more than one case. A laconic postscript to an earlier act informs us that Blateros was entitled to an *epiteleia* from a certain Pothos ([38]). The *paroikoi* Xenos Legas and his son-in-law Niketas Kaboures stipulated the sale of olive trees to Lembiotissa in 1231 and 1232 by a yearly *epiteleia* the monastery had to pay to the *litzios kaballarios* Syrgaris, a *pronoia*-holder ([39]). Several other cases are recorded in later documents. In all these instances, the *epiteleia* was presumed to benefit the *pronoia*-holder.

This interpretation rests on the assumption, most directly phrased by George Ostrogorsky, that "immunity is the essential characteristic of the pronoia" ([40]). The main rationale behind this assumed connection is the observation that a *pronoia* was often defined as a

(37) MM IV, p. 199.
(38) MM IV, p. 185.
(39) MM IV, pp. 61 and 135.
(40) G. OSTROGORSKIJ, *Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance*, in *Byzantion*, 28 (1958), p. 195, cf. p. 206.

given amount of revenue, a *posotēs* ([41]). Such a statement of value of an imperial grant, whether of a *pronoia* or of an unconditional bestowal, comprised all the sources of fiscal and other revenue, actually available or potential, to be derived by the grantee from the bestowed properties. So except for some specific imposts and for the cases of emergency, the *posotēs* was not taxed ([42]). However, this overall association of *pronoia* with a fixed *posotēs* is chronologically inexact.

The word "amount" (*posotēs*) most commonly designated in the documents the amount of officially measured land ; this usage becomes especially conspicuous in the second third of the thirteenth century ([43]). Such measurements were not necessarily conducted for the purposes of taxation, yet every piece of land, its extent and quality established bore a potential fiscal value. This explains the new application of the term *posotēs* which gradually emerges under Michael VIII Palaeologus.

In 1261, the *apographeus* John Athybolos was given the task of alloting portions of waste land (*exaleimmata*) in the region of Plataia to a large group of *archontopouloi* ; each of them was to receive a plot of an "appropriate" *nomismatikē posotēs* ([44]). The specification *nomismatikē*, not used in later documents, was needed to distinguish the *posotēs* expressing the fiscal value of land, evidently a novel concept at that time, from the *posotēs* stating its area. Such distributions, often to the soldiers, of waste lands evaluated by a *posotēs* of so many *hyperpyra* gained considerable momentum under the Palaeologi. However, the fiscal revenue bestowed was purely nominal. Since no taxes were actually paid on abandoned lands, their real income was entirely dependent on the industry and the enterprising spirit of each recipient.

(41) E.g., A. KAZDAN, *Formen des bedingten Eigentums in Byzanz des X-XII Jahrhund.* (a paper read at the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists), Moscow, 1960 ; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Contribution à l'étude de la pronoia au XIIIe siècle*, in *Revue des études byzantines*, 22 (1964), esp. pp. 170-174, and many others.

(42) Cf. K. KHVOSTOVA, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovykh otnoshenij v pozdnej Vizantii*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 208-214.

(43) Cf. MM IV, pp. 146-150 ; E. VRANOUSSI, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα ... Πάτμου. A'*, no. 14, l. 47 ; M. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου. B' Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν*, Athens, 1980, no. 69, ll. 30-33.

(44) M. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου. B'*, no. 66, ll. 1-4.

Yet the *posotēs* was applied not only to fictive fiscal revenues. Early in the seventies, the *apographeus* Demetrios Iatropoulos, acting on the orders of Michael VIII's brother, the despot John, transferred to the monastery of Xeropotamou an *oikonomia* estimated at 300 *hyperpyra*. The meticulous description of all the taxes and imposts due to the monastery from the lands transferred anticipates similar listings in the fourteenth century *praktika*. What is most remarkable, however, is that in Michael VIII's chrysobull of 1275 which confirms this donation as well as the other possessions of the monastery, only the newly bestowed *oikonomia* was defined by a *posotēs*. All the estates held by Xeropotamou "from old" and also summarily exempt from taxes were described in traditional terms as villages, fields, vineyards, etc., without their precise income value ([45]).

Our examples which can be easily multiplied ([46]) indicate that the *posotēs* was mostly applied to the newly distributed lands and estates. A notable exception is the case of the military settlers on the Anatolian frontier. According to Pachymeres, these akrits who enjoyed under the Nicaean emperors a complete exemption from taxes were subjected in the years that followed the reconquest of Constantinople to a partial taxation : The tax exemption of each was restricted to the *posotēs* of forty *nomismata*. Though rather generous by contemporary rates – in a *prostagma* of 1272 Michael VIII established for the landed holdings to be granted to the soldiers the maximal *posotēs* of thirty six *nomismata* ([47]) – the newly imposed *posotēs* is reported to have presented the akrits with a considerable hardship ([48]).

(45) *Actes de Xeropotamou*, ed. J. BOMPAIRE, Paris, 1964, no. 10.

(46) So during the seventies, the *protovestiarites* Demetrios Mourinos gathered numerous lands situated in different parts of the empire. All his estates except the last two, already granted but not yet transferred to Mourinos, were evaluated by a *posotēs*, *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 9. In 1271, Michael VIII authorized the donation of the village Kastrin to the monastery of Chilandar. The *posotēs* of the village was not apparently then yet established for it is first given in the confirmation of this donation by the same emperor in 1277 ; *Actes de Chilandar. Actes grecs*, ed. L. PETIT (Suppl. to *Viz. Vr.*, 17 (1911)), nos. 7 and 8.

(47) A. HEISENBERG, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit*, in *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Abh. 10, Munich, 1920, pp. 40-41. In the context of the *prostagma*, both *posotēs*-rates cited, twenty four and thirty six *nomismata*, must refer to the grants of land.

(48) GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relations Historiques*, ed. A. Failler, Paris, 1984, pp. 31-33.

The evaluation of landed holdings by a *posotēs* was first and gradually introduced under Michael VIII : What was then the status of the *pronoiai* of no stated *posotēs*, in the period when this accounting device was not known or not yet applied to all *pronoiai*? If we leave aside the small soldiers' *pronoiai* which constitute a subject apart, the answer is simple. Bigger *pronoiai* which could consist of an estate (*proasteion*) or of one or several villages did not differ from the analogous unconditional imperial bestowals except in being granted for life and essentially inalienable. And like most of the other private estates, they were subjected to the taxation.

The clearest evidence in this regard comes from Michael VIII's chrysobull of 1272 concerning the restitution of the patriarchal seat in Constantinople. The emperor's grant to St. Sophia comprised, among other properties, numerous estates in the region tōn Hagiosophitikōn ; the *pronoiai* situated in the vicinity remained outside the territory donated, yet the church was entitled to exact in its favour the taxes due from those *pronoiai*, namely *tōn plōimōn*, *agapē* and *sitarkia* ([49]).

The last two seem to be the main taxes exacted during the Nicaean period ([50]). Even the monastery of Lembiotissa, restored and endowed with manifold privileges by the Emperor John Vatatzes, was initially obliged by its benefactor to pay *agapē* and *sitarkia* "due to the treasury" ([51]). And this indication brings us back to the case of Blateros. The newly bestowed domain of Lembiotissa consisted for the most part of the village Bare which was held as a *pronoia* by Blateros twenty years before and the liabilities of the *paroikoi* towards the new master were kept "as under Blateros" ([52]). So there is no reason to believe that the liabilities of the landlord were changed to the detriment of Lembiotissa and that Blateros, when he still held the village, was exempt from taxes which are known to have been exacted from *pronoiai* in the later period.

Similar considerations apply also in the case of Lembiotissa's closest neighbour, the *pronoia*-holder Syrgares. According to the statement of his *paroikoi* from the village Potamos, their duties consisted of the "paroikal and the public imposts" (*paroikika kai*

(49) J. and P. ZEPOS, *Ius Graecoromanum*, Athens, 1931, vol. I, pp. 662-663.
(50) M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, pp. 223-225.
(51) MM IV, p. 4.
(52) MM IV, p. 182.

dēmosiaka zētēmata)" ([53]). To the latter category belonged the various special duties exacted in addition to the main taxes ([54]). It comes as no surprise that Syrgares' *paroikoi* were not exempt from them. Such exemption was so exceptional that when the Emperor John Vatatzes granted it to the monastery of Lembiotissa, he had a hard time convincing his officials to observe its terms ([55]). Thus the overall "immunity" often bestowed by the scholars upon Syrgares' estate proves to be fictitious. On the other hand, the "paroikal imposts" which included the land tax or its equivalent in the form of an *epiteleia* were paid by the peasants to Syrgares, and the question remains whether he was entitled to enjoy this income in full or owed, in his turn, taxes to the state. We will probably never know the exact answer in this particular case, yet in a period when the exemption from taxes admittedly constituted an exception, it would be methodologically wrong to attribute it either to Syrgares or to any other landholder or -owner without direct evidence.

With the introduction of the *posotēs*-system, each imperial grant was devised, at least nominally, as to provide its beneficiary with exactly the amount of income determined by the *posotēs* awarded. The payments designated by the verb *epitelein* which occasionally figure in the fourteenth century *praktika* are quite diverse and do not always follow the usage of the Lembiotissa documents ([56]) ; however, all these "epiteleias" were taken into account – if not directly imposed – by the fisc and incorporated in the *posotēs* along with other taxes and imposts. Thus whatever the fiscal status of a *pronoia*-holder in the different periods and circumstances, all he exacted, whether in the form of tax or of *epiteleia*, he exacted by authorization and under the supervision of the state. In this respect, the *epiteleia* paid to a *pronoia*-holder did not differ from the *epiteleia* destined for the treasury.

On the other hand, there is nothing in the sources to support the assumption that tax-exempt landowners, when selling their privileged property, imposed an *epiteleia* equivalent to the land-tax on the buyers,

(53) MM IV, pp. 37-38.

(54) See the list in MM IV, pp. 224-225.

(55) The Lembiotissa archive preserved quite a number of imperial reprimands, some quite terse in tone, of the officials who did not cease to claim various duties from the monastery in spite of the exemption it enjoyed ; see, e.g., MM IV, pp. 251-253.

(56) See the observations of N. OIKONOMIDES, *Actes de Docheiariou*, p. 142.

thus turning their state-awarded exemption into a source of a private rent ([57]). In fact, the documents preserve only one record of an independent landowner, a certain Basileios Gabalas, selling his land under the stipulation of an *epiteleia*. We do not know why Gabalas chose not to transfer to the buyer, the monastery of St. John on Patmos, the legal ownership of the fields he sold nor why the monastery accepted this arrangement ; perhaps, because the fields sold constituted the dowry of Gabalas' wife ([58]). Even in this case, however, there is no evidence that the seller enjoyed any tax exemption. Thus it is all the more surprising to find views connecting the institution of *epiteleia* with the process of convertion of "the originally public rights ... into private ones") ([59]) or even of "sub-infeudation" ([60]).

To conclude, the *epiteleia*, whether exacted by an independent landowner or by a *paroikos*, indicated that in spite of the actual transfer of a plot of land to other hands, the initial owner or holder remained responsible for the taxes due on it to the treasury or to a *pronoia*-holder. This arrangement could have been enacted for different reasons and for varying periods of time without being necessarily terminated by a cadastral revision. Except for some cases of donation in which the grantor chose to retain the control over the land he granted, the *epiteleia*-clauses are almost entirely absent from the records of landed transactions performed by independent landowners who were free to alienate their land and would normally sell or donate it transferring the property rights at the same time. The *paroikoi*, on the other hand, whose right to the land was only secured by the taxes they paid on it, were neither entitled to rid themselves of this fiscal responsibility not to transfer to the buyer the property rights over land which they did not legally own. Therefore in the vast majority of cases, it was the *paroikoi* who exacted the *epiteleia* which allowed them to cede the

(57) So H. GLYKATZI (-AHRWEILER), *L'épitélia*, pp. 76-87.

(58) MM VI, pp. 174-176. Each of the plots sold constituted a third (*τὴν τρίτην μερίδα ἀδελφικήν*) of each respective field, the third inherited by Basileios' wife Kale in her father's estate. Possible complications with the other heirs seem to explain the statement in the contract that the payment of the *epiteleia*, that is the formal recognition of Kale's ownership rights over the land, would best secure to the monks its actual possession.

(59) So M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, p. 230.

(60) So A. KAZDAN, *Agrarnye otnoshenija v Vizantii XIII-XIV vv.*, Moscou, 1952, p. 159.

actual possession of a plot without any formal change in its status. Though mostly a private arrangement, the *epiteleia* was supervised or even directly imposed by the state when state interests were involved. Under its watchful eye, the sellers of land stood little chance of converting the *epiteleia* into a form of private rent, though some may have tried as we learn from the case of the dishonest soldier Constantine Planites.

Constantine ZUCKERMAN.

NOTES ET INFORMATIONS

LA SOCIÉTÉ BELGE D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES EN 1985

En 1985, la Société Belge d'Études Byzantines a perdu un de ses membres éminents, Mgr Basile Krivochéine, qui, âgé de 85 ans, s'en est allé mourir le 22 septembre en sa ville natale, Saint-Pétersbourg devenu Leningrad. Jusqu'à la fin de 1980, il avait été un des membres les plus assidus à nos séances. On peut lire dans le présent fascicule, pp. 5-15, une notice sur le défunt, rédigée par M. Edmond Voordeckers, lequel a fait l'éloge de l'archevêque lors de notre séance du 19 octobre 1985.

La Société a eu, comme d'habitude, trois réunions. Lors de la première, le 9 février, M. Jean-Marie Sansterre fit une communication intitulée *Les coryphées des apôtres. Rome et la papauté dans les Vies des saints Nil et Barthélemy de Grottaferrata.* Comme elle a fait l'objet d'un article (cf. *Byzantion*, t. LV, 1985, pp. 516-543), nous ne reviendrons pas sur le sujet.

Pour la seconde séance, le 27 avril, nous avions la visite du Professeur Guglielmo Cavallo, de l'Université de Rome, lequel nous a parlé de *La culture de Ravenne pendant l'Antiquité tardive et le Haut Moyen Age.* Voici une adaptation française du résumé italien qu'il m'a remis.

«Quand on traite de la culture à Ravenne entre le Ve et le VIIIe siècle à partir des documents écrits (documents d'archives, livres, inscriptions), il importe avant tout d'attirer l'attention sur le fait que la ville était alors un centre où résidaient des groupes ethniques différents et où dès lors les cultures latine, gréco-orientale et gothique se rencontraient, si bien que les témoignages écrits finirent par refléter la situation ethnique et les genres de contacts existant à l'intérieur de la cité.

Ainsi, les documents ravennates, et en particulier les papyrus Tjäder 16 et 20 sont instructifs : ils révèlent la présence, parmi les témoins, d'individus qui utilisent le latin mais se servent de lettres grecques ou d'un alphabet mixte : il s'agit en substance de cas de bilinguisme imparfait. Dans le papyrus Tjäder 34, on note des signatures en gothique, dont le graphisme est plus influencé par l'écriture grecque que par la latine. Si on passe à la production livresque,

on trouve une série de manuscrits latins et grecs d'origine ravennate sûre ou du moins très probable : certains sont encore conservés, d'autres peuvent être reconstitués sur base de copies plus tardives. Parmi les manuscrits latins, il faut souligner l'intérêt du *Laurentianus, Plut. LXV.1*, un témoin d'Orose provenant certainement d'un atelier ravennate ; c'est de Ravenne également que viendrait le *Vat. lat. 3867*, le «Virgile romain» selon son appellation traditionnelle, lequel, si l'attribution à Ravenne est exacte, pourrait indiquer la présence dans la ville de courants artistiques gréco-orientaux d'origine provinciale. Il y a encore les *Annales ravennates* telles qu'on peut les reconstituer : il s'agissait d'une chronique historiée relative aux années 493-526, dont l'illustration reflète une influence égyptienne. Mentionnons enfin des manuscrits contenant des traductions latines et des commentaires, faits à Ravenne à l'époque des Goths, d'œuvres grecques de caractère médical, technique ou scientifique, textes marqués par l'influence alexandrine. Si on examine la production livresque de textes sacrés, on remarque les folios rescapés (à savoir le frontispice et les canons d'Eusèbe) d'un manuscrit grec des évangiles (*Vindob. 847*) ainsi qu'une série de manuscrits pourprés, tant latins que gothiques, parmi lesquels le célèbre *Codex Argenteus* de la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Upsal, que divers indices font considérer comme étant très probablement d'origine ravennate ; ces manuscrits dénoncent, tant par leur écriture que par leurs techniques de confection, une influence syrienne ou palestinienne. Enfin, dans le domaine épigraphique, on s'arrêtera en particulier à deux inscriptions grecques de l'époque de l'exarchat, CIG IV 9869 et 9870.

Cette esquisse de la culture de Ravenne entre la Basse Antiquité et le Haut Moyen Âge ne se base encore que sur des recherches préliminaires ; il faudra les élargir. Certaines lignes fondamentales, toutefois, peuvent être mises en évidence. Il n'y a pas de doute que l'époque gothique fut à Ravenne le moment intellectuellement le plus vivace pendant la Basse Antiquité, tandis que, paradoxalement, l'époque de Justinien et encore plus celle de l'exarchat révèlent une culture d'arrière-garde, qui continue à entretenir certains intérêts du passé mais est en elle-même vide de ferments novateurs. C'est là un résultat qui contraste étonnamment avec ce qui fut le grand art de Ravenne à la même époque : l'architecture et la mosaïque. Sur Ravenne comme centre de culture gréco-orientale et byzantine, certaines conclusions s'imposent : c'est, encore une fois, à l'époque gothique qu'on remarque le degré le plus intense de diffusion et de réceptivité à la culture grecque ; soulignons d'ailleurs que cette culture grecque s'avère toujours d'origine provinciale (venant d'Égypte, de Syrie, d'Asie Mineure). En somme, au départ des

grands centres méditerranéens (Alexandrie, Antioche, Gaza), des courants culturels arrivaient dans la Ravenne des Goths. Par contre, les influences proprement constantinopolitaines n'affleurent pas avant l'époque de Justinien et alors seulement de manière sporadique, à certains moments particuliers.»

À la suite de cet exposé, M. Sansterre évoque la différence entre, d'une part, notre bonne connaissance des Grecs de Rome et le rôle réel qu'ils semblent jouer là-bas, et d'autre part, notre mauvaise connaissance des Grecs de Ravenne et la piètre influence qui semble être la leur. Il demande si nous ne sommes pas victimes d'illusions d'optique dues à une meilleure conservation des documents sur l'Église Romaine. M. Cavallo estime que les hasards de la conservation des documents ne jouent pas pour ce qui concerne ses conclusions.

Madame Lafontaine, hésitant à suivre M. Cavallo quand celui-ci affirme que la Ravenne des Goths a subi l'influence de certaines provinces de l'Empire grec, demande si des relations privilégiées concrètes sont connues entre Ravenne et Alexandrie ou entre Ravenne et Antioche. M. Cavallo répond que certains extraits et séquences d'œuvres médicales sont les mêmes à Ravenne qu'à Alexandrie, et que ce qui unit Ravenne et Antioche (ou la Syrie-Palestine), c'est la manière de confectionner les livres (Genèse de Vienne par ex.), qui aurait été différente de celle de Byzance (Dioscoride par ex.).

En concordance avec une intervention de M. Buyssens, M. Cavallo dit qu'à son avis les Goths étaient plus ouverts à la culture technique (médecine, arpentage) des Grecs qu'à la culture proprement latine, laquelle était d'ailleurs leur concurrente immédiate.

Mme Leroy demande si des traductions nous ont gardé la trace d'Orientaux (coptes, syriens, arméniens, géorgiens) à Ravenne. La réponse est négative.

M. Gilissen ayant demandé enfin s'il y a des traits d'écriture ravennates, M. Cavallo ne peut donner, en dehors d'un certain caractère monumental de l'écriture, qu'une seule lettre qui serait typique, le G entièrement au-dessus de la ligne rectrice.

Lors de la dernière séance de l'année, le 19 octobre, M. Bernard Coulie a fait un exposé sur *Les richesses dans l'œuvre de Grégoire de Nazianze.*

«Issue d'une dissertation doctorale en philologie et histoire orientales défendue à l'Université Catholique de Louvain le 25 juin 1985, cette communication se propose de présenter le traitement du thème des richesses dans l'œuvre de Grégoire de Nazianze. Comment s'incarne son idéologie, tournée vers les valeurs surnaturelles ? Quelle est la forme que prend le renoncement aux biens terrestres que lui attribuent l'hagiographie et l'histo-

riographie ? Motivées par des circonstances de sa vie ou de celle de ses familiers, l'œuvre littéraire de Grégoire traite fréquemment des riches et des pauvres, de la richesse et de la pauvreté, sous les différents aspects de la possession, de l'acquisition et de l'usage des biens matériels. Quelques exemples permettent d'illustrer les idées de l'auteur à ce sujet.

La fortune de Grégoire de Nazianze est présentée dans son *Testament*: elle se compose d'esclaves, de domaines fonciers, de troupeaux, de vêtements et de sommes d'argent. Ces éléments mettent en évidence le milieu provincial et le caractère agricole du patrimoine de Grégoire. Les textes relatifs à l'édification de l'église de Nazianze aux frais de Grégoire l'Ancien, père de l'auteur, éclairent le milieu social de cette famille de grands propriétaires de Cappadoce, appartenant à la classe curiale. Concernant les biens publics ou ecclésiastiques, le dossier de «l'affaire de Sasimes» et celui de la corruption, par exemple, révèlent que Grégoire distingue un clergé pauvre et désintéressé, et des clercs riches ou attachés au profit. L'auteur met en parallèle le thème des richesses et celui des bons et des mauvais prêtres ; pour lui, la richesse est incompatible avec la pureté et la vertu nécessaires à l'exercice d'une fonction ecclésiastique ou publique.

Il y a, pour Grégoire de Nazianze, deux manières d'acquérir des biens. La première est malhonnête : ce sont les pratiques des créanciers, des usuriers, des spéculateurs et autres accapareurs de terres. Les textes témoignent ici de phénomènes économiques qui ont marqué l'époque proto-byzantine en général, et le IVe siècle en particulier. La seconde manière est licite : il s'agit de tirer ses revenus d'une activité professionnelle, telle celle des commerçants, des rhéteurs et des médecins. Si Grégoire peut admettre la richesse de fait, il rejette l'attachement aux richesses et les biens mal acquis.

Grégoire de Nazianze avertit également ses auditeurs et ses lecteurs des conséquences sociales, morales et spirituelles de l'utilisation qu'ils font des biens matériels. Conséquences sociales, parce qu'à la richesse des uns répond la pauvreté des autres. Conséquences morales, car cette pauvreté doit être combattue par la pratique de la charité. Conséquences spirituelles, car l'attitude adoptée ici-bas à l'égard des richesses conditionne la vie dans l'au-delà. Parmi les textes consacrés à ce thème, le *Discours 14* occupe une place à part. Il s'agit d'une exhortation à prendre soin des démunis et à soutenir l'effort du clergé dans ce domaine. L'assistance aux indigents y est présentée comme relevant des œuvres charitables de l'Église, qui fait appel aux ressources des plus riches. Pour vaincre les résistances de ces derniers, Grégoire situe son discours dans une perspective surnaturelle en promettant une récompense céleste pour les œuvres charitables accomplies ici-bas.

L'analyse littéraire et historique des textes révèle que le thème des richesses est important pour saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Outre qu'il témoigne des réalités du temps, il est l'occasion pour l'auteur d'exprimer des idées profondes qui tiennent à sa culture profane autant qu'à sa nature chrétienne.»

Au terme de cet exposé, Mme Lafontaine-Dosogne demande à l'auteur si la *μεγαλοψυχία* dont parle Grégoire n'est pas la vertu aristotélicienne du même nom ; M. Coulie répond que chez l'évêque de Nazianze cette vertu porte des traits bien chrétiens. Mme Lafontaine-Dosogne demande encore à l'orateur comment il se fait que Grégoire semble quelque peu hostile à l'esclavage et que son testament mentionne qu'il a lui-même des esclaves. M. Coulie profite de l'occasion pour signaler que le testament affranchit précisément les esclaves, mais ne cache pas qu'il y a chez Grégoire, comme chez tout un chacun, quelque distance entre les principes et la vie quotidienne. Mme Dispa-Grandfils rappelle alors combien la coutume était ancienne d'affranchir des esclaves dans un testament, et qu'en soi une telle pratique n'indique en rien qu'on soit hostile à l'esclavage. Pour terminer, M. Coulie a encore l'occasion de dire au nom de quels arguments on a parfois mis en doute l'authenticité du testament de Grégoire : ce sont de très vieilles objections tirées, les unes, du fait que Grégoire parle de son fils et de son gendre, les autres de la date qu'anciennement on croyait devoir lire sur le document.

J. NORET.

HERAKLES TRIESPEROS IN BYZANTIUM

At 14, 22 in the corpus of Byzantine poems published (1) by Robert Browning from *Cod. Oxon. Barocci* 50, thought by him to be the work of the single author around the year 900, there is a reference to the archery of the Triesperos, *i.e.* Herakles. Acknowledging the epithet in Lycophron 33, Browning goes on to observe that "This piece of recondite learning is likely to have been derived from a lexicon, though the word does not seem to be cited by any of the surviving lexicographers".

In my own notes on these poems (2), I pointed out that neither allusion nor word are all that arcane, occurring as both do in authors as diverse as Lucian, Alciphron, *AP* 15, 26, 11, Justin Martyr, and John Lydus, whilst the adjective itself gained a fresh lease on life from its application to Christ at Easter by John Mauropous and to the darkness that plagued Egypt by Theodore Prodromos.

I now see that there is more to be said. All in all, there are four possible sources of inspiration, viz. :

1. His own rhetorical education. The epithet occurs in the *Progymnasmata* of both Nicephorus Basilaces and George Pachymeres (WALZ, *Rhet. Gr.* I, 472, 566, in the latter without the name of Herakles attached). Presence in such texts as the Suda's notice of Job (I, 471 Adler) may also argue its commonplace nature.

2. Lycophron and/or commentaries on him. A Byzantine of almost any period is likely to have some acquaintance with the *Alexandra*, at first or second hand (3). Orus in the fifth century adduces commentaries on him. Those by Tzetzes in the twelfth are well known. At roughly the same time, the episcopal scholar Nicetas produced a set of glosses on the poem, whilst

(1) *Byzantion*, 33 (1963), pp. 289-316, reprinted in his *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature, and Education* (London, 1977).

(2) *Byzantion*, 52 (1982), pp. 5-23, reprinted in my *Studies on Late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature and Language* (Amsterdam, 1984), where full references to the authors here mentioned are given.

(3) I am here much indebted to N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), pp. 52, 181, 187, 190-191 and 227.

one prescription for aspirant iambographers from Gregory of Corinth is the rather droll one of "the clearest passages of Lycophron". Also to be noticed is a text of Lycophron with Tzetzes' commentary produced in 1255 in one of the Greek communities of Italy, perhaps of special interest here since Poem 28 by our author has to do with a church of St. Barnabas in Italy.

3. General Reading, both Christian and profane. Of the authors mentioned earlier, Lucian is no doubt the most likely pagan, given his literary popularity with the Byzantines. However, on the Christian side I can now add a reference to Gregory Nazianzenus, *Or. in Jul.* 1, 122 (*PG* 35, 146B). Since our author's own poem is addressed to Gregory, his use of the epithet was conceivably intended as a subtle compliment.

4. Art. The famous statue of Herakles Triesperos by Lysippus stood in Constantinople until plundered by the Latins in 1204, on the explicit testimony of Nicetas Choniates, *De Signis* 5, using the epithet in question ([4]).

Establishing a link between art and poetry might be particularly congenial in the light of recent work done in this general area by other scholars ([5]). But any one of the four possibilities here advanced would do more credit to our author than the supposition that he mechanically scrabbled around in lexica for his diction.

Barry BALDWIN.

(4) Ed. J. VAN DIETEN (Berlin, 1985), p. 650 (p. 859 in BEKKER's Bonn edition, reprinted in *PG* 139, 1048A). See A. J. CUTLER, *The* De Signis *of Nicetas Choniates : A Reappraisal*, in *AJA*, 72 (1968), pp. 113-118 ; E. DEGANI, *Il "De Signis Constantinopolitanis" di Niceta Coniate*, in *Studi Salernitani in memoria di Raffaele Cantarella* (Salerno, 1981), pp. 506-512.

(5) As C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972), p. 182, observed, "Epigrams devoted to works of art provide an abundant and almost unexploited source of information for art historians". For a good example of what can be done in establishing such correlations, cf. H. MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981).

JOHN TZETZES AND THE *PHILOGELOS*

Γέγραφε ποῦ Φιλόγελως τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίῳ·
ἄρρωστον ἐπισκέψασθαι παρέβαλέ τις φίλος·
Ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἐξανίστατο καὶ ὑπεχώρει ῥᾷστα,
ἀγανακτήσας ὁ νοσῶν ἀνίσταται τῆς κλίνης,
κἀκείνῳ ἔρρωσο εἰπών, ἀπῆλθε τῆς οἰκίας·

Thus Tzetzes, *Chil.* VIII, *Hist.*, 969-973, in the edition (Naples, 1968) of P. Leone who offers no comment on the passage, adding for good measure a false reference to it in his *index scriptorum*. In the older edition of T. Kiessling (Leipzig, 1826 ; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), 976-980, Philogelos is printed with his initial letter in lower-case, and he is absent from the index of sources.

The passage appears ([1]) to constitute the one external *testimonium* to the *Philogelos*, the joke book put together in late antiquity. It is not discussed by A. Thierfelder, either in his edition of the *Philogelos* (Munich, 1968) or his notice of the work in P.W., *RE*, Suppl. Band XI, cols. 1062-1068. W. Hörandner pointed it out in his review of Thierfelder (*Gnomon*, 42 [1970[, p. 655), but did not go beyond the (correct) observation that Tzetzes' specimen is not in the *Philogelos* as we have it.

Tzetzes seems strikingly to refer to Philogelos as the author rather than the title, whereas the manuscripts ascribe the joke book to the (to us) unknown Hierocles and Philagrius. A parallel of sorts is provided by the discrepancy between *Suda* (the title seemingly confirmed by the manuscripts) and Suidas, given as the author's name by Byzantine writers beginning with Eustathius ([2]). Carelessness or error is not to be ruled out. Tzetzes is

(1) Theoretically, I suppose, it could refer to the *Philogelos* attributed to the mimographer Philistion by the *Suda* (*Φ* 364 ADLER) ; cf. AP 7, 155. See WÜST's notice of this character in P.W., *RE*, 19, cols. 2402-2408. But the odds are overwhelmingly in favour of the later, extant *Philogelos*, as this paper hopes to make clear. TZETZES, *ad Lycophr.*, I, 254, knows Philistion as a *komodos*, coupling him with Menander and Philemon.

(2) See P. MAAS, *Der Titel des 'Suidas'*, in *BZ*, 32 (1932), pp. 1-2, repr. in his *Kleine Schriften* (Munich, 1973), pp. 494-495 ; cf. N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), p. 145.

demonstrably slovenly elsewhere, and we have his word for it that he often worked, or had to work, from memory rather than texts ([3]). But it should not be assumed, as we shall see.

Tzetzes' verses are in illustration of the following anecdote produced by himself in *Epist.* 50 (ed. Leone) in the course of a set of threats against unwanted visitors : *ὡς ὁ παρὰ μύθῳ νοσηλευόμενος δέδρακεν ὡς γάρ τις ἐπισκεψόμενος τοῦτον ἐλθὼν ἐφ' ἱκανὸν ἐκεῖσε διεκαρτέρει τὸν χρόνον, ἀναστὰς ὁ κάμνων κἀκείνῳ 'ἔρρωσο' τῆς οἰκίας ἀπεφόίτησεν·*

Verbal similarities between the two passages should be noticed, along with the differences. The language of the verses is a little closer to that of the *Philogelos* than is that of the *muthos* in the letter. Every significant word here underlined in the passages is in the *Philogelos*, in one form or another. The anecdote as such is not, albeit *Philogelos* 70 is not dissimilar, whilst the format, language, and "punch-line" are utterly typical ([4]).

The *Philogelos* also specialises in puns, both good and desperate. In Tzetzes' tale, we may have as many as three ; *ἐξανίστημι* can mean 'to have an erection' (EURIPIDES, *Cyclops*, 169) : *ὑποχωρεῖν* has the sense of 'disembogue' in the medical writers (HIPPOCRATES, *Aph.*, 4, 26, etc.) ; "leave the house" can be a euphemism for dying (cf. *Philogelos* 70, with Thierfelder's note).

Tzetzes does not elsewhere cite the *Philogelos*. It is possible that his memory has failed him (the more malicious might suggest fabrication!). In which case, we should probably look to the fabulists. *Muthos* is a vague word, but Aristotle, *Meteorol.*, 356b11, has it of Aesop (cf. *LSJ* for cognate examples from Plato and Aristotle). The language and format of fable is very much that of the *Philogelos*. Of course, this would essentially leave us replacing an unknown joke by an unknown fable.

There may be a way of reconciling some of the possibilities. Ms. 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York was long ago established as the same one that had vanished from the Grottaferrata library near Rome in the Napoleonic War period ([5]). This manuscript (conventionally, G) contains

(3) The best account of Tzetzes' working methods is that of M. J. JEFFRIES, *The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse*, in *DOP*, 28 (1974), pp. 148-157.

(4) See both THIERFELDER's edition and my own annotated translation of the *Philogelos* (Amsterdam, 1983).

(5) See E. HUSSELMAN, *Kalilah and Dimnah* (London, 1938) ; M. AVERY, *Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and of the Life of Aesop in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, in *Art Bulletin*, 23 (1941), p. 103 ; B. E. PERRY, *Aesopica* (Urbana, 1952), p. XV.

(among other things) a *Life* of Aesop, fables of Aesop and Babrius, and, on the very last page, seven excerpts from the *Philogelos*. There is no title, and one further leaf is apparently missing. The first of the excerpts constitutes a joke found in no other manuscript, albeit not dissimilar to others that are ([6]).

All authorities agree that this manuscript is datable to the late tenth century. It is furthermore the oldest extant text of the *Philogelos*. I am not, of course, suggesting that this is the actual text used by Tzetzes. But it is interesting that it should come about a century and a half before him. By Tzetzes' own time, it is conceivable that the *Philogelos* was available in Constantinople ([7]), especially in the light of *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 690, a parchment codex of the twelfth century containing Aesop and the *Philogelos* ([8]). Perhaps not by itself, but in just as interesting co-existence with Aesop, Babrius, and cognate items. Such a "collection of light literature" ([9]) would make it plausible that Tzetzes' combination of defective memory and speed of composition should cause him to confuse a fable with a joke, given their aforementioned similarities.

Yet G also makes it possible to speculate that Tzetzes had seen a text of the *Philogelos* which did not have the names of Hierocles and Philagrius on it, and which contained items in no other manuscript and now lost. Not exactly in Tzetzes' version, of course, for the *Philogelos* is in prose ; but the political verse is prosaic enough to permit a close approximation to the language of the original.

Whatever conclusion be reached, the matter serves to add a little both to our picture of Tzetzes' reading ([10]) and to the history of the text of the *Philogelos*.

Barry BALDWIN.

(6) I owe all this information to B. E. PERRY, *On the Manuscripts of the* Philogelos, in *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather* (Urbana, 1943), pp. 163-166.

(7) One need hardly observe that the mere mention of the *Philogelos* by Tzetzes, whether it be authentic, erroneous, or fabricated, is in itself suggestive.

(8) See B. E. PERRY, *art. cit.*, pp. 158-159 ; THIERFELDER assigns it to the eleventh century, both in his edition (p. 130) and his P.W. notice (col. 1065).

(9) The description by N. G. WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 212, of G.

(10) See N. G. WILSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-196, on the plausibility or otherwise of Tzetzes' more unusual sources and information (not discussing the *Philogelos* item).

MANZIKIEPT OU *MANTZIKIEPT*? NOTE SUR LE *DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO* (*)

Le *De administrando imperio*, traité de politique et de diplomatie byzantines «rédigé» par l'empereur Constantin VII Porphyrogénète à l'adresse de son fils, le futur empereur Romain II, est un recueil de documents provenant des archives impériales et contenant des instructions de diplomatie pratique sur l'attitude à adopter à l'égard des peuples étrangers à l'Empire ([1]). Deux chapitres de la compilation sont consacrés à l'Arménie : 44. *Περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῦ Ἀπαχουνῆς καὶ τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ Μανζικίερτ καὶ τοῦ Περκρὶ καὶ τοῦ Χλιὰτ καὶ τοῦ Χαλιὰτ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρζὲς καὶ τοῦ Τιβὶ καὶ τοῦ Χὲρτ καὶ τοῦ Σαλαμᾶς καὶ τοῦ Τζερματζοῦ* ; 45. *Περὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων* ([2]). Il y est question d'une forteresse située au nord du lac de Van et appelée dans le *De administrando imperio* *Μανζικίερτ*. Le terme *Μανζικίερτ* apparaît quinze fois dans le *De administrando imperio*, aux chapitres 44 et 45, plus une forme dérivée, *Μανζικιερτῶν*, au chapitre 45 ([3]). Un regard sur l'apparat critique de l'édition la plus récente révèle que la graphie *Μανζικίερτ* adoptée par G. Moravcsik n'est pas celle que présente une partie de la tradition manuscrite et qui a été retenue par les éditeurs antérieurs. Le regretté professeur É. Janssens écrit à ce sujet : «La ville qu'on a coutume d'appeler Mantzikert se nommait en arménien Manazkert, en arabe Manazjird et en turc Malazgirt.

(*) Cette note est l'une des thèses annexes présentées par l'auteur pour l'obtention du grade de docteur en philologie et histoire orientales à l'Université Catholique de Louvain, à Louvain-la-Neuve, le 25 juin 1985.

(1) P. LEMERLE, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (*Bibliothèque byzantine. Études*, 6), Paris, 1971, pp. 277-278.

(2) *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, Greek Text Edited by G. MORAVCSIK, English Translation by R. J. H. JENKINS (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* [= *C.F.H.B.*], 1), 2e éd., Dumbarton Oaks, 1967, pp. 198-214 (= *D.A.I.*).

(3) *D.A.I.*, 44, l. 2, 17 et 29 (p. 198), l. 40, 43, 53, 67 et 70 (p. 200), l. 73, 80, 86, 94, 99-100 et 107 (p. 202) ; 45, l. 97 (p. 210) ; 45, l. 65 (p. 208).

Les historiens grecs l'appellent *Μαντζικίερτ*» (4). Cette opinion est partagée par J. Karst, H. Hübschmann, F. H. Weissbach et J. Markwart (5).

Cette opposition de deux formes, *Μανζικίερτ* et *Μαντζικίερτ*, ne concerne pas seulement la graphie d'un nom de lieu arménien. Elle est liée également à la linguistique et à la phonétique de l'arménien ancien.

* * *

A. La tradition manuscrite du *De administrando imperio*

L'édition de 1967 repose sur quatre manuscrits, datés du XIe au XVIe s. (6). Les deux plus anciens témoins proposent, dans certains cas, la graphie *Μαντζικίερτ* : le manuscrit P au chap. 44, l. 43 et 70, le manuscrit V au chap. 44, l. 2. Il est à remarquer que V, quoique copié sur P, ne présente pas cette graphie aux mêmes endroits que son modèle.

Les éditions antérieures du traité attribué à Constantin VII ont toutes été réalisées sur les deux témoins P et V. Il s'agit de l'*editio princeps* de J. Meursius (Londres, 1611), de celles de A. Banduri (Paris, 1711) et de E. Bekker (Bonn, 1840) (7). Ces éditeurs ont cependant toujours opté pour la graphie *Μαντζικίερτ*, même contre le témoignage concordant des manuscrits (8).

Μανζικίερτ est la forme la plus souvent attestée, et le choix opéré par G. Moravcsik repose donc sur un argument statistique. Mais il ne s'accorde ni avec les témoins les plus anciens ni avec les éditions antérieures.

(4) É. Janssens, *Le lac de Van et la stratégie byzantine*, dans *Byzantion*, 42 (1973), p. 400.

(5) J. Karst, *Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-armenischen*, Strasbourg, 1901 ; anastat. Berlin, 1970, p. 19. H. Hübschmann, *Die Altarmenischen Ortsnamen mit Beiträgen zur historischen Topographie Armeniens*, dans *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 16 (1904), p. 328, 330 et 449 ; anastat. Amsterdam, 1969 (= Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*) ; F. H. Weissbach, art. *Μαντζικίερτ*, dans *R.E.*, XIV, 2, 1930, col. 1361 ; J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und armenischen Geschichte* (*Studien zur armenischen Geschichte*, IV), Vienne, 1930, p. 78 et 299, n. 2 ; J. Markwart, *La province de Parskahayk^c^*, dans *R.É.Arm.*, N.S., 3 (1966), pp. 302-303.

(6) *D.A.I.*, pp. 15-39 : P = *Paris. Gr.* 2009 (1098-1099 ?), V = *Vatic. Palat. Gr.* 126 (1509), F = *Paris. Gr.* 2967 (entre 1509 et 1529), M = *Mutinensis Gr.* 179 (seconde moitié du XVIe s.).

(7) Réf. dans *D.A.I.*, pp. 23-25.

(8) Cf. n. 6.

B. Mantzikert dans la littérature byzantine

Le souvenir de Mantzikert est passé à la postérité à cause de la bataille qui a opposé en ce lieu, au mois d'août 1071, les troupes byzantines aux armées seldjoucides, pour la défaite des premières et de leur chef, l'empereur Romain IV Diogène ([9]). Ainsi que le remarque fort justement É. Janssens, il s'agit d'«une date qui passe assez inaperçue en Occident, mais qui marque un tournant de toute première importance dans l'histoire de la civilisation» ([10]). Rien d'étonnant dès lors si plusieurs ouvrages d'historiographie de l'époque byzantine font allusion plus ou moins directement à cet épisode. Parmi eux quatre citent nommément la forteresse arménienne : les chroniques de Nicéphore Bryenne, Georges Cédrénos, Michel Attaliate et Jean Zonaras ([11]). Leur témoignage doit être examiné attentivement :

1. Georges Cédrénos, *Historiarum Compendium*, p. 590, l. 19 : *τοῦ λεγομένου Μαντζικίερτε· πόλις δὲ τὸ Μαντζικίερτε* ([12]).

2. Michel Attaliate, *Historia*, p. 46, l. 10 : *πόλις ἡ Μανζικίερτ* ; p. 149, l. 3 : *Μανζικίερτ*, mais *Corrigenda* p. 334 *ad* p. 149, l. 3 : *Μαντζικίερτ* ; p. 149, l. 11, p. 150, l. 14 : *τὸ Μαντζικίερτ* ; p. 151, l. 8 : *τὸ Μανζικίερτ* ; p. 166, l. 9 : *τὸ κάστρον Μαντζικίερτ* ([13]).

3. Jean Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum Libri XVIII*, p. 697, l. 6 et 8 (XVIII, 13, 9-10) : *τὸ Μανζικίερτ* ([14]). L'apparat critique précise toutefois qu'un des témoins, le *cod. Monac. Gr.* 324, présente la graphie *Μαντζικίερτ*.

(9) G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII, 1, 2 = *Byzantinisches Handbuch*, I, 2), Munich, 1940, pp. 242-243 ; C. Diehl et G. Marçais, *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081* (*Histoire générale. Histoire du Moyen Age*, III), Paris, 1944, p. 561.

(10) E. Janssens, *Trébizonde en Colchide* (*Université Libre de Bruxelles. Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres*, XL), Bruxelles, 1969, p. 54 ; voir aussi *Aristakès de Lastivert, Récits des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, traduction française avec introduction et commentaire par M. Canard et H. Berberian (*Bibliothèque de Byzantion*, 5), Bruxelles, 1973, p. 75, n. 4.

(11) Liste des sources dans J. C. Cheynet, *Mantzikert, un désastre militaire ?*, dans *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), pp. 410-411 ; voir aussi C. Cahen, *La campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes*, dans *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), pp. 613-642.

(12) *Georgius Cedrenus Joannis Scylitzae ope*, ab E. Bekker suppletus et emendatus, t. II (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* [= *C.S.H.B.*]), Bonn, 1839.

(13) *Michaelis Attaliotae Historia*, recognovit E. Bekker (*C.S.H.B.*), Bonn, 1853.

(14) *Joannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum Libri XVIII*, ex recensione H. Pinder (*C.S.H.B.*), Bonn, 1897.

4. Nicéphore Bryenne, *Historia*, p. 107, l. 22 (I, 14) : *τὸ Μαντζίκερτον* ; app. crit. : «*Μαντζίκερτον correxi* : *Μαζί- T(olosanus)*» ([15]).

L'examen de ces témoignages ajoute encore à la confusion. Les deux graphies *Μανζικίερτ* et *Μαντζικίερτ* sont concurrentes. L'édition de Michel Attaliate par E. Bekker recourt indifféremment aux deux. L'éditeur de Jean Zonaras opère un choix, sans le justifier, entre les deux graphies attestées par la tradition manuscrite, et P. Gautier corrige sans explication la leçon de son témoin.

Par conséquent, dans l'état actuel des éditions des historiographes byzantins, le problème de la graphie de Mantzikert ne peut trouver de solution par le seul examen de la tradition grecque. Il faut faire appel au témoignage de l'arménien.

C. Mantzikert dans la phonétique arménienne

La localité de Mantzikert, en arménien Մանազկերտ (Manckert), est située dans la zone du dialecte de Van, mais le parler local possède également des caractéristiques du dialecte de Muš ([16]). Parmi les particularités de ces parlers, deux au moins sont applicables au nom de la localité : d'une part, la mouillure pré-vocalique du -ե- (-e-), appelée également diphtongaison du -ե- (-e-), qui explique la transcription grecque du -ե- (-e-) en *-ιε-* et la présence d'un accent sur la mouillure de la diphtongue ; d'autre part, la succession, dans une affriquée telle que -ձ- (-c-, prononcée -ts-), d'une sourde à l'implosion et d'une sonore dans l'élément fricatif, d'où la transcription grecque du -ձ- en *-τζ-*, dentale sourde suivie d'une sifflante sonore ([17]).

Si la phonétique arménienne commande la graphie *Μαντζικίερτ*, une objection peut cependant être soulevée à ce point du développement : est-il correct de considérer cette graphie comme une transcription scrupuleuse de l'arménien ? La phonétique arménienne, qui a évolué elle aussi, n'aurait-elle pu entraîner les hésitations observées en grec ?

(15) *Nicéphore Bryenne, Histoire*, introduction, texte, traduction et notes par P. Gautier (*C.F.H.B.*, 9), Bruxelles, 1975.

(16) H. Adjarian, *Classification des dialectes arméniens* (*Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques*, 173), Paris, 1909, p. 48 et 52.

(17) Voir F. Feydit, *Considérations sur l'alphabet de saint Mesrop* (*Studien zur armenischen Geschichte*, XI), Vienne, 1964, p. 63 et 103-104.

À partir du Xe s., les transcriptions grecques de noms arméniens se font plus précises qu'auparavant, particulièrement dans la notation des affriquées, des diphtongues et des voyelles. Dès cette époque, il n'y a plus de répugnance, d'une part, à noter à la suite l'une de l'autre des consonnes de degrés de sonorité opposés, tel que le groupe *-ντζ-*, et, d'autre part, à abandonner l'addition aux noms arméniens d'une terminaison grecque : à *Τιγρανόκερτα*, par exemple, s'oppose une graphie telle que *Μαντζικίερτ*.

Quelques exemples permettront d'illustrer ces affirmations. Le nom de la localité de Xorjean, Խորձան, où l'affriquée combine deux éléments sonores, est transcrit par Procope de Césarée, au VIe s., *Χορζιανηνή* ([18]) et *Κορζάνη* ([19]), mais, à partir du XIe s., se lit la forme *Κορτζηνή* ([20]) ; dans ce dernier cas, la transcription a noté une sourde à l'implosion et une dentale dans l'élément fricatif, c'est-à-dire l'affriquée telle qu'elle est prononcée dans les dialectes occidentaux. Dans l'œuvre de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète se trouvent encore *Χατζιένη* pour Xač'ēn, Խաչէն ([21]), où le *-τ-* rend le caractère sourd de l'affriquée *-չ-*, et *Ἀρζές* pour Arčēs, Արճէշ ([22]), où le *-ζ-* rend le caractère sonore de la prononciation occidentale du *-ճ-*. Un autre témoignage tiré du *De administrando imperio* est particulièrement intéressant : la localité d'Arckē, Արծկէ, située à quelques kilomètres au sud de Mantzikert, est transcrite *Ἀλτζικέ* : l'affriquée *-ծ-* (*-c-*) y est donc notée *-τζ-* par l'auteur du traité ([23]). Il s'agit bien là de la graphie locale du nom, ainsi qu'en témoigne un sceau de stratège édité par V. Laurent ([24]).

(18) HÜBSCHMANN, *Ortsnamen*, p. 228, 230, 248 et 291. PROCOPE, *De bello Persico*, II, 24 (*Procopius*, ex recensione G. DINDORF [*C.S.H.B.*], vol. I, Bonn, 1833, p. 262, et *Procopius*, with an English Translation by H. B. DEWING, vol. I. *History of the Wars, Books I and II* [*The Loeb Classical Library*, 48], Cambridge, Mass., et Londres, 1961, p. 476) : *τὰ ἐπὶ Χορζιανηνῆς χωρία*.

(19) PROCOPE, *De aedificiis*, III, 3 (*Procopius*, ex recensione G. DINDORF [C.S.H.B.], vol. III, Bonn, 1838, p. 251 : *Κορζάνη* ; *Procopius*, with an English Translation by H. B. DEWING, vol. VII. *Buildings* [*The Loeb Classical Library*, 343], Cambridge, Mass., et Londres, 1961, p. 192 : *Χορζάνη μὲν ἡ χώρα καλεῖται*).

(20) Cf. *Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani*, ed. H. GELZER, Leipzig, 1890 ; anastat. Amsterdam, 1970, pp. 181-182 : mention de *Κορτζηνή*, *Κορτζένης* dans les listes épiscopales.

(21) *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae Libri duo*, e recensione J. J. REISKE (*C.S.H.B.*), vol. I, Bonn, 1829, p. 687 (= II, 87) ; HÜBSCHMANN, *Ortsnamen*, p. 267 et 349.

(22) *D.A.I.*, 44, l. 3, 11, 15 et 21 (p. 198), l. 54 et 57 (p. 200), l. 102 et 109 (p. 202), l. 114 et 115 (p. 204) ; HÜBSCHMANN, *Ortsnamen*, p. 329.

(23) *D.A.I.*, 44, l. 57 (p. 200), l. 109 (p. 202), l. 114 (p. 204).

(24) V. LAURENT, *Sceau inédit de Christophore stratège d'Artziké (Arcke)-Arkérabou en Arménie*, dans *Échos d'Orient*, 34 (1931), pp. 452-465, spécialement p. 458.

Ces exemples, choisis à titre d'illustration, montrent que dès le xe s., et spécialement dans le *De administrando imperio*, la transcription grecque des noms de lieux arméniens est plus scrupuleuse. La graphie grecque, pour correspondre aux caractéristiques dialectales de Van et de Muš, doit donc présenter la forme *Μαντζικίερτ*, avec un *τ* entre le *ν* et le *ζ*.

Ces exemples sont significatifs également du goût de Constantin VII pour la linguistique, particulièrement dans la traduction, l'exégèse et la graphie de termes étrangers ; cette caractéristique, constante dans l'œuvre du Porphyrogénète, se révèle notamment dans le récit des expéditions russes à Constantinople ([25]). Par ailleurs, l'hypothèse d'une information tirée de sources arméniennes indépendantes des localités concernées peut être écartée : le *De administrando imperio* fait état, à plusieurs reprises, d'agents ou d'interprètes impériaux envoyés sur place, par exemple dans le Taron, ou d'une correspondance adressée d'Arménie à Constantinople ([26]). Les habitudes littéraires de l'auteur et sa méthode de travail ([27]) fournissent un argument supplémentaire en faveur de la graphie *Μαντζικίερτ*.

* * *

(25) *D.A.I.*, 9, l. 8-9 (p. 56), l. 24-26, 39-41 et 44-47 (p. 58), l. 57-59, 61-62 et 64-65 (p. 62) ; voir aussi 45, l. 103 (p. 210) et 46, l. 3-4 (p. 214).

(26) *D.A.I.*, 43, l. 41-45 (p. 190), l. 137 (p. 194), l. 170 (p. 196) ; J. B. BURY, *The Treatise De administrando imperio*, dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 15 (1906), pp. 517-577, spécialement pp. 539-544 pour les sources ; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, Londres, 1973, p. 422 pour les sources arméniennes, p. 381, n. 1, 402, 406 et 408 pour Mantzikert.

(27) Voir p. ex. *D.A.I.*, pp. 10-13 ; K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, 2e éd., s.l., 1897, anastat. New York, 1976, pp. 252-264 ; G. MORAVCSIK, *Τὰ συγγράμματα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου ἀπὸ γλωσσικῆς ἀπόψεως*, dans *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 5 (1939), pp. 514-520 (= *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini. Roma, 20-26 settembre 1936*, Rome, 1939) ; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, I. *Die Byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Turkvölker* (*Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten*, Band 10), 2e éd., Berlin, 1958, pp. 356-390 ; *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, vol. II. *Commentary*, Ed. by R. J. H. JENKINS, Londres, 1962, p. 162 et 167 (commentaires dus à S. RUNCIMAN) ; H. BARTIKIAN, *Les sources étrangères sur l'Arménie et les Arméniens*, VII. *Les sources byzantines*, II. *Constantin Porphyrogénète*, Erevan, 1970 (en arménien) ; H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII, 5, 1-2 = *Byzantinisches Handbuch*, V, 1-2), vol. I, Munich, 1978, pp. 362-367 ; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS et G. WEISS, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, (*Schriften zur Geistgeschichte des östlichen Europa*, Band 14), vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 392-393.

En conséquence, l'orthographe traditionnelle est conforme aux exigences de la tradition grecque, à la phonétique régionale arménienne et à l'usage qui vient d'être constaté dans le *De administrando imperio* de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. Ce qui n'est pas le cas de la graphie adoptée par G. Moravcsik.

Bernard COULIE.
Aspirant du F.N.R.S

PRÉCISION SUR LA DATE DU CODEX *PARISINUS GRAECUS 1268*

Comme le copiste du *Par.gr. 1268* (recueil théologique contenant surtout des ouvrages de Grégoire de Nysse) n'a laissé aucun indice ni sur son identité, ni sur la date vers laquelle il a achevé son travail, il a fallu chercher d'autres critères pour déterminer, approximativement bien sûr, l'âge de ce manuscrit. Ainsi nous supposons que c'est le style de l'écriture qui a amené H. Omont à situer le *Par.gr. 1268* au XIIe siècle (1). Autant que nous sachions, cette datation a été reprise par tous ceux qui, pour une raison ou une autre, ont utilisé le manuscrit (2). Il n'est point dans nos intentions de remettre en cause l'hypothèse d'Omont, mais plutôt de la préciser en proposant un *terminus ante quem*, lequel renvoie le manuscrit au premier tiers du XIIe siècle. Voici notre argument.

Le folio 304 étant resté blanc, quelqu'un en a profité pour noter au recto, d'une encre brun foncé, la date d'une éclipse solaire. Aujourd'hui la feuille est quelque peu endommagée : les bords supérieur et inférieur ont disparu, mais sans affecter le texte qui nous occupe ici. Par contre, un des lambeaux

(1) Cf. H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, t. I, Paris, 1886, p. 282. Les pièces les plus récentes contenues dans le *Par.gr. 1268* (lettres de Michel Cérulaire, Dominique de Grado et Pierre d'Antioche), datent du milieu du XIe siècle. – Quant à l'histoire du manuscrit, il a appartenu au monastère du Galésion (cf. Fr. HALKIN, *Manuscrits galésiotes*, dans *Scriptorium*, t. 15 [1961], p. 224), et plus tard à Antoine Éparque (XVIe siècle), lequel en fit don à François Ier (cf. H. OMONT, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs d'Antoine Éparque (1538)*, dans *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, t. 53 [1892], pp. 7 [n° 16] et 17 [n° 39]).

(2) Voir par exemple G. PASQUALI, dans *Greg. Nyss. Op.*, t. VIII, 2, Leiden, 1959, p. XXXV, J. MCDONOUGH, *ibid.*, t. V, Leiden, 1962, pp. 10-11, et P. CANART, *Recentissimus, non deterrimus. Le texte de la Lettre II de Grégoire de Nysse dans la copie d'Alvise Lollino* (cod. Vaticanus gr. 1759), dans *Zetesis. Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. É de Strycker ...*, Antwerpen-Utrecht, 1973, p. 720.

détaché de la marge de droite a provoqué la perte d'un certain nombre de lettres vers la fin des 3ᵉ, 4ᵉ, 5ᵉ et 6ᵉ lignes : on peut estimer la perte à 5 lettres pour la l. 3, à 4 pour la l. 4, à 3 pour la l. 5 et à 4 pour la l. 6. De plus, par-ci par-là il y a des trous dans le parchemin. Rien de tout cela n'empêche de lire ce qui est le plus important, à savoir les données chronologiques. Signalons encore qu'au verso une autre main a repris l'essentiel de la note sur l'éclipse. Pour la transcription de ces deux pièces, nous avons mis entre crochets les lettres et les mots exprimés par abréviation ou par symbole ; les soufflets marquent les restitutions en fin de ligne, et le point au-dessous de la lettre indique que celle-ci est difficilement déchiffrable, et donc douteuse.

f. 304ʳ

1 + *μη(νὶ) αὐ(γ)ούστ(ῳ) β̿ ἡμέρ(ᾳ) δ̿ μικρ(ὸν) παρα*
2 *δραμόντο(ς) τοῦ τ(ῆ)ς ἡμέρ(ας) μεσασμ(οῦ), γέγον(ε) ἔκλιψ(ι)ς ἡλί(ου)*
3 *συνοδευσάσ(η)ς τ(ῆ)ς (σελήνης) τῶ ἡλίω (καὶ) ἀπὸτειχισάσ(η)ς τ(ὰς) ἀκ̣‹τίνας›*
4 *αὐτ(οῦ)· (καὶ) δ(ια)τ(ού)τ(ο) τὸ φαίν(ειν) ἀποβαλλόντο(ς), (καὶ) σκοτ̣ί̣(ας) ἐν τῶ παντὶ̣ ‹συνα›*
5 *κολουθησάσ(η)ς ὡς (καὶ) τ(οὺ)ς ἀστέρ(ας) φανεῖν(αι)· ἄχρ(ι)ς οὗ παρῆλθ̣ε ‹τὴν›*
6 *σελήν(ην) τῶ οἰ(κίω) δρόμω ὁ (ἥλιος), (καὶ) πάλ(ιν) ἀπεκ(α)τέστη ἡ ἡμέρ(α) ‹ ›*
7 *πρότερ(ον). ἐν ἔτει τῶ, ͵ασχμα + κθ̿ ἡμέρ(ας) ἀγούσ(η)ς τ(ῆ)ς (σελήνης)*
8 *ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιᾶ (ἡλίου) κύ(κλος) ε̿ (σελήνης) κύ(κλος) ϊ +*

4 *δ(ια)τ(ού)τ(ο)] sic acc.* *ἀποβαλλόντο(ς)] sic. acc.* *καὶ ²] supra l.*
6 *post ἡμέρ(α) forsan restituendum ὡς τὸ*

f. 304ᵛ

+ *μηνὶ αὐγούστω β'*
ἡμέρ(ᾳ) δ', γέγονεν ἡλιακὴ
ἔκλειψις συνοδευ
σάσης τῆς (σελήνης)
τω (ἡλίω). και ἀποτο̣ι̣χϊ
σασης τὰς ἀκτίνας
αὐτοῦ καὶ σκότος γέγονεν
ὡς (κ̣α̣ὶ̣) τ(ο̣ὺ̣)σ̣ ἀστέρ(ας) ἐπιπολύ φανῆναι.
ἐν ἔτει, ͵α'χμᾶ ιθ ἡμέρ(ας)
ἀγούσης τῆς (σελήνης)
(σελήνης)

L'éclipse de Soleil que nous signalent nos deux textes, s'est donc produite le 2 août 1133 ([3]). Puisqu'on sait que les notes de ce genre sont pratiquement toujours contemporaines des événements qu'elles relatent, on peut en déduire que l'actuel *Par.gr.1268* a été achevé avant cette date.

José DECLERCK.

(3) Cf. J. Fr. SCHROETER, *Spezieller Kanon der zentralen Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse, welche innerhalb des Zeitraums von 600 bis 1800 n. Chr. in Europa sichtbar waren (Mit 300 Karten)*, Kristiania, 1923, n° 128 et carte 64 b : — Précisons que le 2 août 1133 tombait bien un mercredi comme le dit la note (*ἡμέρᾳ δ̄*) ; les années des cycles solaire et lunaire sont données d'après les cycles employés par les Byzantins.

'ΕΣΩΓΑΜΠΡΟΣ

The word *ἐσώγαμπρος* has been undeservedly scorned by the compilers of dictionaries. Its absence from those dealing with the Byzantine period is not surprising ; from those devoted to Modern Greek this absence is misleading and regrettable.

To begin with the Middle Ages, *ἐσώγαμπρος* occurs in the *Πειρα* ; a case there recorded involves "a twenty-year-old who entered the household as *ἐσώγαμπρος*. The contract stipulated that when he came of age he should receive his dower" [other stipulations follow] "and leave his father-in-law's house. When, however, he had completed his 25th year, he did not wish to leave his father-in-law." He stayed on until, at some later date, he went off to the war, leaving his wife (mentioned here for the first time) with her parents ([1]). I have not met the word elsewhere, nor has any other Byzantinist I have consulted.

The formation is a standard one, but two parallels suggest a particularly ready availability of *ἐσω-* to express certain situations that assumed considerable importance in the Byzantine social structure. Both are, in fact, technical terms ; they have found their way into Demetrakos, with the note *μ(ε)σ(αιω)ν(ικό)*. They are : 1) *ἐσωμονῖται, i.e.* the monks who belong to a monastery, as distinguished from those receiving hospitality there, pensioners (holders of an *adelphaton*) or other outsiders (Balsamon to canon 19 of Nicaea II, *PG* 137, 988B) ; 2) *ἐσωκουρίτης, ἐσώκουροι*, have the same meaning, but with emphasis on the canonical requirement that a monk must be tonsured for a specific monastery which he is never to leave (Balsamon to canon 2 of CP 861, *PG* 137, 1016B ; ATHAN. OF LAVRA, *Typikon*, ed. Meyer, *Haupturkunden* III, 31, see also LEMERLE, Introd. *Lavra* I, 15 ; 18). The 'outsiders' referred to above are qualified *ξενοκουρῖται* in the commentary to canon 15 of Nicaea II (*PG* 137, 996B).

To return to *ἐσώγαμπρος*, the meaning is perfectly clear : a man living with his wife's parents. A particular form of wedding contract may have applied, and though the word is not, as far as I know, attested elsewhere, the practice

(1) *Peira* XXV, 39, ZEPOS, *Ius* IV, 101.

is — in particular in the *praktika* of monasteries. The reason for its being so rare is obvious : there is no room for it in the literary or historical texts we possess, and the formulation of the charters does not lend itself to its use there : *Δημήτριος ὁ Παρτζαλᾶς ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἄνναν, υἱὸ ν Γεώργιον, θυγατέρα Μαρίαν, γαμπρὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Ἰωάννην...* (2). The only surprising thing is that it should occur even once.

In the living language, on the other hand, with the relationship so abundantly attested, one would surmise the word was a common one as it is, so Dr Angela Hero informs me, today. *Ἐσώγαμπρος, σώγαμπρος* in the demotic, is a man who lives with his wife's family at their house ; as a rule they are either men from out of town, or impoverished younger sons. Or else the women they married were *μοναχοκόρες* (only daughters), usually of affluent parents, who refused to part with their only child. It comes as a surprise that not even the form *σώγαμπρος* is listed in the Modern Greek dictionaries. Yet Greeks from different walks of life and parts of Greece, questioned, are all familiar with it (3).

There are, however dictionaries that do give it — Turkish ones, and they give it in the form of a calque, *içgüveyisi* : *iç* "in, inside" ; *güvey* "bridegroom, son-in-law". Dictionaries of the modern and of the Ottoman language, both, give it (4), and Turks from various parts of Turkey are all familiar with it, though, according to some of my informants, the practice is dying out, and the expression, consequently, less often met with.

The *Peira*'s 'resident son-in-law' was probably the exception in not wanting to leave his wife's family ; modern Greeks and Turks are in emphatic agreement here. The Turks even have a proverbial expression : to be feeling *içgüveyisinden hallice* — "a little better than an *içgüveyisi*" — means to be feeling thoroughly uncomfortable.

P. KARLIN-HAYTER.

(2) *Actes de Lavra*, II (Archives de l'Athos, VIII), Paris, Lethielleux, 1977, **109**, pp. 367-368.

(3) The contents of this paragraph come from a private communication from Dr Angela Hero, to whom I here express my thanks.

(4) HONY-FAHIR IZ, *A Turkish-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1947, repr. 1980 ; J. W. REDHOUSE, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople, 1890, new impr., Beirut, 1974.

MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS

LES BYZANTINISMES LEXICAUX DE L'EXARCHAT DE RAVENNE ET DE LA PENTAPOLE

0. Les données du problème

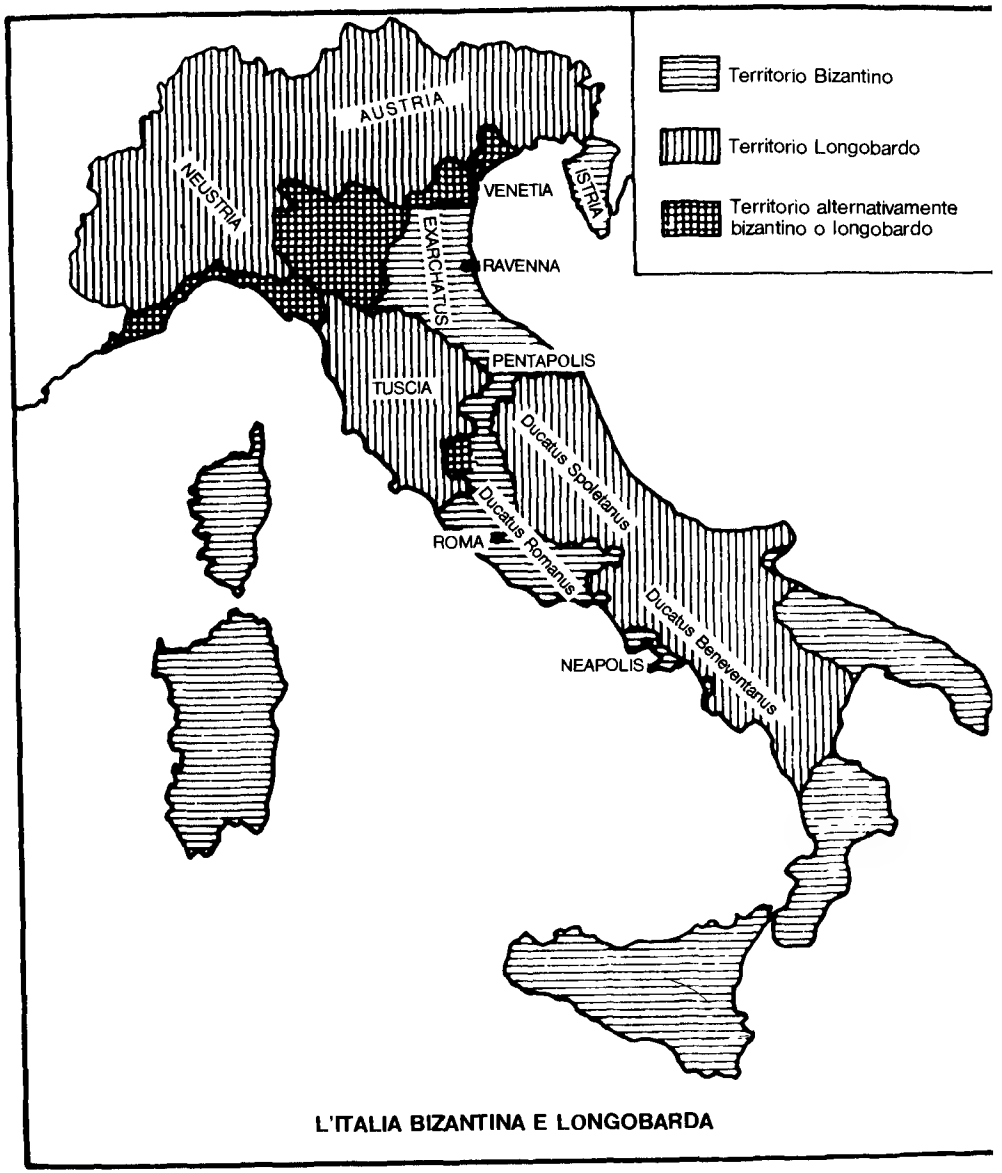
0.1. L'influence exercée par la langue grecque sur les parlers de l'Italie, sensible dès les premiers temps de l'histoire de Rome, a fait l'objet d'études multiples et diversifiées, tournées soit vers la période de l'Antiquité (particulièrement à travers l'étude du lexique des écrivains) ([1]), soit vers les traces que cette langue a laissées dans les régions d'Italie qui ont été le plus longtemps en contact avec la Grèce (c'est-à-dire les provinces du Sud de la Péninsule et la Sicile ([2]), où se sont succédés peuplement d'origine hellénique, domination politique, échanges économiques, liens culturels, pendant de longs siècles), traces dont l'évidence dans les parlers actuels est reconnue, mais dont l'origine historique n'a pas fini de nourrir les polémiques ([3]), les uns voyant dans cette empreinte le résultat de l'action d'un substrat hellénique en relation avec la colonisation de la Grande-Grèce, les autres attribuant la majeure partie des faits observés à un superstrat de l'époque byzantine.

0.2. Au contraire, l'influence linguistique qu'a pu laisser la domination byzantine, qui s'exerça pendant les deux siècles de la Reconquista (540-751),

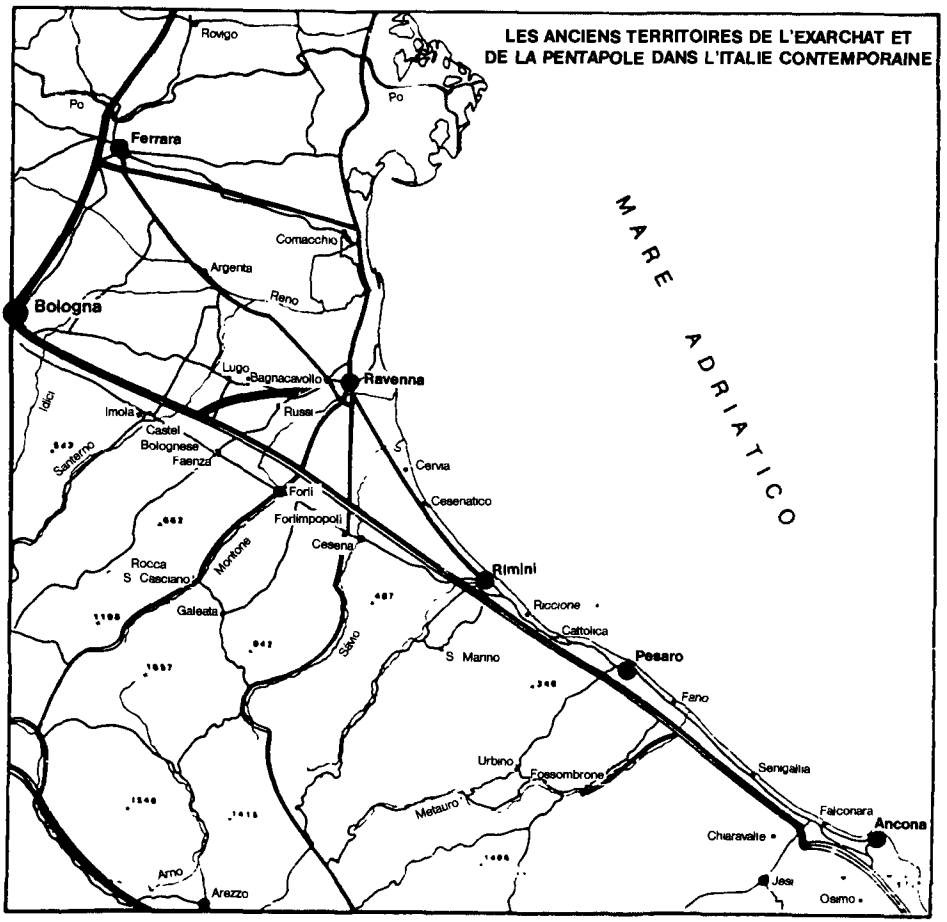
(1) Bibliographie essentielle concernant l'influence hellénique en Italie pendant l'Antiquité, dans C. Tagliavini, *Le origini delle lingue neolatine*, Bologne, 5e éd., 1969, §20, *Il sostrato greco* ; voir aussi, pour la période tardive, dans REALL, fasc. 3, col. 229-237 *Der Hellenismus in der lateinischen Spätantike und seine letzte Blüte in Ostgotischen Italien des sechsten Jahrhunderts*, col. 245 *Griechisch unter den Goten*, col. 247 *Boethius*, col. 249 *Cassiodor*.

(2) Nous retiendrons de l'ample production de Battisti, Alessio, Rohlfs, sur l'hellénisme méridional, comme instrument essentiel de notre recherche, le LGII, réélaboration de *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unter italienischen Gräzität*, Halle, 1930.

(3) Sur la polémique Rohlfs-Alessio-Battisti, cf. Tagliavini, *op. cit.*, p. 116, note 54.



CARTE I. – *Carte de l'Italie à l'époque byzantine.*



CARTE II. – *Carte de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole.*

sur la moitié de l'Italie (4), soit parce qu'elle était difficile à isoler dans le Sud, soit parce que dans le Nord, elle se prolongea quelquefois bien au-delà du VIIIe s. (voir les cas de Venise et de l'Istrie), par des relations complexes avec Constantinople (5), soit enfin parce qu'elle semblait mineure, n'avait, jusqu'à la date où nous avons entrepris notre recherche, tenté que quelques linguistes (6), comme le déplorait TAGLIAVINI en 1969 «È veramente da deplorare che non vi sia nessun lavoro metodico sugli elementi greci nel Veneziano e nel Romagnolo» (7). C'est pourquoi, à l'instigation de M. CORTELAZZO, nous avons résolu d'affronter le problème de l'influence byzantine, observée au niveau du lexique, dans les deux territoires qui formaient le cœur de l'Italie reconquise : l'Exarchat de Ravenne et la Pentapole, car cette zone était la seule, en raison de circonstances historiques particulières, où l'on pouvait tenter de mettre en lumière l'apport hellénique limité à la période de la Reconquista.

0.3. Quelles sont en effet les conditions historiques qui ont déterminé le contact entre groupes grécophones et population de langue latine établie sur les rivages de l'Adriatique septentrionale ? Une fonction essentielle revient à Ravenne, ville très ancienne, devenue depuis l'époque d'Auguste un port de première importance, qui fut, à partir du Ve s., avec l'installation de la cour de l'empereur Honorius l'un des principaux centres d'échanges (surtout pour les produits de luxe) avec l'Orient hellénique, accueillant une forte colonie de marchands, de financiers, d'industriels, d'artisans, et le port privilégié pour les relations avec la *Pars Orientis* ; de sorte que, lorsque Justinien au VIe s., entreprend de reconquérir les anciennes régions de la *Pars Occidentis*,

(4) Cf. Ch. DIEHL, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne (568-751)*, Paris, 1888 ; CALISSE, *Il governo dei Bizantini in Italia*, dans «Rivista storica italiana», 1885 ; L. M. HARTMANN, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien*, Leipzig, 1889.

(5) Pour une bibliographie exhaustive des liens de Venise avec l'Orient, cf. CORT 341-368.

(6) Parmi les travaux antérieurs à 1969, nous relevons les articles de G. ALESSIO, tendant à mettre en évidence une étymologie byzantine exarchale : *Gravina*, dans «Lingua nostra», 1952, p. 73, *Marangone*, *ibid.*, 1951, p. 68, *Mastello*, *ibid.*, 1951, p. 47 ; et les études de H. et R. KAHANE, *Les éléments byzantins dans les langues romanes*, dans «Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure», 23, 1966, pp. 68-73, et de G. BONFANTE, *Note sui nomi della guancia e della mascella*, dans «Biblos», XXV, 1951, pp. 361-396 et *Tracce linguistiche bizantine in Romagna*, dans «Byzantion», 1952, pp. 243-252.

(7) Dans *op. cit.*, p. 279.

tombées aux mains des Goths et des Vandales, et lorsqu'il parvient en 550 environ, après la longue guerre gothique, à se rendre maître de toute l'Italie, Ravenne est déjà depuis longtemps une ville ouverte aux influences helléniques : à partir de la Pragmatique Sanction (554), elle devient la capitale de l'Italie byzantine, lieu de résidence de l'Exarque de l'Italie ; quelques années plus tard, quand les Lombards pénètrent par le Brenner en Vénétie et dans la plaine du Pô, en arrachant l'une après l'autre, tout d'abord les régions de l'Italie nord-orientale, établissant leur capitale à Pavie, puis au fur et à mesure de leurs conquêtes, organisent les Duchés de Neustrie, d'Austrie, de Tuscie, de Spolète, de Bénévent, Ravenne reste la capitale de l'Exarchat ([8]), réduit cette fois au territoire situé entre le cours du Tanaro au Nord, et celui du Marecchia au Sud, limité à l'Ouest (bien que cette ligne ait fluctué pendant cette période ([9])), grosso modo, par le cours du Panaro ; l'Exarchat comprend, outre la capitale, les villes de Ferrare, Bologne, Imola, Forli, Faenza, Cesena, Cervia ; contiguë à l'Exarchat (le Marecchia constitue leur limite commune), et s'étendant au Sud, le long de l'Adriatique jusqu'à Ancône, la Pentapole ([10]) est constituée par la Pentapole maritime, avec les villes de Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigallia, Ancône, et par la Pentapole annonaire, avec Urbin, Fossombrone, Iesi, Cagli, Gubbio. Au Sud d'Ancône commence le Duché de Spolète, et à l'Ouest de la ligne de crêtes de l'Apennin, le Duché de Tuscie. Pérouse, quasiment isolée entre ces deux possessions lombardes, surveille le passage stratégique de la Flaminia, qui relie les territoires byzantins adriatiques au Duché byzantin de Rome.

Lorsque dans la première moitié du VIIIe s., les Lombards reprenant l'offensive, restreignant de plus en plus les territoires l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole, déterminent d'abord le repliement, puis le retrait définitif des Byzantins de cette partie de l'Italie (en 750), les rapports politiques cessent totalement entre Constantinople et ces régions ; seules des activités économiques relieront plus tard, au Bas Moyen Âge, Ancône à l'Orient hellénique.

0.4. Notre recherche avait donc pour finalité d'isoler, au niveau de lexique, l'élément hellénique qui pouvait avoir pénétré dans la langue locale principalement par Ravenne, du début de ses relations priviligiées avec Constantinople jusqu'au milieu du VIIIe s., mais aussi de manière plus large, par

(8) Voir la carte I.

(9) L'Exarchat incluant, en un premier temps, toute l'Émilie, avec les territoires de Parme, Reggio, Modène, etc.

(10) Voir la carte II.

l'Exarchat et par la Pentapole, au cours des siècles de la domination byzantine.

L'importance et la nature de cette influence est déterminée par les conditions socio-économiques, politiques et culturelles qui mirent en présence la population indigène et les groupes grécophones, car selon la nature des contacts, l'influence d'une langue peut varier de quelques emprunts lexicaux, éphémères et limités à une fraction de la société, au bilinguisme ou à l'assimilation totale.

À Ravenne, et plus généralement dans les deux régions considérées, le contact s'établit par 5 voies principales :

1. par la présence d'une communauté grécophone, établie de manière permanente dans la région ([11]), dont les activités s'exerçaient surtout dans l'industrie, l'artisanat, la finance, la navigation,

2. par les activités économiques qui amenaient à Ravenne et dans les autres ports, importateurs, financiers de passage, et qui, en même temps que les produits orientaux, introduisaient dans le lexique maints termes exotiques,

3. par la fonction militaire des ports, principalement de Classis, où se trouvaient concentrées d'importantes forces armées, et où était basée la flotte, dont les contingents étaient en majorité constitués d'éléments d'origine orientale,

4. à partir de la deuxième partie du VIe siècle, par l'administration, dont les hauts fonctionnaires tout au moins, étaient pour une bonne part d'origine grecque ([12]), et qui devait constituer un point de contact permanent entre les deux communautés,

5. par les communautés religieuses d'origine orientale, qui s'établirent, surtout à la fin de la période, à Ravenne, par suite des persécutions exercées à leur encontre dans la *pars Orientis* ([13]).

Les points de contact furent, comme on le voit, multiples et prolongés ; mais le doute qui subsiste sur la langue qui était habituellement employée

(11) Cf. L. RUGGINI, *Ebrei e orientali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI secolo d. Cristo*, dans «Studia et documenta historiae et juris», 1959, pp. 187-302 ; A. SOLARI, *I Siri nell'Emilia antica*, dans «Rivista indo-greca-italica di filologia», V, 1921, pp. 35-37 ; G. SUSINI, *Elementi orientali nella Transpadana in età romana*, dans «Atti del Convegno di studi su la Lombardia e l'Oriente», 1963, pp. 315-327.

(12) Cf. Ch. DIEHL, *op. cit.*, livre II : *L'administration municipale et provinciale de l'Italie byzantine*, pp. 81-193.

(13) Cf. DIEHL, *op. cit.*, livre III, ch. II : *L'hellénisme dans l'Italie byzantine*, §3 : *L'hellénisme dans l'Église*, particulièrement les pages 264-266.

dans l'administration, dans les échanges commerciaux, dans l'armée, l'ignorance qui entoure le processus d'assimilation des populations sédentaires, et des religieux, ne permettent pas d'induire a priori une forte pression de la langue grecque.

0.5. Notre projet se heurta vite à un ensemble d'obstacles méthodologiques susceptibles de le mettre en question :

1. à partir de quel corpus rechercherions-nous cette empreinte ? Une première illusion, vite dissipée, avait été de croire qu'il suffirait de dépouiller les documents non-littéraires contemporains, pour découvrir l'élément recherché ; or ces documents, s'ils existent bien ([14]), sont peu nombreux, sont écrits en un latin correct, à quelques exceptions près, et peu perméables, par fidélité à une norme figée, à tout élément hétérogène ; en outre, ils ne couvrent qu'un secteur très limité des champs sémantiques (descriptions de biens immobiliers, unités de mesure, monnaies, langue technique du droit, de l'administration) ; force était donc d'élargir notre champ d'investigation aux documents de l'époque ultérieure qui, très insuffisants jusqu'au Xe s., offrent, surtout pour Ravenne, un riche ensemble de recueils, centrés sur les Xe, XIe, XIIe s. ([15]) ; mais nous nous sommes rapidement aperçue que ces documents étaient répétitifs, d'un intérêt lexicologique restreint, et rédigés en un latin empreint de purisme (les notaires évitant dans la mesure du possible tout néologisme, et à plus forte raison tout vocable opaque de facture

(14) De l'époque byzantine, il nous reste un certain nombre de papyrus (voir MAR et TJÄ) ; d'autre part quelques régestes du CTER remontent, par leur contenu, aux VIIe-VIIIe s. (le papyrus ayant été remanié et complété au Xe s.) ; outre l'éd. FANTUZZI, il existe de ce codex, appelé couramment *codice Bavaro*, une autre édition ancienne de J. B. BERNHART, Münich, 1810, une édition récente de E. BALDETTI-A. POLVERARI (Deputazione di storia patria delle Marche, *Studi e Testi*, 13), Ancône, 1983, et une autre en préparation, confiée à G. RABOTTI, et qui paraîtra prochainement sous le titre de *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis*.

(15) Outre Ravenne (citons quelques-uns des recueils les plus importants : FANT, TARL, J. A. AMADESIUS, *In antistitum Ravennatum Chronotaxim*, Faenza, 1783, *Regestum S. Apollinaris Novi*, publié par V. FEDERICI, Rome, 1907, volume 3 des «Regesta Chartarum Italiae», *Regestum Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, édité par V. FEDERICI et G. BUZZI, vol. I, Rome, 1911 (vol. 7 des *Reg. Chart. Ital.*), vol. II, Rome, 1931 (vol. 15 des *Reg. Chart. Ital.*)), les centres les plus riches en documents antérieurs au XIIIe siècle sont Pomposa, Imola, Rimini (voir *Codex diplomaticus pomposianus*, publié par P. FEDERICI, Rome, 1781, *Chartularium Imolense*, publié par S. GADDONI et G. ZACCHERINI, Imola, 1912, *Storia di Rimini*, de L. TONINI, 8 vol., Rimini, 1848-1882).

étrangère) ; nous n'avions d'autre solution que de descendre encore le cours des siècles, afin de profiter de la richesse des recueils de Statuts, tout d'abord de ceux de Ravenne, écrits comme nous l'avons démontré en un latin morphologiquement correct, mais très ouverts à l'influence du lexique contemporain ([16]) ; cet élargissement chronologique de notre corpus permettait par ailleurs d'exploiter une documentation diversifiée, fournie par chacun des centres de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole, souvent inexistante avant le XIIIe siècle, d'une abondance remarquable aux XVe et XVIe s., et sémantiquement complémentaire de celle Ravenne (les sources ravennates en effet comportent peu d'inventaires, de testaments, et les statuts de la ville présentent de larges lacunes) ([17]), alors que les villes de la Pentapole maritime par exemple, ont conservé une succession de recueils, foisonnant d'indications techniques sur tous les domaines de l'activité économique et urbaine ([18]). Nous étions consciente qu'en procédant ainsi c'est-à-dire en retrouvant l'apport byzantin à travers la seule langue écrite, et, qui plus est, à travers le latin traditionnel des notaires, une partie non négligeable de la réalité linguistique que nous recherchions pouvait nous échapper ; c'est pourquoi nous avons tenté de réduire ce risque par l'examen de la langue locale moderne (dépouillement

(16) Voir notre recherche : *Étude lexicologique des Statuts de Ravenne du XIIIe siècle*, dans «Studi mediolatini e volgari», XXIII, 1975, pp. 111-138.

(17) Nous possédons cinq recueils principaux de statuts ravennates : *Statuts de Ravenne du XIIIe siècle* (il en existe deux éditions : 1° dans le vol. IV de FANT. : *Fragmenti Statuti Ravennae charta pergamena*, pp. 1-154, 2° édition établie par A. ZOLI et S. BERNICOLI, Bologne, 1904, vol. 7, des «Monumenti istorici pertinenti alle province di Romagna»), *Statuto Polentano* (1304-1306), édité par A. TARLAZZI, vol. 5, de la collection «Monumenti istorici pertinenti alle province di Romagna», Bologne, 1886 ; *Statuti della città di Ravenna durante il dominio della Repubblica di Venezia* (1441-1509), publié par TARLAZZI dans la deuxième partie du même volume ; *Statutorum seu juris civilis civitatis Revannae libri V*, Ravenne, 1590 ; *Statuti e rubriche dell'Ordine della Casa Matha* (a. 1304), publié par C. SPRETI, dans son ouvrage *Notizie spettanti all'antichissima Scola dei Pescatori*, 2 vol., Ravenne, 1820.

(18) Parmi la trentaine de recueils de statuts des villes de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole que nous avons dépouillés, nous citerons ceux qui nous ont apporté l'information lexicologique la plus pertinente : *Statuti di Bologna del 1288*, édités par G. FASOLI et P. SELLA, 2 vol., Cité du Vatican, 1937 et 1939 ; *Statuto di Forlì del 1359*, éd. E. RINALDI et P. SELLA, dans «Corpus Statutorum italicorum», vol. 5, Rome, 1913 ; *Statuti di Imola del sec. XIV*, éd. S. GADDONI, dans «Corpus Stat. italic.», vol. 13, Milan, 1931 ; *Statuta civitatis Pisauri*, Pesaro, 1531 ; *Statuta civitatis Fani*, Fano, 1508 ; *Statuti anconitani del mare, del terzenale et della dogana*, éd. C. CIAVARINI, vol. I publié par la «Deputazione marchigiana di storia patria», Ancône, 1896.

des résultats de l'*Atlas linguistique italo-suisse*, qui dans notre zone comporte 24 points d'enquête, des divers dictionnaires dialectaux, dont chacun le plus souvent correspond au parler d'une ville ou d'une circonscription ([19]), de la production dialectale publiée depuis un siècle (poésies, proverbes, contes, «modi di dire») ([20]) : cette voie permettait de retrouver des éléments qui, pour des raisons ou sémantiques ou stylistiques ne pouvaient apparaître dans les sources anciennes ; cependant ceux-ci ne révéleront la trace que de la fraction de l'élément hellénique ayant survécu à plus de dix siècles d'usure lexicale. Il résulte de tout ceci qu'il subsistera dans notre connaissance de l'apport byzantin de larges zones d'ombre ;

2. plus ardu encore était le problème de la stratification des hellénismes ; en effet parmi les vocables d'origine grecque repérés, il était nécessaire de distinguer des strates d'âge différent : les éléments déjà entrés, et d'un usage courant, dans le latin classique et postclassique ([21]) ; les hellénismes chrétiens anciens (distincts de ceux qu'introduisirent localement les religieux byzantins), liés en particulier aux champs sémantiques de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique, de la liturgie, de la théologie, et en outre ceux qui furent diffusés par la Vulgate ([22]) ; la strate proprement byzantine, objet de notre recherche ; les

(19) Outre ERC, MOR, UNG, nous avons eu recours fréquemment aux dictionnaires dialectaux suivants : CONTI E., *Vocabolario metaurense*, Cagli, 1898 ; FERRI L., *Vocabolario ferrarese-italiano*, Ferrare, 1889 ; MATTIOLI A., *Vocabolario romagnolo-italiano*, Imola, 1879 ; SPOTTI L., *Vocabolarietto anconitano-italiano*, Genève, 1929.

(20) Après un sondage effectué sur quelques recueils représentatifs (G. BAGLI, *Saggio di studi sui proverbi, i pregiudizi, e la poesia popolare in Romagna*, Bologne, 1886, *Saggio di novelle e fiabe in dialetto romagnolo*, du même auteur, Bologne, 1887, *Poesie* de PASQUALON, Pesaro, 1968, etc.), nous avons renoncé, en raison de sa faible rentabilité, à exploiter cette catégorie de sources.

(21) Outre FOR et TH, d'autres ouvrages lexicographiques ont aidé à cette descrimination : WALDE-HOFMANN, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (abrév. LEW), 3 volumes, Heidelberg, 1938-1954 ; G. KÖRTING, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* (LRW), Paderborn, 1901 ; O. WEISE, *Die griechischen Wörter in Latein*, Leipzig, 1882 ; G. A. E. A. SAAFELD, *Tesaurus italograecus. Ausfürlisches historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter im Lateinischen*, Vienne, 1884.

(22) Essentiels sur ce point sont l'ouvrage de C. MOHRMANN, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, Rome, 1961, vol. I : *Emprunts et influences étrangères*, pp. 41 et sq., et les plus anciennes versions latines de la Bible (l'*Itala* ou *Vetus latina*) qui datent de la fin du IIe s. : cf. A. JÜLICHER, *Itala. Das neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, Berlin, 1938, 1940, 1963 ; voir aussi REALL, *Literatur und Sprache*, col. 239-245.

byzantinismes irradiés plus tardivement à partir des grands centres économiques en relation avec Constantinople et l'Orient hellénique, et en premier lieu, dans le cas qui nous intéresse, par Venise, toute proche, et qui de plus domina politiquement la région au XVe s. ([23]). Il fallait donc mettre au point des critères éclairant l'origine des éléments relevés. Il est certain que la chronologie des attestations de l'emprunt, révélée soit par nos dépouillements, soit par les instruments lexicographiques existants, l'usage exceptionnel ou usuel du vocable aux époques classique et postclassique, ainsi que le type de documents où il est attesté (littéraire ou non littéraire, usage savant ou familier, langue technique, etc.), le contenu sémantique du vocable, fournissent des indications non négligeables pour reconstituer l'histoire de l'introduction de l'hellénisme dans la langue latine commune ou locale ; mais le critère déterminant était pour nous le critère géographique, révélé par l'aire de diffusion du vocable ; en effet les emprunts au grec de l'époque classique sont caractérisés par une diffusion large, couvrant souvent la Romania entière, ou pour le moins un vaste domaine en Gaule et en Italie (pour connaître la diffusion de tels vocables, nous avons recouru principalement aux ouvrages lexicographiques concernant ou la Romania (DUC, REW), ou l'une de ses parties (ARN, GLI, FEW) ; mais nos propres dépouillements systématiques des documents médiévaux de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole nous ont quelquefois révélé une distribution originale, spécifique de ces territoires, qui remettait en question une réelle implantation ancienne de l'emprunt, et incitait à proposer un schéma plus complexe de diffusion) ; la même démarche vaut également pour les emprunts chrétiens anciens ; ce qui permet, selon nous, de mettre en lumière un byzantinisme de l'époque de la Reconquista (l'opposant à un hellénisme antérieur et à un byzantinisme des siècles postérieurs), c'est une aire de diffusion qui, idéalement, suivrait les contours de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole, inclurait Venise, l'Istrie, le Latium byzantin, les Pouilles et la Campanie napolitaine (un cas presque parfait est celui du distributif *ana*) ; au contraire l'absence de l'un de ces vocables, pour l'expression du même concept, ou mieux encore l'attestation de synonymes, dans les régions lombardes (Lombardie, Vénétie occidentale, Toscane, Ombrie, Sud des Marches, Latium et Campanie lombards, etc.) vient confirmer l'hypothèse d'un byzantinisme pertinent (c'est ainsi qu'à *obryzum* des régions byzantines, correspond dans les régions lombardes *aurum bonum, optimum*, etc.) ; c'est pourquoi nous avons, dans le cas de l'hypo-

(23) Sur les byzantinismes tardifs entrés par Venise, cf. CORT, *passim*, et REALL, col. 447-448.

thèse d'un byzantinisme, exploré systématiquement les documents de chacune des régions d'Italie ([24]), pour rechercher par quelle unité lexicale ce même concept était exprimé dans l'Italie lombarde et byzantine. La dernière étape de notre stratification consiste à distinguer ces byzantinismes de ceux qui ont pu pénétrer par d'autres points du territoire au Bas Moyen Âge (surtout par Venise, comme nous l'avons dit, très proche et très influente, mais aussi par Gênes, Ancône, Bari, etc.), et qui ont pu être diffusés à partir de ces épicentres, à une époque où les échanges économiques étaient en pleine expansion : dans ce cas particulier, la datation de l'emprunt est l'élément déterminant ; toutefois il est évident qu'on ne peut jamais affirmer qu'une attestation antérieure en un point soit la preuve d'une introduction antérieure du vocable : elle ne nous donne que des présomptions ; c'est pourquoi nous ne devons négliger aucun élément d'information (date d'attestation, aire de diffusion, variation de la forme plus ou moins proche de l'étymon supposé, variation du signifié, degré d'implantation, productivité du vocable, etc.), car seul un faisceau concordant de présomptions peut étayer notre jugement.

0.6. Notre méthode d'investigation et d'analyse a pour finalité de contourner ces obstacles méthodologiques : pour tout vocable qu'à priori nous estimons pertinent, il conviendra 1° de rassembler toutes les *données de fait* (données chronologiques, données géographiques (aire de diffusion du vocable et de ses équivalents éventuels dans l'Italie byzantine et lombarde), données quantitatives, tendant à connaître sa fréquence absolue et relative et ses variations, étude des contextes, afin de déterminer les niveaux d'emploi, relevé de ses formes (en possible corrélation avec les données chronologiques, géographiques et de niveau)), 2° à partir de ces données de fait, de reconstituer l'*histoire de l'emprunt* (examiner les hypothèses étymologiques,

(24) De ce vaste corpus, citons quelques-uns des recueils appartenant à l'Italie byzantine, qui ont été parmi les plus fructueux pour notre recherche géolinguistique : *Codice istriano diplomatico*, éd. P. KANDLER, Trieste, 1853-1864 ; *I capitolari delle arti veneziane dalle origini al 1330*, éd. G. MONTICOLO, 2 vol., Rome, 1896 et 1905 ; *Liber censuum de l'Église romaine*, éd. P. FABRE, 3 vol., Paris, 1889-1952 dans la collection de la «Bibliothèque des écoles d'Athènes et de Rome» ; *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Romae*, éd. DUCHESNE, 2 vol., Paris, 1886-1957 ; *Monumenta ad neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, éd. B. CAPASSO, 3 vol., Naples, 1881 ; *Codice diplomatico barese*, éd. G. B. NITTO DE ROSSI et F. NITTI DI VITO, Bari, 1897-1914, en 4 vol. ; *Statuti inediti delle antiche maestranze delle città di Sicilia*, éd. F. LA COLLA et F. LIONTI, Palerme, 1883-7.

présenter les étapes simples ou complexes de son introduction, en un point unique ou en plusieurs points du territoire italien ou roman, induire, d'un ensemble de données précises, son degré d'implantation, décrire son environnement lexical, les causes de sa survivance ou de son remplacement), afin de répondre en dernière analyse à la question essentielle : ce vocable représente-t-il un emprunt de l'époque de la Reconquista, introduit dans les parlers locaux de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole ?

Nous présentons ces vocables (ordonnés alphabétiquement) en 4 catégories positives, et une catégorie négative :

1. vocables dont l'étymon est attesté en grec classique ou tardif ;
2. vocables dont l'étymon non-attesté pourrait être induit de notre documentation ;
3. vocables dont l'étymologie grecque est probable mais discutée ;
4. hellénismes largement attestés dans l'usage latin classique, mais dont la survivance en certaines zones géographiques semble déterminée par la pression byzantine ;
5. vocables qui, à l'issue de notre enquête, ne semblent pas devoir être considérés comme des éléments pertinents.

1. Les résultats de la recherche

1.1. *Étymons attestés*

1.1.1. *ANA*, distributif, «de ... chacun», gr. *ἀνὰ* (TH GR I^2 301), prép. dotée d'un sens distrib., apparaît dans nos sources plus d'une vingtaine de fois, entre 927 et 1106, à Ravenne et à Imola, sous forme d'un syntagme figé, servant à évaluer, en monnaie de compte, la somme à payer : «solidos ... *ana* denariorum duodecim» ; par des relevés exhaustifs et par une étude des fréquences, nous avons démontré que ce vocable était déjà sorti de l'usage, lorsqu'il apparaît pour la première fois dans les clauses de contrats emphytéotiques, où, après le début du XIIe s. il est définitivement remplacé par un équivalent latin (*per unum quemque*, en Romagne) ; ce changement coïncide très précisément avec la restructuration du système monétaire, à la suite de l'introduction de la monnaie vénitienne (*denarius veneticus*)comme monnaie de compte (première attestation dans la zone d'influence ravennate en 983). *Ana*, par ailleurs, est documenté dans d'autres régions byzantinisées : à Rome, en usage libre, dans le *Liber Pontificalis*, et en Campanie, dans le *Codex Cavensis*.

1.1.2. *ARDICA*, «porche de l'église», gr. *νάρθηκα* (TH GR V 1360), «narthex», est attesté une vingtaine de fois dans les sources ravennates, entre le IXe («iuxta *ardicam* beate Eufemie») et le XIIIe s., étant progressivement remplacé par *porticus* ; cet emprunt est strictement limité à Ravenne : une étude que nous avons menée sur les signifiants correspondant au concept de «lieu couvert ou non-couvert situé en avant-corps devant l'entrée de l'église», en Italie et dans la Romania, permet de dégager les principaux équivalents, se rapportant, il est vrai, à des référents assez diversifiés : *porticus* (Romagne, Istrie, Venise, etc.), *atrium* (Émilie, Venise, Rome, Pouilles, etc.), *paradisus* (Rome, Mont Cassin, France, etc.). Si l'étymologie d'*ardica* (qui apparaît aussi sous la forme *artica*), n'est pas contestée ([25]), si l'adaptation du signifiant ne pose que quelques problèmes mineurs (l'aphérèse de la nasale peut s'être produite soit en grec, puisque *ἄρθηξ* est attesté, cf. TH GR *ibid.*, soit lors de l'emprunt, par suite d'une coupure erronée du syntagme *in *nartika*; par ailleurs le passage de *th* à *d* peut recevoir deux explications plausibles, selon que le mot était accentué sur la pénultième ou l'antépénultième ([26])), il est par contre bien malaisé de comprendre pourquoi ce mot n'a connu aucune diffusion dans l'Italie byzantine : il semblerait que cet emprunt ait été lié à un ensemble de conditions qui ne se trouvaient réunies qu'à Ravenne (existence d'un narthex extérieur dans les églises, construction des éditices à l'époque exacte de la Reconquête, participation de corps de métier grecs à la réalisation du projet) ; ceci explique pourquoi ni à Rome ni à Venise, on ne put donner aux narthex extérieurs le nom d'*ardica*.

1.1.3. *ARGIRIUM*, «argent», gr. *ἀργύριον*, *idem*, ou *ἀργύρεον*, «d'argent» (TH GR I^2^ 1897), n'est attesté que deux fois dans notre corpus, chez AGNELLO 369 et 376 «ferculum ... mundissomo *argirio*», «ex *argiriom* palaream magnam». Ce mot n'a dû connaître qu'un usage éphémère dans la langue ravennate, mais la deuxième occurrence, proche du langage parlé

(25) Les linguistes sont unanimes (cf. REW 5829a, DEI I 278, REALL 441, et SALVIONI, dans *Miscellanea etimologica e lessicale*, «Romania», XXXIX, p. 434) à donner comme unique étymologie le gr. *νάρθηκα*.

(26) Pour expliquer le *d* d'*ardica* (*artica* étant une forme régulière), SALVIONI part de la forme proparoxytone *árdica*, qui correspondrait à une prononciation populaire *árdga* (selon le modèle *pértica*, rom. *pérgda*) ; cependant, comme la pénultième était longue, il n'est pas exclu (nombreux sont les cas observés) que le mot ait été adapté au système d'accentuation latine (*ardíca*) ; dans ce cas, il faudrait, pour rendre compte de la sonorisation recourir à l'hypothèse d'une attraction exercée par les nombreux vocables commençant par *ard-* (*ardere*, *ardire*, etc.).

(c'est une phrase de dialogue familier), autorise à penser que ce vocable aurait pu faire partie, pendant quelques siècles, de la langue courante de Ravenne.

1.1.4. *ARNA*, gr. ἄρνα, *idem.*, accus. de ἀρήν - ἀρνός (TH GR I[2] 2014 et 2054), est attesté dans les *Statuts de Ravenne du XIVe s.* : «carnes vive ... volatilia ... *arne*», ainsi que dans les *Statuts de Modène de 1306*, avec un sens indiscutable ; ces occurrences isolées (il n'existe aucune autre trace du vocable dans les sources anciennes ou dans les parlers modernes), indiquent assez que l'emprunt avait une aire de diffusion limitée et une implantation fragile, et sont à rapprocher de l'usage d'**arnas* et de ses dérivés, dans les parlers de Bova, d'Otrante, de Calabre et de Sicile ([27]).

1.1.5. *BASILICA*, au sens non-classique d'«église», gr. trad. Βασιλική (LAMPE 293), *idem.*, est employé de façon prédominante à Ravenne et à Rimini entre le VIIe et le Xe s. (une vingtaine d'attestations dans le CTER), pour désigner l'église en tant qu'édifice, alors qu'*ecclesia* ne sert, à cette période, qu'à indiquer l'institution ; chez AGNELLO (IXe s.), les deux signifiants alternent, mais *ecclesia* prédomine, *basilica* étant réservé à un usage plus solennel, à des formules plus figées (une tendance similaire ressort de l'examen de la situation lexicologique des autres territoires hellénisés : à Rome, *basilica* prédomine dans la première partie du L. P. (VIe s.), et *ecclesia* dans la deuxième (fin VIIIe s.) ; à Naples, on constate la même évolution au IXe s.). Par ailleurs Βασιλική est resté vivant dans la partie orientale de la Romania, et à Venise (sous la forme *basalega*). On peut donc, sans risque excessif d'erreur lier la prédominance de *basilica* à Ravenne et à Rimini, au temps de la Reconquête, à la pression byzantine sur la langue, même si une diffusion du vocable, assez limitée d'ailleurs, dans la chrétienté occidentale (cf. fr. *basoche*, REW 972), semble indiquer que *basilica* a précédé dans la langue chrétienne primitive l'emploi d'*ecclesia*.

1.1.6. *BERLETA*, «oseraie», dérivé de **berlum*, gr. trad. βρύλλον (SOPH 320), «roseau» ([28]), est très bien attesté dans la région de Ravenne, pour désigner soit un type de terrain, planté vraisemblablement d'osier («pratis, silvis, campis et *berleta*»), soit un lieu-dit («in fundo qui dicitur *Berleda*») ;

(27) Cf. LGII 57.

(28) L'adaptation régulière du signifiant gr. donne **brillum*, rom. *brel* ; la syllabe initiale *ber* – de *berleta* s'explique, à l'instar d'autres mots romagnols, par la chute de la voyelle de la syllabe protonique, sous la force de l'accent (*brléta*), réintroduite par l'épenthèse d'un *e* ou d'un *a* compensatoire.

en dehors de Ravenne, on relève quelques traces du vocable à Imola, Faenza, Bologne, Ferrare, Senigallia ; ce terme est encore en usage dans les dialectes ravennate et bolonais ([29]) ; le substantif dont est dérivé *berleta* n'est pas attesté dans les documents anciens, mais il est bien vivant dans le dialecte moderne (*brell*, ERC 69 = salix viminalis). On trouve dans le vén. une forme voisine : *brula* (BOE 102, CORT 48), dont la voyelle ne peut s'expliquer par un emprunt ancien, remontant à l'époque où *y* était prononcé *ü*, mais qui, selon toute vraisemblance, est issu de *βροῦλλον* (DUC GR I 228), attesté en grec tardif ; à ce même *βροῦλλον*, on peut rattacher le rom. *broja* (ERC 71), dont le sens est proche de celui de *berleta* : «terrain planté de joncs, mais aussi plus généralement végétation palustre, incluant toutes les plantes excepté le roseau». Il semble donc probable qu'aussi bien *brell* (et le dérivé *berleta*), que *broja* ont été introduits dans le parler local à l'époque de la Reconquête ([30]).

1.1.7. *BISALIS*, «brique», n'est attesté dans notre région qu'au IXe s., par deux occurrences chez AGNELLO 328 «omnia paramenta, calces et latercula, petras et *bisales*», *ibid.*, «piramis tetragonis lapidibus et *bisalis*» ; si l'étymologie ne pose pas de problème (gr. byz. *βήσσαλον*, même sens, SOPH 307, LAMPE 196, lui-même emprunté au lat. *bessalis*, TH II 1933, adj. s'appliquant le plus souvent à la monnaie), si d'autre part la diffusion de ce mot dans les dialectes méridionaux hellénisés (cf. ROHLFS, LGII 84 : cal. *bísalu*, sic. *vísulu*) confirme que ce vocable a fait partie de l'apport byzantin à Ravenne, tout semble indiquer toutefois qu'il était mal implanté, puisqu'il fut remplacé définitivement par *petra* ou *preta* (rom. *prê* = brique, ERC 409), et *lapis*, et n'est attesté, dans les sources en aucun autre point des territoires hellénisés septentrionaux.

1.1.8. *BRAVIUM*, «récompense du vainqueur», et par métonymie «course de chevaux», gr. *βραβεῖον* (TH GR II 385), «récompense», est attesté dans plusieurs villes de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole (Cesena, Bologne, Ferrare, Pesaro, Pérouse), entre le XIIIe et le XVIe s., pour désigner la course de chevaux qui a lieu solennellement le jour de la fête du saint patron, course qui, en d'autres points de la zone (Ravenne, Rimini), et dans l'Italie lombarde est appelée *palium*, *scarlatum* ; *bravium* est documenté également aux marges de

(29) Rav. *barlê* (ERC 45), bol. *barlaída* (UNG 40).

(30) REALL 394 suppose également que ce vocable a été introduit deux fois dans la langue du Nord-Est de l'Italie, une fois sous la forme *βρόλλον*, et l'autre sous la forme *βροῦλλον*.

l'Exarchat (Reggio, Pavie), et dans d'autres territoires hellénisés (Dalmatie, Istrie, Latium byzantin). Il est permis de conclure que *bravium* est un apport de l'époque de la Reconquête (malgré son absence à Ravenne), et ne peut être mis en relation directe avec le *bravium* des sources chrétiennes (TH II 2155 : TERT., HIER., etc.), où son sens est nettement distinct («palme du martyr»), et son registre toujours élevé.

1.1.9. *BUTINA, BUTINUS*, «étendue d'eau», «étang», gr. *βόθυνος* (TH GR II 308), «trou», «fosse», est attesté à Ravenne un petit nombre de fois entre le Xe et le XIIIe s. ; l'anthroponyme *Butinus* n'apparaît que plus tard. L'étymon auquel on fait remonter *butina / butinus*, et les formes des dialectes méridionaux (cf. pouill. *vótene*, etc., cf. LGII 88), peu attesté en gr. classique, doublet, avec suffixe nasal de *βόθρος* (cf. DEG I 183), apparaît sous forme de dérivés à l'époque tardive, et survit en gr. moderne avec le sens de «trou d'eau» ([31]). L'ensemble de ces données permet de considérer ce vocable, même s'il est peu attesté, et s'il n'a laissé aucune trace dans les dialectes septentrionaux (même dans la zone soumise à l'influence hellénique), comme résultant de l'apport byzantin, hypothèse que corrobore par ailleurs l'existence du toponyme *Butrium* («hospitale *butrii*»), représentant sans doute le gr. *βοθρίον*, diminutif de *βόθρος*.

1.1.10. *CARABUS*, «cabot», gr. byz. *κάραβος* (LSJ 877), «embarcation», est attesté dans deux passages d'AGNELLO (377 «cum cymbis et *carabis*», 364 «omnibus *carabis* et celandriis») ; ce mot semble par ailleurs avoir connu une large diffusion, entre le VIe et le Xe s., ainsi qu'en témoignent tant les sources grecques que latines ([32]) ; cependant, à l'exception d'une occurrence tardive en Dalmatie ([33]), ce mot ne reparaît plus dans les territoires hellénisés de l'Adriatique septentrionale, et il était sans doute sorti rapidement de l'usage, puisque PAPIAS juge nécessaire, à la fin du XIe s. de gloser ce mot dans son *Vocabularium*. On conclura donc qu'il était mal implanté, et qu'il n'a peut-être jamais fait partie de la langue parlée à Ravenne ([34]).

(31) En grec tardif sont attestés *βοθύνιον* (L. SC. 320) et *βοθυνωτής*, «ouvrier qui creuse un fossé» (selon CHANTRAINE) ; *βόθυνος* survit en grec moderne, avec le sens de «Wassergrube» (voir ROHLFS, LGII 88).

(32) Cf. TH III 427, et REALL 363.

(33) Cf. LLI 177.

(34) L'essor que connaît *carabus* à la fin du Moyen Âge (cf. DUC II 169 et FEW II 353) particulièrement en France (sous la forme *gabarre*, XIVe siècle, et *caravelle* XVe siècle), dans la péninsule ibérique (portugais *caravo, caravela*) et dans les pays

1.1.11. *CATA*, gr. *κατά* (TH GR IV 1010), prép. indiquant entre autres sens la proximité ([35]), est attesté deux fois dans nos sources : 1° dans un papyrus de 575 (TJÄ 6), lors de l'identification des témoins «Andreas vh *cata* ipso Zenobio», avec la valeur, semble-t-il, d'«apparenté à», 2° dans le CTER (r. 110, 950 ca), comme élément d'un toponyme : «monasterii sancti Iohannis *cata* Paterie», avec une valeur de proximité ; ce dernier emploi, dans un syntagme figé, permettrait d'induire qu'il était sorti de l'usage bien avant le xe s. On le voit, ses traces locales sont ténues, mais peuvent être rapprochées d'autres occurrences relevées dans d'autres territoires hellénisés : à Rome, dans un régeste de 955 («qui appellatur *cata* Pauli»), à Naples et à Amalfi, dans des syntagmes où la valeur de proximité est évidente ([36]). En ce qui concerne la première occurrence, on peut hésiter sur le sens à donner à *cata*, et opter, comme le fait CARLTON ([37]) pour une valeur de «localisation», «chez», mais dans ce cas, cet élément de la *Notitia testium* serait d'une structure exceptionnelle, puisque les individus sont définis le plus souvent, par leur lien de filiation, ou tout autre lien familial ; au contraire, le sens «de la famille de» est bien documenté dans les textes vénitiens du IXe s. (cf. CORT 55, qui cite 7 cas) et serait le symptôme d'une restructuration du système onomastique, inspiré de Byzance et qui, documenté à Venise au IXe s., a toute chance d'avoir été en germe à Ravenne au VIe s. On voit, par cet emprunt éphémère combien les byzantinismes septentrionaux s'opposent aux hellénismes méridionaux, aussi bien par leur degré d'implantation, que par leur valeur sémantique (voir le sens distributif de *cata* dans le Sud).

1.1.12. *CELEUMA*, «chant de l'équipage», gr. *κέλευμα* ou *κέλευσμα* (TH GR IV 1421), 1° «commandement», 2° «chant rythmé des rameurs», n'apparaît qu'une fois à Ravenne, dans un récit datable du IXe-Xe s. ([38]) : «sic inchoarunt *celeumata* O Sancte Apostole ...», et de plus, le caractère fortement hellénisé du texte, qui contient des mots obscurs ou tirés directement

germaniques et anglo-saxons, semble indépendant de cette première diffusion du grec *κάραβος* dans le latin italien.

(35) Sur les autres valeurs de *cata* en Italie, et particulièrement dans les régions méridionales, cf. LGII 221 et de ROHLFS également : *Unteritalienische Beiträge*, dans «Archivum romanicum», VII, p. 461.

(36) Ce sens est déjà attesté dans TH III 585.

(37) Cf. Ch. M. CARLTON, *Studies in Romance Lexicology*, University of North Caroline Press, 1965, p. 22.

(38) Dans RIS, t. I, pars II, p. 570, *De dedicatione Ecclesiae s. Johannis Evangelistae.*

du grec (*thalasanos, cheridinosa, paradigma*, etc.), inconnus par ailleurs, incite à considérer avec prudence l'hypothèse de l'emprunt de ce vocable dans la zone ravennate. Il était toutefois intéressant de relever cet élément qui, comme on le sait, a connu un ample développement dans les dialectes méridionaux (cf. LGII 230).

1.1.13. *CEROSTATUS*, «candélabre», gr. *κηρός στατός* (TH GR IV 1527 et VII 667, «cierge qui se tient droit», et *κηροστάτης*, «pique-cierge», XVIIIe s., MLHG 3984), apparaît deux fois dans le L. P. d'AGNELLO (pp. 291 et 306) ; ce vocable par ailleurs est assez bien diffusé à Rome, chez GRÉGOIRE et dans le *L. P. romanus*, et plus au Sud, dans le *Chronicon casinense* (entre le VIe et le XIIe s.). Après les attestations chez AGNELLO, le mot reparaît, mais sous une forme modifiée, dans un inventaire du XIe s. ([39]) : *cilostra* (cf. rav. *zilostar*, ERC 686). Ces dernières formes ne peuvent dériver de *κηρός στατός* mais de *cerostatarium*, latinisation par contamination avec *stare* du signifiant grec (ainsi que le proposent H. et R. KAHANE ([40])) ; par ailleurs on constate une évolution du signifié, qui, de «candélabre» (en métal : cf. duo *cilostra argentea*»), passe, sans doute par métonymie, au sens de «gros cierge» (cette nouvelle valeur est attestée dès le XVIe s.) ([41]). Il n'est pas exclu cependant que le deuxième signifiant soit autonome, et donc indépendant de toute influence byzantine, alors que le premier, bien qu'éphémère, révèle sans aucun doute, un emprunt au grec de l'époque de la Reconquête.

1.1.14. *CHIROCRISTA*, «qui sait écrire», gr. *χειρόχρηστοι* (pl.) (DUC GR II 1748), idem, est attesté trois fois dans les papyrus ravennates de la fin du VIe s. ([42]). On doit toutefois remarquer que dans deux de ces documents, l'un des signataire souscrit en caractères grecs (TJÄ 16 *Marinus chrousokatalaktis*, TJÄ 20 *Iohannes Syrus paguzatro*), ce qui tend à limiter la portée de ces attestations, d'autant plus que les autres intervenants sont de hauts fonctionnaires byzantins (TJÄ 16 : *Expatharius, Primicerius, Cubicularius*). On en conclura que *chirocrista* fut éphémèrement intégré à la langue ravennate, dans la sphère limitée de la chancellerie.

(39) *Un'antica cronaca episcopale ravennate*, dans «Felix Ravenna», III, 1911, pp. 123-129.

(40) Cf. *Western reflexes of byzantine candelabra*, dans «Studii si cercetari lingvistice», XI, 1960, pp. 549-552.

(41) À Côme, dans *Statuta Paratici et universitatis aromatariorum* (XVIe siècle), on relève le syntagme «candellas, cereos, tortias, *cilostros*».

(42) Voir TJÄ, n° 16, a. 600 ca, TJÄ, n° 20, même époque, TJÄ, n° 27, moitié du VIe siècle.

1.1.15. *CIMIARCHUS*, «trésorier de l'Église ravennate», gr. byz. *κειμηλιάρχης* «trésorier» (LAMPE 740), ainsi que son dérivé *cimiarcharia*, sont abondamment documentés dans nos sources (statuts de Ravenne, cadastre, et sous la forme *ciriarchus*, *cyliarcha* dans la chronique du XIe s. citée plus haut), mais à Ravenne seulement. On trouve des traces de ce vocable dans d'autres territoires hellénisés : rares à Rome (dans une lettre de GRÉGOIRE PP), où le concept correspondant est exprimé par *arcarius*, à Naples sous la forme *cimiliarcha*, à partir du Xe s. ; si l'absence du mot à Venise, sa rareté à Rome, et par contre sa présence à Milan (DUC II 350), peuvent jeter un doute sur l'époque de son introduction dans les parlers régionaux, sa bonne implantation à Ravenne et à Naples, où le mot a été productif, et a connu des variantes populaires, permet de voir en lui l'une des traces de l'influence byzantine sur l'organisation de l'Église locale, qui s'accorde avec maintes autres. (On rapprochera de ce mot, une attestation de *ciminilia*, «vase sacré», dans un inventaire ravennate ([43]), gr. *κειμήλιον*, Lampe 740).

1.1.16 *CONA*, «représentation picturale de figures sacrées», accus. du gr. byz. *εἰκών* (LAMPE 410-416), *idem.*, après une éphémère apparition sous la forme *icona*, dans une chronique ravennate du XIIe s. ([44]), pour désigner une image de Saint Jean peinte miraculeusement, est bien implanté dans les villes situées au Sud (Rimini), au Nord (Ferrare), à l'Ouest (Imola) de la capitale de l'Exarchat (où par contre ce mot ne reparaît plus, le concept étant constamment exprimé par *imago*) : *cona* alterne avec *ancona* (qui est une forme plus populaire), et est fortement concurrencé par *imago*, *tabula*, *quadrum*. Les autres territoires hellénisés connaissent l'usage de ce vocable : Rome, où *icona* est attesté du IXe au XVe s., Venise (cf. CORT 11-14) où domine *ancona*, la Campanie (*cona*, Xe s. dans *Codex cavensis*), les Pouilles (*ycona*, à Bari, au XIe s.). On peut émettre l'hypothèse que la vocable fut diffusé en Italie en deux phases successives : d'abord, mais avec une implantation superficielle, dans les territoires en contact avec Byzance, entre le VIe et le XIe s. (Ravenne, Rome, Sud) emprunté sous la forme de *icona*, *cona*, puis en une deuxième phase, sous la forme prédominante d'*ancona*, à partir de Venise.

1.1.17. *DEIPARA*, *THEOTOCOS*, «mère de dieu», gr. *θεοτόκος* (LAMPE 639-641), *idem.*, défini comme l'un des attributs de la Vierge par le Concile

(43) Dans FANT IV, n° 120, a. 1249.

(44) Dans *Tractatus Rodulphi ... de inventione corporis Appolinaris* (RIS, I, pars II, p. 545).

d'Éphèse, n'apparaît qu'un nombre limité de fois dans les documents ravennates : la forme qui domine est le calque *deipara*, mais plus d'une fois est attesté le signifiant non-adapté *theotókon* (chez PETR CHRYS) ou *theotocos* ([45]). Ces attestations sont d'autant plus significatives, que dans le reste de l'Italie byzantine (à Rome, à Bari, etc.), c'est la locution latine autonome *dei genitrix*, qui est seule en usage. Cette singularité doit être attribuée à la fois à la tradition hellénisante de l'Église ravennate, et à l'origine particulière de la statue à laquelle s'applique l'épithète *deipara*, laquelle selon la légende provenait de Constantinople.

1.1.18. *DELMA*, «modèle», «dimension légale», gr. *δεῖγμα* (TH GR II 933), «preuve», «exemple», n'est attesté anciennement qu'à Ravenne, dans les différents recueils de statuts, dans un seul et même contexte (à propos de la fabrication des briques et des tuiles) «cuppos bene coctos facere, ad *delmam*, et formam communis Ravennae». Si ce vocable est peu documenté, par contre, nous avons des signes évidents qu'il faisait partie de la langue courante (cf. *Lessichetto ravennate de XVII* ([46]), où l'auteur anonyme cite un certain nombre de mots caractéristiques de Ravenne, parmi lesquels : «*delma* : la *delma* d'un par si bragon, la misura d'un paro di calzoni»), où il est encore vivant (ERC 156 : *delma* et *dema*). On peut penser, malgré l'absence de documentation, que ce vocable fut diffusé sur un vaste territoire (l'Exarchat et la Pentapole), puisqu'il survit actuellement dans les dialectes des Marches (*delma* dans le Metauro et à Ancône) et en Émilie (*dèrma* à Bologne, cf. UNG 104) ; par ailleurs, au-delà des frontières de ces régions, *delma*, sous la forme *deuma* est documenté à Vérone au XIVe s., avec le sens de «modèle légal pour les cordonniers», et survit, sous la forme *dema*, *dima*, dans les dialectes de la Lombardie et de l'Émilie non-exarchale, avec le sens technique de «pli», et figuré de «façon». L'étymon *δεῖγμα* pose quelques problèmes d'adaptation du signifiant ([47]) ; en revanche, le signifié reste

(45) Cf. *Memorie portuensi*, dans FANT II, n° 63.

(46) Publié par A. ARUCH, Turin, 1920.

(47) Les problèmes d'adaptation concernent la voyelle *e*, et la consonne *l* : en effet aussi bien en latin classique qu'à une l'époque plus tardive (cf. CORT., *op. cit.*, LIII), la diphtongue *ei* aurait dû donner *i* (voir *ἀγγαρεία* : *angaria*, *ἀπόδειξις* : *polizza*) : nous aurions dû obtenir **digma* ; or la voyelle tonique est partout, à une exception près *e* (*delma*, *derma*, *dema*, *deuma*) ; peut-être faut-il accepter, comme le propose REALL (col. 430) qu'en certains cas la diphtongue *ei* était empruntée comme *e*, à moins qu'on ne suppose que le *i* ait été modifié par la présence du groupe phonétique suivant ; par ailleurs, le groupe *gm* passe régulièrement à *um* en latin vulgaire (cf. les formes *peuma*, *sauma* et *fleuma* fautives signalées par l'*Ap-*

identique, puisque tous les usages ont en commun le sens de «modèle» (avec leurs diverses spécialisations techniques, et leur valeur métaphorique). D'après l'aire de diffusion actuelle (en Pentapole, jusqu'au Sud d'Ancône et à l'intérieur des terres, et, à partir de l'Exarchat, jusqu'à l'Émilie nord-occidentale et à la Lombardie orientale), on peut émettre l'hypothèse que *delma* a été diffusé à partir de ces deux territoires, avec une remarquable force d'expansion, dont, à vrai dire, on entrevoit assez mal la raison.

1.1.19. *DROMONIS*, «navire rapide», gr. *δρόμων* (TH GR II 1686), *idem.*, bien attesté à Ravenne du VIe au Xe s., dans les chroniques (*Annales ravennates*, AGNELLO, etc.) ([48]) ne semble cependant pas être un byzantinisme spécifique de notre région, car il est communément employé par les écrivains en Italie (GRÉGOIRE, CASSIODORE) ([49]), et hors d'Italie (DUC II 941). Le seul indice d'une bonne implantation à Ravenne au VIe s. est la productivité du vocable, dont témoigne le dérivé *dromonarius* ([50]).

1.1.20. *ENDIMA*, «enveloppe d'oreiller», gr. *ἔνδυμα* (TH GR III 1047), «vêtement», est très abondamment documenté à partir du XIVe s. (en raison de la multiplication des inventaires), dans l'Exarchat (où la diffusion cependant est limitée à l'Émilie : Bologne, Imola, Ferrare), et dans la Pentapole (Rimini, Fano, Osimo), sous des formes variées : *endima*, *indima*, *emptema*, *enttima*, etc., et survit dans le dialecte romagnol (*emdma*, *emda* à Faenza, MOR 293) ; sa bonne implantation dans les autres territoires ayant subi l'influence byzantine (Istrie, Venise, Naples, etc.) permet d'affirmer, malgré sa non-attestation à Ravenne, qui s'agit là d'un emprunt de l'époque de la Reconquête, ayant pénétré la langue locale de l'Exarchat (on peut faire des réserves pour Ferrare, où la forme documentée : *endemele*, est proche de la forme vénitienne : *entemela*), et de la Pentapole.

pendix Probi) ; une évolution ultérieure transforma par un phénomène d'hypercorrection, le groupe *au* + *cons.* en *al* + *cons.* (cf. *smaragdos*, donnant en latin vulgaire **smaraudus*, d'où **smaraldus* ; voir aussi les cas cités par ROHLFS, §259).

(48) Les *Annales* datent vraisemblablement du VIe s. (voir la longue étude de HOLDER-EGGER dans «Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für deutsche Geschichtskunde», 1876, pp. 215-346).

(49) Voir AGNELLO 303, 350, 364, et notre article *Les noms d'embarcation dans les documents médiévaux de la Côte adriatique de Ferrare à Ancône*, dans «Bollettino dell'Atlante mediterraneo», 18-19 (1976-77), pp. 42-43.

(50) Dans MAR 114, 540 ca : «quondam Andreatis bm̃ Praepositi *Dromonariorum*».

1.1.21. *ENDOTHIS*, «parement d'autel», gr. *ἐνδύτης* ou *ἐνδύτη* (LAMPE 469), *idem.* ([51]), est attesté un petit nombre de fois au IXe s., chez AGNELLO, puis au XIe s., dans une chronique ([52]), presque toujours à l'accusatif, sous la forme *endothim* («aliam *endothim* ex auro») : si l'origine byzantine du mot ne pose pas de problème, et s'accorde bien avec le secteur sémantique de la langue liturgique, riche en hellénismes spécifiques à Ravenne, le phonème *o* toutefois, reste difficile à expliquer (à une époque tardive en effet, la voyelle représentée par *y* aurait dû être adaptée comme un *e* ou un *i*, et seule la contamination avec un autre mot peut l'expliquer : ALESSIO, dans *Lexicon etymologicum* ([53]), y voit l'influence de *dos, dotis* ; il nous paraît plus vraisemblable de voir là la pression des mots de la famille de *induere, indutum, indumentum*, attestés localement, à moins que la modification de la voyelle ne soit due qu'à un phénomène de dissimilation). On notera qu'à Rome, à la même époque, le même objet (sans doute un voile pour dissimuler les saintes espèces) ([54]), est appelé *vestis*, calque probable de *ἐνδύτης*.

1.1.22. *GLOSOCHOMUM*, «sarcophage», gr. *γλωσσόκομον* (LSJ 353), *idem.*, est attesté 2 fois chez AGNELLO (291 et 382), qui préfère exprimer ce concept par *arca* et *sepulcrum* ; après le milieu du IXe s., *glosochomum* n'apparaît plus, ce qui semble indiquer que le vocable, même s'il est entouré lexicalement par d'autres composés en *-chomum* (*ierichomium* = gerochomium (AGN 374) et *storochomium*, toponyme, qui l'un et l'autre survécurent comme noms propres bien des siècles après le départ des Byzantins), n'a jamais été bien implanté dans la langue parlée.

1.1.23. *GRAMEDA*, «bande brodée des vêtements», gr. *γράμματα* (DUC GR I 263), *idem.*, ainsi que ses variantes *gramita, gramida*, sont bien attestés dans nos sources, principalement dans l'Exarchat, aux XIVe et XVe s., où ce

(51) Le premier sens d'*ἐνδύτης* est celui de «vêtement».

(52) Voir la note 39.

(53) P. 149.

(54) D'après des études spécialisées (Cf. BOURASSE, vol. I, p. 416 : *Accessoires des autels chrétiens antérieurs au XIe siècle* ; *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne ...*, art. *Nappe d'autel*, vol. XII, col. 782 ; MABILLON, *De liturgia gallicana*, Paris, 1685, p. 41), il semblerait que l'autel tout entier ait été dérobé aux regards par des rideaux qu'on déployait au-dessus des espèces (c'est le sens primitif du mot *tabernaculum*), comme en témoigne GREGORIUS TURONENSIS pour la Gaule (cf. *Historiarum liber VII*, cap. 22, éd. B. KRUSCH, in MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, t. I, p. 342) «cumque altarium cum oblationibus *palleo* syrico coopertum esset ...».

mot entre en concurence avec *frixus*, surtout dans les inventaires du mobilier d'église (cependant il n'est documenté ni à Ravenne, ni à Faenza, ni à Ferrare), mais aussi dans la Pentapole, où toutefois il est plus rare, et n'apparaît pas au Sud de Rimini (dans le reste de la région prédomine *frixus/frigius*). On peut donc émettre l'hypothèse que le vocable a été diffusé de la première à la seconde région, et vraisemblablement à partir de Ravenne, où il avait déjà disparu à l'époque tardive à laquelle le signifié est documenté. Par ailleurs *grameda* est en usage également à Venise, à Rome, dans les Pouilles, ce qui permet de confirmer qu'il s'agit bien là d'un emprunt au grec tardif, d'autant plus que sous les formes *γράμματα* et *γαμμάτια*, selon KOUKOULES ([55]), il est bien diffusé à Constantinople au Moyen Âge. L'origine de ce mot s'explique, selon le *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, VI, 610, par une mode qui consistait à orner les plans du *pallium* de lignes géométriques en forme de lettres (I, G, L, H, Z, P, X), auxquelles, à notre connaissance, on n'est pas parvenu à donner un sens clair.

1.1.24. *LETANEA, LETANIA*, «procession», gr. *λιτανεία* (LAMPE 804), *idem.*, est documenté avec ce sens à Ravenne et à Rimini du VIIe au XIe s. (TON II 33 : «*Letaneas* bis in mense ... faciendas spondeo», et AGNELLO 377 «et *lethaneis* ad eorum ecclesias gradientes ...»), alors que plus tardivement, sous l'influence de courants culturels septentrionaux ([56]), ce mot prend le sens de «rogations» (sens attesté à Imola et Faenza) ; le premier de ces deux usages semble emprunté directement à la langue religieuse byzantine, ainsi que le confirment les attestations relevées dans les documents romains les plus anciens (cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, VIe s.), qui dénotent une profonde implantation du vocable, lequel survécut pendant des siècles à Rome (voir les occurrences nombreuses dans *Liber Censuum*, XIIIe-XIIIe s.), alors qu'à Ravenne, il fut très tôt remplacé par *processio* (*prucisiòn*, ERC 413). Quant à *litaní*, dans la langue ravennate moderne, sa valeur est celle qui est communément diffusée dans la Romania de «prières auxquelles participe le public».

1.1.25. *LITOSTROTUS*, «revêtu de pierres multicolores», gr. *λιθόστρωτος* (TH GR V 295), «dallé de pierre», «revêtu de mosaïque», n'apparaît dans nos

(55) *Vie et civilisation byzantines*, Athènes, 1948, tome II, fasc. 2, p. 48.

(56) Les litanies gallicanes, imposées à toute la Gaule au début du VIe s., consistaient en une procession faite au mois de mai pour implorer la grâce de bonnes récoltes : ce sens est déjà attesté chez SIDOINE APOLLINAIRE, CESAIRE, VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS (voir *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. IX[2], col. 1558-9).

sources que sous la forme *lithostratus*, par contamination avec le lat. *stratus*, tout d'abord à plusieurs reprises chez AGNELLO (328, 335), puis dans une chronique du XIIe s., dont le texte suit de près AGNELLO (RIS I, pars II, 533) «pavimenta *lithostrata* mire composuit» ; après cette date, le vocable n'apparaît plus à Ravenne ; par ailleurs il est absent des autres centres de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole, ainsi que des documents romains (où le même concept est exprimé par des périphrases ([57])) et des régions méridionales. On n'en relève l'usage que chez les auteurs savants : ISIDORE, PAPIAS (qui ne le connaît qu'à travers ISIDORE dont il imite la définition) et JOHANNES DE JANUA. On peut donc conclure que l'usage de *lithostratus* dénote une byzantinisme éphémère, limité à Ravenne, et qui, si l'on en juge par l'altération du signifiant, semble avoir pénétré dans la langue quotidienne.

1.1.26. *MASTELLUS*, «baquet», dérivé du gr. *μαστός*, «mammelle» (TH GR V 603), qui prit tardivement le sens de «poculi genus quoddam» (LSJ 1083), a une aire de diffusion en Italie qui correspond bien aux territoires hellénisés de l'Adriatique septentrionale : ce vocable est documenté anciennement dans l'Exarchat, à Ravenne, Faenza, Bologne, Ferrare, et dans la Pentapole, à Rimini et Pesaro (plus au Sud, ce mot n'est pas attesté dans les sources anciennes, mais son usage s'est largement diffusé, dans les parlers actuels jusqu'à Ancône, et à l'intérieur des terres : cf. AIS 1523), en Istrie, en Dalmatie, à Venise (cf. CORT 136) ; par contre, ce mot est absent des autres territoires soumis à l'influence byzantine (Gênes, où l'on relève l'usage de *pila*, Rome, Campanie, Pouilles où sont en usage divers équivalents : *tinellus*, *scifum*, *tinacium*, *gavata*, *concha*, etc. ([58])). Cependant ce mot, dont on ne peut douter qu'il soit d'origine hellénique (même si des hypothèses ont été proposées à partir du latin *matella* (cf. TOMM III 139), et si REW ne le prend pas en considération), et lié à l'influence byzantine (pour l'étymon cf. DELI 729, et R. et H. KAHANE, in *Reallexicon*, 390), n'est attesté qu'assez tardivement dans toute cette zone, où il se substitue le plus souvent à *concha* ou à *alveus* (à Venise, il est attesté dès le premier tiers du XIIIe s., et à Ravenne, comme nom commun, au début du XIVe s. seulement, mais

(57) Voir *Liber pontificalis romanus*, vol. II, p. 28 «quod ... ex musibo seu diversis picturis atque pulcherrimis *marmorum metallis diversis coloribus* ... ornavit», p. 30 «et super ipsas lilias ex *metallis marmoreis platomas* posuit».

(58) Les principaux équivalents de *mastellus*, relevés dans les documents anciens de l'Italie sont au nord : *gerla*, *ceber*, *brenta*, *solium*, *conca*, au Centre : *coppus*, *truogus*, *bigoncius*, *tinaccius*, au Sud : *scifus*, *gavata*, *tina* et ses dérivés..

beaucoup plus tôt comme anthroponyme : Iohannis *Mastelli*, a. 1125). Cette attestation tardive pourrait s'expliquer par le registre du mot, qui, à l'origine, semble avoir fait partie de la langue parlée rustique, et auquel les notaires préféraient sans doutes les équivalents plus respectables *alveus* (ou *albius*) et *concha*, jusqu'au moment où, le besoin de spécification aidant, ce vocable plus précis (le référent est toujours en bois, et d'une capacité définie) est venu combler une lacune de la langue technique, et du champ lexical.

1.1.27. *MATRA*, «pétrin», gr. *μάκτρα* (TH GR V 531), *idem.*, est peu attesté dans les documents anciens de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole (à Ravenne, en 1359 seulement, et à Fano, en 1508), mais on rappellera la pauvreté de la zone en inventaires d'objets domestiques (mis à part Bologne, où justement, le mot correspondant au concept de «pétrin» est, aussi bien dans la langue ancienne que moderne, *spartura*, AIS 238) ; cependant, la même carte de l'AIS, et les dictionnaires dialectaux, témoignent de la vitalité de *matra* sur l'ensemble des deux anciennes régions, à l'exception de quelques points marginaux ; ce même mot est bien documenté dans les autres régions byzantinisées, aussi bien dans les sources anciennes que dans les parlers actuels (cf. pour la Latium : *mátara* in AIS 238, pour la Campanie : *matra* à Salerne au XIe s., pour les Pouilles LGII 312, etc.). En Toscane par contre survit le descendant de *magida* (= *madia*), et dans le reste de l'Italie domine *mastra* (Ligurie, Lombardie, Vénétie), qui semble dériver du même étymon ([59]), emprunté à une époque antérieure (ce vocable est commun également au provençal, et pourrait avoir été diffusé des centres hellénisés de la Provence vers l'Italie septentrionale). On peut donc conclure que *matra* est bien dans les régions citées ci-dessus le résultat d'un emprunt de l'époque byzantine, alors que *madia* et *mastra* révèlent une pénétration antérieure, de l'époque classique.

1.1.28. *MONOSTRATEGUS, MONSTRATICUS*, «chef des armées», gr. tard. *μονοστράτηγος, idem.*, est documenté 3 fois chez AGNELLO, sous la forme *monstraticus* (p. 367, 368, 377 : «venit iterum *monstratico* Ravennae»), qui nous semble une articulation «vulgaire» du mot grec, qu'on tente de latiniser par le suffixe *-icus* ; on remarquera 1° le nominatif en *-o*, 2°

(59) Parmi les hypothèses avancées, retenons celle de ROHLFS (LGII 312) et de WARTBURG (FEW VI 77), qui expliquent l'origine de *mastra* par la substitution du groupe *-st-* à *-kt-*, et celle de REALL 390, qui voit en *mastra* le résultat d'un phénomène d'analogie (sur le modèle *πλάσσω, πλαστός, πλαστρ-*, on aurait complété la série *μάσσω, *μαστός*).

l'absence de glose, deux faits qui permettent d'induire que le mot faisait encore partie au IXe s. de la langue parlée.

1.1.29. *PANTERIA, PANTERA*, «dispositif servant à la capture des canards sauvages», et de là «terrain immergé destiné à cette activité», gr. *πάνθηρ* ou *πάνθηρος* (TH GR VI 150), «filet de chasse», est attesté (sous la forme *panteria*) à partir du XIIIe à Ravenne, puis dans les sources exarchales (Cesena, Cervia, Ferrare, et peut-être Bologne), et dans les villes de la Pentapole maritime, de Rimini à Ancône, mais plus tardivement, soit comme nom commun, soit le plus souvent comme toponyme «cogolariam *q* dr̄ *pantheria*» ; son aire de diffusion est limitée à ces deux régions, auxquelles il convient d'ajouter Venise, où *panteria* est documenté au XIIIe s. Dans le reste de l'Italie (lombarde, et byzantine de la moitié méridionale), non seulement ce terme n'apparaît pas, mais ce mode de chasse, assez proche des activités agricoles (60), malgré une recherche approfondie dans les traités médiévaux d'*aucupatio*, ne semble pas avoir été connu. En dehors de l'Italie, *pantheria* et ses descendants sont attestés en France depuis le XIIIe s. (FEW VII 568), et survivent dans le Sud de la France, mais avec le sens de «filet pour la chasse aux oiseaux», qui était le sien dans les rares attestations latines d'époque classique (*panther*, chez VARRON) (61). De cette distribution du vocable, si l'on fait abstraction du français méridional, qui peut soit dériver de l'usage latin (mais dans ce cas pourquoi le vocable a-t-il une aire de diffusion si particulière ?), soit plutôt refléter un emprunt d'époque ancienne au grec local (62)), on peut induire que *pantera/panteria* (le deuxième pouvant être un dérivé en *-ia* du premier) sont liés à l'introduction d'une nouvelle technique de chasse, très élaborée, à l'époque de la Reconquête, limitée, pour des raisons topographiques à la Côte adriatique septentrionale,

(60) D'après les explications par P. CRESCENTIUS, dans *De Agricultura*, lib. X, cap. XVII, p. 506, Basilea, 1538, c'est un plan d'eau naturel ou artificiel, entouré de haies, et muni d'un système complexe de filets, manipulés par des chasseurs dissimulés, où des canards domestiques ou sauvages, attirent par leurs cris les troupes de canards de passage, qui resteront par centaines pris dans les rets.

(61) Chez VARRON (*De lingua latina*, lib. V, §100) *panthera* désigne à la fois l'animal et le filet ; dans les sources tardives, le sens est celui de «filet pour les petits oiseaux», ainsi que l'explique SALMASIUS, dans *De modo usurarum liber*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1639, p. 352 «*panthera* genus est retis, quo omne genus minutarum avium capitur» (commentaire du *Digeste*, lib. XIX, tit. I, §11).

(62) Sur l'empreinte hellénique dans la gaule méridionale, cf. WARTBURG, *Die Griechische Kolonisation in Südgallien und ihre sprachlichen Zeugen im Westromanischen*, dans ZRPH, LXVIII, 1952, pp. 1-48.

où abondent les étendues d'eau (cependant, malgré nos recherches, nous n'avons pas trouvé trace de cette technique dans les traités byzantins, ayant trait à la chasse, mais nos investigations ont peut-être été trop limitées).

1.1.30. *PAPA*, «évêque», gr. tard. *πάπας* et *παπᾶς* (LAMPE 1006) «prêtre», est employé plusieurs fois au Haut Moyen Âge, à Ravenne et à Rimini, pour désigner l'«évêque» (chez AGNELLO, p. 365, p. 372 «beatissimus *papa* dixit ...», dans les inscriptions aujourd'hui disparues, remontant aux Ve et VIe s., rapportées dans le *Liber Pontificalis*, dans *CIL*, 272, 273, 285, etc., et dans le *Martirio di S. Giuliano* (63) «Interrogo te utrum *papas* eras an diaconus ...»). La période d'emploi de ce vocable va du IIIe s. (date à laquelle remonte le récit du *Martirio*) au IXe s., car déjà chez AGNELLO, les mots les plus courants pour exprimer le concept d'«évêque» sont *episcopus*, *antistes*, *pontifex*, et par ailleurs AGNELLO emploie une ou deux fois *papa*, au sens de «pape» : le IXe s. semble donc la période charnière. Comme le nouvel usage du vocable avait été consacré au Concile de Vaison (a. 529), on peut penser que seule l'influence byzantine a pu prolonger, soutenue par la tendance à l'autocéphalie (64), de quelques siècles l'usage ancien, qui disparaît en quelques décennies après le départ des Byzantins.

1.1.31. *PLACTA*, «péniche», gr. tard. *πλάτη* «sorte d'embarcation» (LSJ 1413), apparaît dans les documents ravennates, au début du XIIIe s. «cum *placta* in qua misi mazinas et lignamina», mais n'est plus documenté par la suite (la nature des sources ravennates et exarchales, qui ne comprennent pas de statuts traitant de la navigation, à l'exception de ceux de Ferrare, peut aisément justifier cette absence) ; en Pentapole, où cependant la documentation sur la navigation est abondante, ce mot n'apparaît pas non plus (65), alors qu'au contraire, il est bien attesté à Venise, d'abord sous la forme *platus*, puis *plata*, à partir du XIe s., à Gênes et à Pise (la forme pisane *ciatta* pourrait être à l'origine du vén. *zatta* (DEI V 4108)). On ne peut douter que cet ensemble de vocables soient d'origine hellénique (en gr. classique, *πλάτη* désigne toute sorte d'objets «plats», et en gr. tardif, entre le IVe et le Xe s., il semble s'être spécialisé pour désigner un type d'embarcation) ; le seul problème est celui de la date de son implantation dans les parlers italiens : certains indices nous incitent à penser qu'à un premier emprunt de l'époque

(63) Voir TON II, n° 43.

(64) Sur l'autocéphalie ravennate, voir essentiellement A. SIMONINI, *Autocefalia ed Esarcato in Italia*, Ravenne, 1969.

(65) Voir notre article, cité à la note 49, p. 47.

de la Reconquista (à Ravenne et peut-être à Venise), à dû succéder une deuxième phase de pénétration, lors des échanges commerciaux intensifs entre ces ports italiens et Constantinople.

1.1.32. PLATOMA, «dalle», gr. class. *πλαταμών* (TH GR VI 1164), gr. tard. *πλατόνιον* (DUC GR I 1179), «pierre plate», est attesté 2 fois chez AGNELLO (p. 333, 371 «et aliam *platomam* desuper viventi in colla emissa») ; RUBEUS ([66]), pour sa part emploie *platonia* (lib. V, p. 238) ; en dehors de ces 3 occurrences, le mot n'est pas documenté dans l'Exarchat-Pentapole, alors qu'il semble avoir été d'un usage courant dans le Latium byzantin (on relève 7 occurrences de *platoma*, dans la première partie (VIe s.) du *Liber Pontificalis Romanus*). Le signifiant *platoma* pourrait s'expliquer par la contamination de la forme classique par la forme tardive, et non pas comme le propose DUC V 296, par une graphie erronée. Une forme **πλατῶνα* est par ailleurs induite par ROHLFS (LGII 410) pour rendre compte du toponyme calabrais *Chiatona* ([67]).

1.1.33. *PODISMUS*, «arpentage», gr. *ποδισμός* (TH GR VI 1278), *idem.*, est abondamment documenté à Ravenne, entre le IXe et le XIIe s., ainsi que dans d'autres centres de l'Exarchat, dans les documents notariés, où le vocable apparaît toujours dans le même syntagme figé «secundum *podismum* longo latoque designata». Dans la Pentapole, ce mot est attesté sous une forme divergente : *podumum*, et avec un sens nettement différent : «tarif», «contrôle légal», et il est remarquablement productif (*appodimare*, «contrôler les mesures», *appodimator*, «contrôleur», etc.). Ce mot n'est attesté dans aucun autre territoire hellénisé (Venise, Istrie, Latium, provinces méridionales), pas plus d'ailleurs que dans le reste de l'Italie et de la Romania. On peut donc considérer ce mot comme un byzantinisme caractéristique de nos deux régions, et remarquer l'autonomie de l'emprunt dans chacune d'elles, où il n'assume ni la même forme, ni le même sens, où d'un côté il est encore vivant et productif au XVIe s., alors qu'il est déjà fossilisé au Xe s. dans l'autre. Mais aussi bien dans l'Exarchat que dans la Pentapole, il reste lié, comme d'autres emprunts que nous avons mis en évidence, au secteur de l'organisation administrative.

1.1.34. *POLLICINUM, POLESINUM*, «îlot de terre émergée», gr. *πολύκενος* (L SC 1438) «qui comporte des vides», désigne, dans les documents

(66) Dans *Historiarum ravennatum libri XII*, Venise, 1589.

(67) Pour les traces de *platonia* dans la toponymie méridionale, voir aussi LEX ETYM 319.

ravennates et ferrarais, un type de terrain émergé au milieu d'une zone marécageuse, située la plupart du temps, entre Ravenne et Ferrare, dans le delta du Pô. Ce mot est souvent devenu un micro-toponyme (*Pollicinum* de Carpeneta, *Pollicinum* Albaronis, etc., «fundo q. voc. septem *policinos*»), et peut même désigner toute une région : *Polesinum* (mod. Polesine), s'étendant au Nord de Ferrare (prov. de Rovigo), mais il n'était pas totalement sorti de l'usage au XIIIe s., comme en témoignent quelques contextes où il est de toute évidence nom commun ([68]). Nous n'en avons découvert aucune trace dans les autres territoires du Nord-Adriatique, où s'est exercée la pression byzantine (bien que *polesine* figure dans *BOERIO* 415). On peut considérer *pollicinum* comme un byzantinisme typique de l'Exarchat, assez bien implanté, pour avoir donné naissance à nombre de toponymes, et doué d'une certaine force d'expansion puisqu'on en relève des traces jusqu'à Parme.

1.1.35 *SANDALUS, SANDOLUS, SANDONIS*, «barque à fond plat», gr. tard. *σάνδαλος* (DUC GR 1331), «canot», apparaît à Ravenne au début du XIIIe s., et est attesté pour la dernière fois dans nos sources dans les *Statuti di Casa Matha* de 1304 (ce mot ne fait plus partie, avec ce sens du dialecte actuel (cf. *sândal*, ERC 462)) ; cependant une forme voisine, *sandonis*, est documentée dans les sources ravennates, plusieurs siècles auparavant (cf. MAR 69, VIIIe s. «cum *sandonibus* et navibus navigare»). Outre à Ravenne, *sandalus* est bien attesté aux XIIIe-XIVe s., dans d'autres centres de l'Exarchat : à Bologne et à Ferrare, et plus généralement dans les territoires ayant subi l'influence byzantine (à Venise, sous la forme *sandolus*, cf. CORT 207, à Rome où *sandalus* est documenté entre le XIe et le XIVe s., dans les parlers méridionaux actuels (cf. LGII, s.v. *σάγγαρον* ; pour Naples *sannakë*, in ALTAM 201, pour les Pouilles, *sannërë*)). On remarquera que toutes ces attestations sont tardives (la plus ancienne, si l'on fait abstraction de *sandonis*, remonte à 1030), et l'on peut se demander si ce mot n'appartient pas à la série des byzantinismes tardifs. Pour répondre à cette question, il faut tirer au clair les rapports entre *sandonis* et *sandalus* : s'il s'agit d'un même mot, comme le suggère PRATI ([69]), avec substitution de suffixe, on aurait la preuve que *sandalus/sandonis* est un byzantinisme de l'époque de la Reconquête ; si au contraire, les deux signifiants sont issus de deux étymons distincts (cf. ALESSIO, dans *Ricerche etimologiche*... ([70])), on devrait

(68) Voir dans TARL I, n° 167, a. 1256 : «Insulam sive *Policinum* ...».
(69) Dans *Vicende di parole*, n° 17 (RLiR, vol. XIX, p. 93).
(70) Dans *Ricerche etimologiche su voci italiane antiche*, *ibid.*, vol. XVIII, p. 40.

considérer l'usage de *sandalus*, dans les sources exarchales des XIIIe-XIVe s. comme le résultat d'une influence du vénitien sur le romagnol.

1.1.36. *SCAFA*, «évier», gr. *σκάφη* (DUC GR II 1384) «alvei in quibus lavabantur», très abondamment attesté dans les statuts de l'Exarchat (Ravenne, Faenza, Cesena, Imola, etc.), à l'exception de ceux de Bologne et de Ferrare, qui révèlent respectivement l'emploi de *saiguatorium*, et de *seclarium* et *aquarium*, et d'un certain nombre de villes de la Pentapole (Rimini, St.-Martin, Urbin, Senigallia), en usage par ailleurs depuis une époque ancienne à Venise (et peut-être en Istrie), bien vivant dans les dialectes modernes de la Romagne, de Venise et de l'Istrie-Dalmatie (cf. AIS 951), peut au prime abord, en raison de son aire de diffusion, être considéré comme une byzantinisme ancien du Nord-Adriatique : l'étymologie grecque ne pose pas de problème (même si certains ont vu en *scafa* un emprunt au germanique) ([71]), puisque *σκάφη* est attesté tardivement (chez ALEXANDRE DE TRALLES) avec le sens de «alveus», proche de celui d'«évier».

1.1.37. *SINDONIS*, «tissu de lin», puis «tissu de soie», gr. *σινδών* (TH GR VII 264), «tissu de lin», est certainement, dans ses attestations les plus anciennes, relevées dans la langue littéraire locale, à mettre en relation avec l'usage de ce mot dans la Vulgate, pour désigner le linceul du Christ (BLAISE 762) ; mais son usage ultérieur dans les documents ravennates (chez AGNELLO, au sens de «fine toile de lin», p. 325, 333) puis quelques siècles plus tard (XIIIe-XIVe s.), dans l'Exarchat (Bologne, Imola, Ferrare, etc.) pour indiquer un tissu de soie léger, servant surtout à doubler les vêtements ou à fabriquer les bannières, permet de le considérer comme un byzantinisme ancien (hypothèse confirmée par son aire de diffusion : en Pentapole à Ancône, à Venise, à Rome (XIVe-XVe s.), en Campanie, dans le *Codex Cavensis* (Xe s.), etc.), dont l'histoire cependant, n'est pas facile à démêler de celle d'un équivalent, dont le signifiant est proche (*cendatus, cendalis*), et qui apparaît dans des contextes similaires ([72]).

(71) DEI V 3361 distingue *scapha*, «barque», qu'il fait dériver du grec et *scapha*, «évier», auquel il attribue une origine germanique, suivant ainsi la proposition de GAMILLSCHEG, dans *Romania germanica*, II, p. 154, qui rattache ce vocable à *skaf*, «planche» (qui a donné l'it. commun *scaffa, scaffale*, «rayon», «rayonnage»).

(72) Selon PRATI (*Vicende di parole*, dans RLiR, XIX, 1955, n° 51), *sindonis, cendatus, cendale* seraient en effet un même mot, renvoyant à un unique référent (on passe d'un vocable à l'autre par changement de pseudo-suffixe : *sind-onis, *sind-atus, *sin-dale*). ALESSIO (dans RLiR, XVIII, 1954) oppose au contraire *sindonis*, «étoffe de soie légère», à *cendatus*, «étoffe brodée», dans lequel il voit un dérivé du gr.

1.1.38. *TULPA*, «rang de vigne», gr. *τολύπη* «pelote de laine filée» (TH GR VII 2277), est documenté un petit nombre de fois au Nord de Ravenne, dans des actes notariés des Xe et XIe s., où ce terme représente une unité de mesure des vignobles : «cum *tulpas* vinearum super se habentem» (il se pourrait qu'une forme erronée ou mal restituée figure aussi dans un papyrus ravennate du Xe s. (MAR 125), à la langue très approximative, où le mot *tarpus*, répété plusieurs fois revêt la même valeur) ; mais l'attestation la plus ancienne du vocable peut être relevée, en dehors des limites strictes de l'Exarchat, dans l'Émilie nord-orientale, à Nonantola, au IXe s. Comme on le voit, l'aire du mot est très réduite (le nord de l'Exarchat) et légèrement marginale, et sa documentation ne dépasse pas le début du XIe s. (un mot voisin, dans le vénitien moderne : *tolpo*, «pieu», «poteau» (BOERIO 754), ne semble pas avoir la même origine) ; par contre en Calabre, avec le sens étymologique de «lin enroulé autour de la quenouille», *tulupa* (LGII 505) est encore en usage dans le dialecte moderne. Il semble donc que le mot ait été emprunté, de manière autonome en deux points de l'Italie : dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne d'une part, à l'époque de la Reconquête (on remarquera la situation marginale de l'aire de diffusion par rapport à l'épicentre supposé), d'autre part dans les territoires méridionaux, sans doute plus tardivement, à partir des centres grécophones du Salento ou de la Calabre méridionale, où la valeur étymologique a été conservée (de *τολύπη*, il est aisé, par métaphore, de passer au sens exarchal, où domine le sème d'«objets ayant entre eux une forte cohésion»).

1.2. *Étymons non-attestés*

1.2.1. *AMBRASE*, «bande de terrain travaillée à sillons relevés», «planche», attesté à plusieurs reprises dans les *Statuts de Ravenne du XVIe s.* («si ... in *ambrase* terrae non laborarentur ...»), est fortement concurrencé par *concolla, cunchola*, bien documenté depuis le XIIe s. («tres *concollas* de Casali»), et qui survit dans le rav. *cuncóla* (ERC 138). À ce vocable, dont l'usage semble avoir été assez mal implanté à Ravenne (et dans l'Exarchat), on doit rattacher l'usage très vivant de *prace* ou *prece* dans la dialecte pérugin et de *prèc* dans le Métaure, avec le sens de «bande de terrain cultivé, large d'environ un mètre, et délimitée par deux sillons ...». Ces formes permettent d'induire un étymon **ἀμπράκιον* (ALESSIO dans DEI 3046), diminutif

κεντέω, «broder» : *κεντητός*, de même que REALL 385, qui propose pour *cendatus* l'étymon *σενδές*, documenté au Xe siècle avec le sens de «brocard».

d'*ἀμπρόν*, «longe» (TH GR I[2] 164), qui ne pose phonétiquement aucun problème, et peut avoir aisément, par métaphore, pris le sens de «bande de terrain longue et étroite», par un passage sémantique dont nous avons d'ailleurs un exemple dans notre région même, puisque *corigia*, «ceinture» est attesté dans nos sources pour désigner une bande de terre (on pourrait même y voir un calque du mot grec *ἀμπρόν*).

1.2.2. *ARTOCLEA*, «tourte», est attesté à Imola («salvo quod de *artocleis* possint habere fornarios...»), à Modène, et par ailleurs, dans un document riminais du XIIIe s., sous la forme *tortocrea* («unam bonam *tortocream*), qui peut être analysée comme une contamination d'*artocrea* par *torta*; ce mot, comme on le voit, peu attesté (le même concept ou un concept légèrement divergent étant communément exprimé dans nos sources par *focacia* ou *turta*), pourraient être issu d'un étymon grec **ἀρτόκρεας*, «tourte», que permet d'induire le lat. peu documenté *artocrea* (TH II 710), dont le sens est, à vrai dire, un peu divergent («distribution de viande»). Aussi est-il peu vraisemblable qu'*artoclea* soit issu d'un vocable si peu documenté en latin, et vaut-il mieux avancer l'hypothèse, au vu de l'aire de diffusion qui semble avoir eu Ravenne comme épicentre, qu'*artoclea* est le témoignage d'une tentative d'emprunt du gr. tard. **ἀρτόκρεας*, tentative qui resta apparemment sans suite dans la langue locale (puisque PAPIAS, au XIe s., relevait le vocable comme un élément obscur, requérant une glose), si ce n'est de manière éphémère en quelques points marginaux. On ne peut manquer de noter qu'à Ravenne où *artoclea* n'est pas documenté, c'est un autre byzantinisme, issu de *πλάθανον*, «disque de bois pour faire cuire les gâteaux» (TH GR VI 1144), qui sert à exprimer un concept voisin, si ce n'est similaire : *piè, piaden* (ERC 391) ([73]).

1.2.3. *CALCEDRUS*, «seau pour puiser l'eau», très bien attesté, ainsi que ses dérivés, à partir du XIIIe s., à Bologne et Imola, et toujours en usage dans les dialectes de l'Émilie et de la Romagne (cf. AIS 965, «secchia di rame»), peut aisément représenter un mot grec non-attesté, comme le suggère ALESSIO ([74]), **χαλκόχυτρος*, qui, par haplologie a pu se réduire à **χαλχύτρος*,

(73) Cf. AGNELLO 387 «vascula argentea tota expleta mensa, facta in modum *platani* ...».

(74) Les autres étymologies sont peu convaincantes : voir le compte rendu de FLECHIA, dans «Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica», I, 1873 sur l'étude de CAIX, qui proposait de rattacher l'émil. *calzaider* au lat. *calces*, et la proposition de SEIFERT, dans *Glossar zu den Gedichten des Bonvesin da Riva*, Berlin, 1885, de relier *calcirolo* à *carera* = *veges*.

forme qui rendrait parfaitement compte des signifiants médiévaux et modernes. Ce vocable fut diffusé anciennement sur un territoire assez vaste, incluant Milan et Vérone, ce qui n'est pas un obstacle à l'hypothèse d'ALESSIO d'une origine exarchale de *calcedrus*, dont le point faible réside dans l'absence du mot à Ravenne, aussi bien dans les documents anciens (*situlus*), que dans l'usage moderne (*seć, seća* : cf. AIS 965). On est amené à conclure que ce byzantinisme (qui ne peut être entré par Venise ([75])), a bien pénétré par Ravenne, où il a été très tôt (avant l'apparition du concept correspondant dans nos sources) supplanté par *situlus/situla*.

1.2.4. *GUALMEDRUM*, «mesure-type», est attesté, dès le XIIIe s. à Ravenne, et à Bologne, sous la forme du dérivé *gualmedrare*, «contrôler les mesures» ; au XVIe s., le vocable est abondamment documenté, soit sous une forme divergente *calmerium*, dans nombre de points de l'Exarchat ou de le Pentapole (Ravenne, Forli, Ferrare, Urbin), soit sous la forme *gualmedrium* (Senigallia, Fano), avec le sens de «prix maximum des denrées de première nécessité», bien que le même concept soit souvent rendu par *taxa, sagomum, pretium, meta*. Pour rendre compte de ce vocable sous ses 3 aspects (*gualmedrum, gualmedrium, calmerium*), présent à Venise aussi, sous la forme *callamerium*, «patron d'après lequel les cordonniers doivent tailler le cuir des chaussures») et dont l'aire s'étend jusqu'au Nord de l'Émilie et à la Lombardie (Brescia, Bergame, Milan), on a eu recours (ALESSIO dans DEI 689) à un composé non-attesté, formé de *κάλαμος*, unité de longueur (SOPH 621), et de *μέτρον* ou *μέτριον*, «mesure» (TH GR V 939), dont l'évolution sémantique par généralisation («mesure-type»), et l'évolution phonétique, par haplologie ([76]), n'offrent pas de difficulté majeure. Il est permis de supposer que les formes de la série *gualmedrum/gualmedrium* sont originaires de l'Exarchat-Pentapole, alors que la forme *calmerium*, qui s'étend largement au XVIe s., et finira par entrer dans la langue italienne, est d'origine vénitienne.

(75) En effet *calcedrum* n'est pas attesté à Venise, si l'on fait abstraction d'une mention du vocable dans le dictionnaire d'OUDIN (cf. *Dittionario italiano-francese*, Venise, 1697), dont les localisations sont très imprécises.

(76) Les étymologies proposées antérieurement mettaient en relation *calmiere*, soit avec *calamus*, «unité de mesure» (REW 1485), soit avec *calamarius*, qui aurait donné d'une part *calamaio*, «plumier» puis «encrier», et d'autre part *calmiere*, «tarif», par développement du sens secondaire de *calamus* = «canna a misura» (cf. CANELLO, dans *Gli allotropi italiani*, AGI, III, p. 305).

1.2.5. *PIDRIA*, «entonnoir», très vivant dans les dialectes des anciennes régions de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole (cf. AIS 1331 et 1332), attesté dans les sources anciennes d'Imola, Ferrare, Cesena (mais il faut tenir compte du fait, pour expliquer l'absence du vocable dans les documents anciens des autres villes, que le concept d'«entonnoir» est très rare dans notre corpus), attesté également dans les documents de l'Istrie, du Frioul et de la Vénétie, sous des formes apparentées à *plera* et *píria*, diffusé de nos jours en Lombardie et jusqu'au Piémont oriental (cf. AIS 1132), peut, d'après sa distribution, être considéré par hypothèse comme un byzantinisme, qu'ALESSIO explique ([77]) à partir d'un étymon non-attesté * *πλήτρια*, lié au verbe *πίμπλημι*, «remplir», dont **πλήτρια* serait le nom d'agent féminin (selon le modèle de *πιπράσκω, πρατήρ, πράτρια*).

1.3. *Étymologie grecque discutée mais probable*

1.3.1. *AQUIMOLUM* serait, selon ALESSIO ([78]), un calque du gr. *ὑδρόμυλος*, attesté chez HESYCHIUS, et dans le *Corpus Glossariorum latinorum* (LSJ 1845), qui fonde son hypothèse sur la fréquence du mot à Ravenne et à Rimini aux IXe-Xe s. (a. 893 «cum terris, campis ... *Aquimolis*»), lequel disparaît progressivement (dernières attestations au XIe s.), supplanté par *molendinum* ou *mola*. Outre dans l'Exarchat et la Pentapole, *aquimolum* ou *aquimola* est bien documenté en Istrie-Dalmatie, à Rome, à Gaète, dessinant un aire très particulière qui semble bien révéler une origine byzantine. Certes si l'on rejette cette hypothèse, on peut bien expliquer *aquimolum/aquimola*, comme un composé d'*aqua* et de *mola* ; mais est-il vraisemblable que ces composés soient nés indépendamment dans chacune de ces langues, lorsqu'on sait que les Grecs dominaient les techniques de la meunerie (voir chez VITRUVE déjà ([79]) le terme *hydroleta*), et que par ailleurs les points où ce vocable est attesté sont justement ceux où les deux cultures et les deux langues étaient en contact ?

(77) Avant l'hypothèse d'ALESSIO, on avait tenté d'expliquer *pidria* par un rapprochement avec *implere* : en effet ASCOLI (dans *Studi critici*, II, p. 96) et SALVIONI (dans ZRPH, XXX, pp. 532-534), avaient induit une forme **pletria*, qui par contamination aurait donné *petria*.

(78) Dans LEX ETYM 25.

(79) Dans *De architectura*, lib X, §5.

1.3.2. *BROILUS*, «clos attenant à la maison» est expliqué selon la tradition comme un mot d'origine celtique ([80]) ; nous ne doutons pas en effet que **brogilos* soit à l'origine du *brolium/brolo* de l'Italie septentrionale ; mais ce qui nous frappe, c'est à la fois la fréquence du terme dans les documents ravennates les plus anciens (VIIIe-IXe s.), où il ne connaît aucun concurrent, par ailleurs la présence d'une forme *proili* (dans CTER, rég. 65 «spacio terre ubi *proili* esse videtur»), et surtout un long passage de LIUTPRAND DE CRÉMONE, où alterne dans la même phrase, pour désigner un «parc attenant à un palais», *perivolium* et *briolia* ([81]) ; notre hypothèse est donc que le revannate *broilum* est le résultat de la contamination de *περιβόλιον*, «jardin» (TH GR VI 798) par le descendant de **brogilos*, d'origine celtique (contamination qui rendrait compte du passage de *p* à *b*, et de l'inversion de la diphtongue *io*, que conserve la forme relevée chez LIUTPRAND).

1.3.3. *CANIPA*, *CANEVA*, «cellier», «entrepôt», est le plus souvent expliqué par le gr. *κάνναβος*, «carcasse de bois utilisée par les sculpteurs» (LSJ 870), mais il nous semble préférable d'avoir recours, comme le propose VISCONTI ([82]) à l'étymon *καλυβή* (TH GR IV 205), qui a le mérite, au niveau sémantique (sens de «cabane»), et au niveau du signifiant (*y* donne régulièrement à l'époque tardive *e* ou *i* ; le genre féminin est conservé) de poser moins de problèmes (le passage de *l* à *n*, qui ne s'explique par aucune loi phonétique pourrait être causé par l'attraction de *canna*). La très bonne implantation du vocable dans les documents anciens, aussi bien de l'Exarchat (Ravenne, Cervia, Forlì, Bologne, etc.) que de la Pentapole (Rimini, Pesaro, Senigallia, Ancône, etc.), ainsi qu'en Vénétie, en Ligurie, en Istrie, en Dalmatie, confirme bien que ce terme est en relation avec l'occupation byzantine, d'autant plus que l'Italie lombarde ne connaît que *cella* et *cellarium*. Cependant l'étymon présumé *καλύβη*, avait déjà été emprunté par la langue latine tardive, sous la forme *canaba* (FOR III 222), qui a peut-être donné naissance au toscan *canova*, dont le sens de «taverne» reflète le sens latin. On aurait donc une diffusion en deux phases successives indépendantes.

(80) Voir notre étude *De quelques cas d'étymologies dialectales mises en question par des attestations anciennes*, dans «Atti del XII Convegno per gli Studi di Dialettologia Italiana», 1979, pp. 265-266.

(81) Dans *Relatio de legatione constantinopolitana* (MGH, *Scriptores*, III, p. 355).

(82) Dans *Due monumenti di Antonia Augusta*, *Opere varie*, II, Milan, 1829, p. 350.

1.3.4. *COPTIMUM*, «contrat de location des terres», est attesté principalement en Pentapole (Pesaro, Senigallia, Pérouse), et très rarement dans l'Exarchat (Cesena), avec le sens distinct de «forfait», qui est resté le sien dans le romagnol moderne (*cótum*, ERC 129). En dehors de ces 2 régions, *coptimum* ou ses dérivés sont attestés, avec des valeurs légèrement divergentes, mais toujours en rapport avec un type de contrat ou de paiement, à Venise (CORT 73), à Gênes, dans le Latium, de sorte que l'aire de diffusion conforte bien l'hypothèse d'un emprunt au grec byzantin (l'étymon proposé par CORT **coctimo* (qui rendrait bien compte des formes documentées dans le Latium : *coctimo, coctumatio*), représente un composé hybride **cu(m)-(e)ctimo* formé d'après *ἐκτιμάω*, «fixer la valeur», TH GR III 591). La divergence des formes, et surtout des valeurs sémantiques, nous semble être l'indice d'une diffusion en deux temps : un premier emprunt à l'époque de la Reconquête, en Pentapole, dans le Latium (et peut-être dans l'Exarchat), et une introduction plus tardive, à Venise et à Gênes, en liaison avec les échanges de ces deux ports avec la Méditerranée orientale.

1.3.5. *FILZA*, «collier de corail», documenté à Ravenne et à Bologne avec ce sens précis, a été considéré longtemps comme un dérivé de *filum* : **filitia* ([83]), d'autant plus que *filza* désigne, outre «le collier de corail», tout «chapelet» d'objets, retenus par un fil (*filza* (de poissons), *filzia planetarum*, *filzo* de peltrinostri, etc.) ; par ailleurs *filza* et *infilza* sont documentés à Senigallia et à Ancône, avec la valeur de «registre». Il nous semble que le premier de ces emplois, spécifique de l'Exarchat (*filza 'd curëj* est encore vivant dans le parler ravennate : ERC. 193), s'appliquant exclusivement au corail (les autres colliers sont désignés par *collarium, vecium*, etc.), dont on connaît les vertus magiques, peut être issu du gr. *φυλάκεια*, qui, il est vrai, n'est attesté qu'une fois (LSJ 1960), au sens d'«amulette», dérivé de *φύλαξ* ; cette hypothèse satisfaisante sur le plan sémantique, ne pose aucun problème phonétique. *Filza*, au sens de «chapelet d'objets retenus par un fil» pourrait fort bien être issu de **filitia* ; quant à *filza/infilza*, «registre», il est aisé de les mettre en relation avec *φυλάκιον/φυλάκειον* (TH GR VIII 1107), «lieu où l'on conserve» (on notera qu'un composé de ce vocable : *χαρτοφυλακίον* (LAMPE 1509), documenté dans le lat. médiév. sous la forme *cartofilacium* (DEI 786), a donné l'it. mod. *cartafaccio* (DEI 784)) : à notre avis, l'emprunt de *φυλάκιον*, dont on ne trouve pas trace dans l'Exarchat, et qui

(83) Étymon proposé par KÖRTING, dans LRW 3247.

n'est attesté que tardivement (XIVe-XVIe s.), représenterait un emprunt de la période ultérieure.

1.3.6. *FRACTA*, «rangée d'arbres», «haie», est abondamment attesté, avec un sens non équivoque, dans les documents anciens de la Pentapole (Senigallia, Ancône), où son usage se prolonge jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine (cf. AIS 1422), moins bien documenté, mais attesté dans l'Exarchat (à Faenza, à Imola, à Bologne), où il survit dans les dialectes de Faenza et d'Imola, avec le sens de «rangée d'arbres», bien implanté par ailleurs dans le Latium et en Vénétie. On peut aisément considérer *fracta* comme un emprunt au gr. *φράκτης* (TH GR VIII 1032), «palissade», hypothèse confortée par l'aire de diffusion du vocable. Cependant, dans un certain nombre de contextes (particulièrement dans les toponymes), *fracta* semble avoir un sens différent, celui de «terrain défriché» (surtout dans la zone exarchale) : dans ce cas, *fracta*, bien attesté dans la toponymie toscane, représenterait le lat. *fracta*, participe passé du verbe *frangere* ([84]). La situation est difficile à démêler, car *fracta* peut être attesté en un même point avec ces deux valeurs distinctes (et donc ces deux origines différentes). En conclusion, on ne peut éliminer l'étymon *φράκτης*, chaque fois que le sens de *fracta* est clairement celui de «haie», ou de «rangée d'arbres».

1.3.7. *SISIMA*, «sécession» ou «rébellion», attesté dans un seul document riminais du XIIIe s., où il est répété à plusieurs reprises au cours d'un procès, dans les dépositions des témoins («Interrogatus quantum duravit pred. *Sisima* ... respondit ...»), peut représenter soit le gr. *σχίσμα*, «division» (TH GR VI 1673), étymon proposé par ALESSIO pour le bovien *sisimo* ([85]), soit le gr. *σεῖσμα* (TH GR VII 135), «secousse». Si dans ce contexte, le sens de «sécession» convient mieux (il s'agit d'un bourg qui pendant 9 ans ne reconnaît plus l'autorité du Saint-Siège), par contre, la survivance de *sisma* dans le dialecte ravennate (ERC 539), avec la valeur de «frenesia», «ansietà di muoversi», serait plus proche de *σεῖσμα* (voir aussi le sens du bov. *sisimo*, que ROHLFS, dans LGII 451, définit comme «tremblement», et rattache à un mot grec *σείσιμον*) ([86]). Quoi qu'il en soit, le mot est d'origine hellénique, et si sa forme savante (abl. *sisimate*), et le fait qu'un témoin ne le connaît pas («quod sit *Sisima* ... respondit et dixit nescire»), peuvent indiquer qu'il

(84) L'étymon *fracta* est celui qu'avancent WARTBURG (FEW III 756) et TOBLER-LOMMATSCH III, 2194, pour l'anc. fr. *fraite* «buissons, branches abattues».

(85) Dans LEX ETYM 366.

(86) Seul *σείσιμο* figure dans les glossaires (dans MLHG 6486).

ne faisait pas partie de la langue populaire, sa survivance dans le dialecte, s'il s'agit naturellement du même vocable, tendrait à prouver au contraire qu'il était implanté dans la langue parlée.

1.3.8. *SOCA*, «câble», est attesté dès le VIe s. à Ravenne (TJÄ P. 8 «*socas* tortiles») ; à partir du début du XIIIe s., ce mot est bien documenté sous la forme *soga*, dans plusieurs points de l'Exarchat (Ravenne, Ferrare, Bologne), ainsi que dans d'autres territoires ayant subi l'influence byzantine (Latium, Pouilles, Campanie ; on remarquera que le vocable est encore vivant dans les Abruzzes et en Sicile). Il serait donc logique de proposer pour lui une étymologie hellénique, et celle que présente ALESSIO, faisant remonter *soca/soga* au gr. class. *σῶκος* ou au gr. tard. *σόκα* ([87]), semble tout à fait satisfaisante. Cependant *soga* et ses dérivés sont documentés, hors des régions citées ci-dessus sur une vaste aire, dépassant même les limites de la Romania, dans les régions que l'influence byzantine ne pouvait atteindre (la Sardaigne, le Frioul, le Pays basque, la Bretagne, etc.) ; pour répondre à une telle extension les hypothèses les plus variées ont été formulées ([88]), mais l'étymologie grecque semble seule valable. Si l'on s'en tient à l'origine hellénique, nous pensons qu'un schéma de diffusion en deux vagues successives peut seul permettre de rendre compte des particularités de la distribution en Italie et dans la Romania : une implantation à l'époque de l'unité linguistique de l'Empire romain peut expliquer l'usage du vocable en France, dans la Péninsule ibérique, en basque et dans les langues celtiques, mais l'absence de *soga* dans une grande partie des provinces de l'Italie centrale, pourrait suggérer que le vocable a été introduit dans le latin de la Gaule méridionale par un emprunt au grec de Marseille, et non par l'intermédiaire d'un latin **soca*, dont nous n'avons aucune trace ; par ailleurs les attestations très anciennes relevées dans l'Exarchat, à Rome, en Campanie (entre le VIe et le Xe s.), rendent plausible un emprunt au grec byzantin à l'époque de la Reconquête.

1.3.9. *SPROCHANUS*, selon les lieux «courtier en vin» (Rimini, Venise), «courtier en poisson» (Ravenne, Ferrare), «fonctionnaire communal chargé

(87) Dans *Relitti mediteranei nel greco e nel latino*, AGI, XXXIX, 1954, p. 98.

(88) Parmi les hypothèses les plus diverses, notons l'étymologie germanique de PIERI, à partir de *Seil* (rapportée par SALVIONI, dans *Note di dialettologia corsa*, n° 217, vol. XLIX, p. 816, des «Rendiconti dell'Istituto lombardo»), l'étymologie celtique dans REW 8051, l'étymologie sanscrite d'ASCOLI, à partir de *sagg*, «adhérer», dans *Studi critici*, I, p. 300, etc.

de veiller à la régularité des échanges» (Cesena, Pesaro, Senigallia, Fano), n'a jusqu'à présent trouvé aucune étymologie satisfaisante ([89]) ; son aire de diffusion (Exarchat, Pentapole, Vénétie, Istrie), sa présence dans des contextes similaires à ceux où apparaît *proxeneta*, «fonctionnaire chargé des échanges», nous ont incitée à accepter l'hypothèse d'un byzantinisme de l'Adriatique septentrionale, dont l'origine pourrait être voisine de celle de *proxeneta* : nous avons été frappée par la similarité de sens entre *πρόξενος*, attesté en gr. mod. avec le sens de «fonctionnaire communal», «fonctionnaire chargé de l'exécution des testaments» (MLHG VII 6148, 4°) et *sprochanus*. Mais les problèmes naissent au niveau du signifiant : en effet de *πρόξενος*, nous arriverions régulièrement à **prosenus* (remarquons d'ailleurs qu'une forme en *-enus* est documentée à Venise ([90])) ; on pourrait même en ces régions où la prosthèse d'un *s* est un phénomène courant dans la langue populaire, postuler **sprosenus* ; il reste qu'en aucun cas le double phonème grec *x* (= ks) ne peut donner *k* dans la langue locale. Tout en maintenant que l'emprunt de *sprochanus* au gr. byz. est probable, nous attendons que d'autres chercheurs proposent une explication satisfaisante de l'origine du signifiant.

1.3.10. *STADIUM*, gr. *στάδιον* (TH GR VII 637) «mesure linéaire», déjà en usage en lat. class. (cf. FOR V 618) est attesté dans les sources les plus anciennes de notre région ([91]), avec son sens originel, au niveau de la langue littéraire ; par ailleurs *stadium*, également documenté sous les formes *staggium* et *stazzium* a servi ultérieurement à désigner un type de terrain «tertre en milieu lagunaire, utilisé comme parc pour le bétail», et entre dans la composition de nombre de toponymes et d'anthroponymes. Il semble exclu que l'on puisse, comme le propose BATTISTI (DEI V 3623), faire dériver *staggium/stazzium* du nominatif de *statio*, qui a donné régulièrement *stazzone*, dont le sens est bien différent (cf. TOMM IV 1193, «boutique»). L'évolution phonétique de *stadium* à *staggium/stazzium* (avec la sonore dʒ) est normale (cf. ROHLFS I, §276), et le ravennate moderne conserve bien

(89) DEI 3604, par exemple, ne propose rien, BERSONI, dans *Note etimologiche e lessicali alto-italiana*, dans «Archivum romanicum», I, 1917, n° 514, avoue que l'origine du mot lui échappe ; DUC VI 338 rattache le vocable à la racine germanique *sproch*, qui a donné *sproccus*, «pousse», «rejet», car, dit-il, les *sprocarii* de Mantoue utilisaient des engins faits d'osier.

(90) Attestation relevée par FREY dans *Per la posizione dei dialetti veneti*, Venise-Rome, 1962, p. 122, a. 1521 «presenti i *sprocheni* de li diti officii».

(91) Surtout chez AGNELLO, voir p. 280 et 291.

l'articulation dʒ (*staz, / stadʒ*, dans ERC 578) ([92]). On peut cependant s'interroger sur l'évolution sémantique qui aurait conduit de la valeur de «mesure linéaire» à celle de «parc à moutons» : la distance est considérable, et semble infranchissable. Certes sur le signifié de *stadium* peut avoir agi l'influence de *stare, statio* (voir la définition de *staz* chez ERC : «negli *stazzi* stazionavano all'aperto o al chiuso pecore e bestiame») ; *stadium/staggium* serait-il en rapport avec *στάδιον*, «stade» ? Comme on le voit, le rapport sémantique entre *στάδιον* et *staggium* est loin d'être éclairci, mais doit-on renoncer pour autant à tout rapport entre cet étymon et les mots ravennates ?

1.3.11. *TUMBA*, «terrain surélevé dans une zone de lagune», gr. *τύμβος*, «tertre funéraire» (TH GR VII 2275), est abondamment documenté à partir de la fin du Xe s., dans la région de Ravenne, de Cervia, de Cesena, de Ferrare, etc., pour désigner d'une part, dans les marais salants, la partie surélevée où l'on dépose le sel : «area salinarum ... cum *tumba* in capite», et d'autre part un «terrain émergé dans la lagune, mis en culture» (le premier usage se raréfie dans nos sources après le XIIIe s., mais aucun concurrent n'est documenté, alors que *tumba*, avec son second sens tend à être remplacé par *corrigia* et *dossus*). Ce second sens est attesté également dans les sources vénitiennes, tant comme nom commun que comme toponyme, en certains points du Frioul, dans les documents anciens des Grisons, et par ailleurs en Sicile, dans les parlers modernes, où *timpi* a une valeur semblable. En rapport semble-t-il avec le sème de «surélévation», *tumba* désigne par ailleurs en Pentapole (Rimini, Senigallia, où les attestations remontent au XIIIe s.), et dans l'Exarchat (Ravenne, Faenza, Imola, Bologne, où le terme apparaît plus tardivement), une «propriété située sur une hauteur», puis par généralisation devient synonyme de *possessio* (Senigallia). L'emprunt hypothétique de *τύμβος* dans la région adriatique pose un certain nombre de problèmes, tant pour la forme que pour la date d'implantation du vocable : en effet, il reste à expliquer le changement de genre (mais ceci vaut également pour l'emprunt du latin chrétien *tumba*, «tombeau»), et surtout la présence de la voyelle *u* qui révèle en règle générale une adaptation ancienne du *y*. Par ailleurs l'aire de diffusion du vocable, qui, outre la côte adriatique, inclut l'ancienne Rhétie, la Sardaigne, la Wallonie, la Normandie (cf. REW 8977, FEW XIII[2] 410-411), pose problème ; on est amené à proposer une diffusion du vocable en plusieurs phases successives 1° diffusion sur un vaste territoire européen

(92) Pour les problèmes phonètiques et sémantiques, voir notre étude *De quelques cas d'étymologie ...*, déjà citée, p. 267.

d'une racine *tum*, avec le sens de «hauteur» (cf. lat. *tumulus*, lith., gall., etc.), qui justifient l'attestation du vocable dans des pays aussi éloignés et aussi isolés l'un de l'autre que la Wallonie, la Rhétie, la Sardaigne (on ne peut accepter l'hypothèse d'un emprunt au grec du latin de l'Empire, dont on n'a aucune trace, et qui de plus aurait une valeur («hauteur») beaucoup plus générale que l'étymon grec), 2° emprunt du mot gr. *τύμβος* par la langue chrétienne des premières siècles de notre ère, conservant le sens originel («tertre funéraire») du grec, 3° réactivation de la racine *i.e. tum*, à l'époque byzantine, au contact du gr. *τύμβος*, le long de la côte adriatique, de l'Istrie aux Marches, hypothèse que suggère la présence intense, vivante et productive de *tumba* ([93]) (alors que ce mot est inconnu dans les autres régions de l'Italie), que rend plausible la parenté à la fois des signifiants et des signifiés, et que conforte la présence de *timpi* en Sicile.

1.3.12. *VENDULUS*, «marchand de ...» (dans les composés *panivendulus*, *pescivendulus*) serait, selon l'hypothèse d'ALESSIO (DEI 4009) un calque du gr. *-πόλης*, attesté en grec dans les composés *ἰχθυοπόλης*, «marchand de poissons» (TH GR IV 732), et *ἀρτοπόλις*, «marchande de pain» (TH GR I 2085) ; cette hypothèse est d'autant plus probable que, d'une part, l'aire de diffusion de ces composés correspond nettement à certains territoires de l'Italie byzantine (*piscivendulus* à Ravenne, à partir du XIIIe s. (et même avant comme anthroponyme), et dans l'Exarchat, *panivendola*, dans l'Exarchat et dans la Pentapole, où cependant ce terme est concurrencé par d'autres composés, *piscivendolus* dans le Latium byzantin (à Rome, Velletri, Gaète), à Naples, etc.), alors que ces mots sont inconnus de l'ancienne Italie lombarde ([94]), et que d'autre part l'origine des métiers du pain et l'organisation de la vente du poisson sont liés à la civilisation grecque, comme nous l'avons démontré ; on remarquera aussi avec étonnement que dans nos documents le métier de «vendeur de pain» (distinct du *fornarius*, qui cuisait le pain) est toujours exercé par des femmes (on ne trouve pas la forme masculine correspondante), de même que n'est attestée en gr. class. que la forme féminine, et cette donnée, s'ajoutant à d'autres faits concordants, conforte l'hypothèse d'un calque.

(93) On relève les dérivés *tumbata*, avec un sens identique, à Faenza, et *tumbarius*, «cultivateur», dans les statuts de Cesena et de Senigallia.

(94) Dans l'Italie lombarde, le concept de «boulanger» est exprimé, du Nord au Sud, par *prestinarius*, *vendens panem*, *pancogolus*, *panetterius*, *fornarius*, *panifaculus*, *panicocula*, etc. (le concept est quelque peu divergent), et le concept de «poissonnier» par *venditor piscium*, *piscator*, *pescaiolus*, *vendens pisces*, etc.

1.4. *Réactivation d'emprunt ancien ou réemprunt*

1.4.1. *ANDRONA*, «ruelle», «égoût», selon les lieux, est certes le même vocable que le latin avait déjà emprunté au gr. *ἀνδρῶν*, «appartement des hommes» (TH GR I 666) et qui est attesté à l'époque impériale, avec le sens de «couloir» ; du sens de «couloir» (espace long et étroit), on passe aisément à celui de «ruelle» (déjà attesté dans les écrits chrétiens des premiers siècles de notre ère) ; l'étude de l'aire de diffusion d'*androna*, «ruelle», dans les documents médiévaux italiens, révèle avec évidence que ce vocable n'a survécu que là où s'exerçait une pression linguistique grecque, c'est-à-dire dans l'Exarchat (à Ravenne dès le VIIe s., puis à Cesena, Imola, Faenza, etc., avec le sens de «ruelle» : «in aliqua via vel *androna* ...», à Bologne et Ferrare avec le sens d'«égoût» : «purgare *andronam* comunem vel clavigam ...»), dans la Pentapole, de Pesaro à Ancône, et dans l'arrière-pays (Urbino, Osimo, Pérouse), en Vénétie (à Padoue), en Istrie (à Trieste) ; dans le reste de l'Italie, on relève, pour exprimer le concept de «ruelle» *viculus, callis, contrada, andictus, trasenda, classus, vanella*, etc. Que le mécanisme qui a favorisé la survivance d'*androna* dans les territoires byzantinisés à l'Adriatique septentrionale ne soit pas clair, ne peut qu'inciter à présenter les données de fait à la réflexion des chercheurs.

1.4.2. *ANFORA*, «unité de mesure du vin», est abondamment attesté dans nos sources, aussi bien dans l'Exarchat (à Ravenne à partir du VIe s. : «de vini *amfora* sol. XXXV», puis à Imola, Ferrare, Modène, Reggio, alors que les autres centres préfèrent *starium, corbis*), que dans la Pentapole (à Pesaro et Urbino, alors que des équivalents sont en usage dans les autres villes : *soma, salma, barilis, quartarola*, etc.), en Vénétie (à Venise, *amphora*, attesté à partir du XIIIe s., reste pendant des siècles l'unité de référence pour le vin), en Istrie (à partir du Xe s.), alors que le reste de l'Italie emploie *urna, decimata, congius, barilis, starium, quartara, brocus*, etc. La diffusion intense et prolongée (du VIe au XIIIe s. à Ravenne) de ce vocable dans des régions qui ont connu l'influence byzantine (alors qu'il a disparu de l'usage du reste de la Romania), avec une spécialisation très restreinte par rapport à son usage en latin classique (TH I 1985), incite à supposer que le développement constaté dans ces régions, n'est pas le simple prolongement de l'emprunt latin au gr. *ἀμφορεύς* (TH GR II 274) ; le résultat de notre enquête permet de mettre en lumière un phénomène spécifique des régions de l'Adriatique septentrionale : la réactivation d'hellénismes anciens, disparus du reste de la Romania.

1.4.3. *BUTIRUM*, «onguent», «crème», gr. *βούτυρον* (TH GR II 381), n'est attesté qu'un petit nombre de fois, et assez tardivement dans l'Exarchat (Imola, Ferrare, XIVe-XVe s.), mais la survivance, dans les dialectes septentrionaux (Venise, Vénétie, Ligurie, Romagne, Émilie), et dans le Latium de la forme paroxytone (*butí* à Ravenne, *butír, butiér, butíro*), qui s'oppose à l'emploi de la forme proparoxytone du toscan (*burro*), du méridional *burrë*, du fr. *beurre*, témoignant d'une introduction à une époque plus ancienne (soit dans le lat. class. : cf. *Note tironiane*, 109/39, soit dans le lat. chrétien, en raison de l'emploi de *botyron* dans l'*Itala* et chez les auteurs chrétiens), permet de voir en *butirum* un emprunt de l'époque byzantine, s'étant superposé à l'emprunt précédent (largement diffusé dans la Romania par les textes sacrés), lié peut-être à la suprématie des Byzantins dans l'art médical.

1.4.4. *CHORUS*, gr. *χορός*, a dans les sources ravennates un sens très précis, que nous n'avons relevé en aucune autre région, dérivé par métonymie du sens qu'il avait pris en gr. tardif (LAMPE 1527) «ensemble des chantres d'une église», passé dans le lat. chrétien ([95])) ; ce vocable désigne à Ravenne «utrumque Capitulum cardinalium et Cantorum, Procuratores aliquorum ex Suffraganeis Episcopis Abbates Monasteriorum et Primicerii Ecclesiae Parocchialum» ([96]) ; comme on le voit, l'usage du vocable est indépendant de l'emprunt du lat. class. (TH III 1022-1026) et sa valeur particulière, limitée à la capitale de l'Exarchat est sans doute à mettre en relation avec l'influence grecque à Ravenne dans le domaine de la religion, et plus particulièrement de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique.

1.4.5. *CLAMIS*, conserve, avec le sens de «manteau», un usage courant dans un certain nombre de territoires hellénisés : il est documenté du XIe au XIVe s. à Ravenne, et dans l'Exarchat, dans la Pentapole, à Pesaro, Senigallia, Osimo, en Vénétie, à Vérone et Vicence, en Istrie, à Pirano et Raguse, et à Rome ; *clamis* désigne dans nos sources deux objets distincts : en un premier temps, le manteau d'apparat des rois et des prélats («Ecce habemus pontificis *clamidem*» ([97])), puis au Bas Moyen Âge, le simple manteau pour homme ou pour femme, court ou long minutieusement décrit dans la réglementation du métier de tailleur «De *clamide* nigra ad usum mulieris vidue», et dans les inventaires. Il est certain que *chlamys*, emprunt du lat. class. (TH II 259) au

(95) Cf. DUC II 337, et *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1924-1953, vol. III, p. 1406.

(96) Dans AMADESIUS, *In antistitum Ravennatum Chronotaxim*, index du vol. III.

(97) Dans AGNELLO 372.

gr. *χλαμύς* (TH GR VIII 1518), dont il conserve la valeur de «manteau court», connut à la fin de l'époque impériale un essor important, et le port de la *chlamys* se diffusa largement en Occident jusqu'à l'époque carolingienne ([98]) ; parallèlement *chlamys* a pris une valeur nouvelle de «manteau d'apparat», telle que nous la trouvons documentée dans les sources les plus anciennes, à Ravenne et à Rome. Mais alors que ces deux usages disparaissent de l'ensemble de la Romania (en dehors des régions susdites, on relève en Italie les équivalents *mantellus*, *tabardus*, *gabanus*, etc.), les régions hellénisées de l'Adriatique supérieur conservent bien vivant l'emploi de *clamis*, pour désigner le «manteau ordinaire». On ne peut manquer, une fois encore, de relever la coïncidence.

1.4.6. *CRIPTA*, «entrepôt souterrain», n'est attesté qu'une fois dans notre corpus avec ce sens (dans CTER, n° 61, VIIIe s.) : «quarto latere *cryptas* et orto quem tenet theodorus», car le vocable constamment employé dans les contextes similaires est *canafa/canipa* (voir ce mot). Cette occurrence est très intéressante, car elle témoigne d'une tentative d'emprunt d'un mot, qui est abondamment documenté dans deux autres territoires hellénisés : le Latium byzantin et la Campanie ; le timbre de la voyelle (à Rome on relève *grepta*, à Naples *gripta*) indique bien que *cripta* n'est pas le développement du *crypta* classique (TH IV 1260, du gr. *κρυπτά*, TH GR IV 2015), ni du *crypta* chrétien diffusé dans toute la Romania ([99]), et qui reste un mot savant.

1.4.7. *DIPLOIS*, «manteau matelassé», gr. *διπλοΐς* (TH GR II 1552) «manteau drapé deux fois autour du corps», connaît un développement particulier dans divers territoires de l'ancienne Italie byzantine : dans l'Exarchat (*diplois* et attesté à Ravenne dès le IXe s., puis à Cesena, à Ferrare), dans la Pentapole, à Senigallia et Urbino, en Vénétie, en Istrie, dans le Latium byzantin, à Gaète, alors que ce vocable n'est pas documenté dans l'ancienne Italie lombarde. Il est permis de penser que ce mot emprunté au grec par le latin tardif (la plupart des attestations se situent entre le IVe et le VIIIe s. ; cf. TH V 1225) est resté limité aux sphères cultivées (on remarque que les écrivains qui ont employé ce vocable, JÉRÔME, PORPHYRE, etc. avaient une forte culture hellénique), et qu'il n'a connu une réelle implantation populaire (d'après l'environnement lexical où apparaît *diplois* dans les Statuts, il n'est pas permis de le considérer comme un mot savant) que dans les régions qui

(98) Sur le référent, cf. C. ENLART, *Le costume*, Paris, 1916, p. 15 : *Les vêtements masculins à l'époque mérovingienne.*

(99) Cf. REW 2343.

ont été en contact direct avec la langue grecque à l'époque de la Reconquista ([100]).

1.4.8. *EXENIUM*, gr. *ξένιον* (TH GR V 1646-7), «présent d'hospitalité», emprunté par le latin à l'époque impériale avec le sens de «petit cadeau» (FOR VI 449), connut une bonne diffusion dans la langue littéraire jusqu'à l'époque carolingienne, et dans la langue des institutions. L'usage très fréquent d'*exenium* et de ses nombreuses variantes ([101]) dans nos sources (nous avons relevé un centaine d'occurrences), d'abord dans les syntagmes libres chez AGNELLO ([102]), puis à partir de la deuxième partie du IXe s., dans une formule stéréotypée, apparaissant à la fin des contrats emphytéotiques, parmi la liste des redevances en nature : «*exenio* grano manulectile quartarium unum pullo pario uno», nous incite à poser le problème du rapport entre l'*exenium* exarchal et l'usage du latin littéraire et juridique ; d'autant plus que ce vocable dans nos sources présente un caractère technique très limité, que l'épicentre de cet usage est Ravenne (en effet c'est à Ravenne qu'*exenium* est le plus anciennement attesté et le plus régulièrement employé, bien qu'on puisse en déceler la présence, plus sporadique toutefois en Pentapole, en Vénétie, en Istrie, dans le Latium byzantin). Après avoir examiné minutieusement la distribution du mot en Italie et dans la Romania, sa fréquence, la variation de ses formes et de sa valeur sémantique, nous proposons le schéma de diffusion suivant : 1° *xenium* a pénétré largement les milieux cultivés occidentaux, au sens de «cadeau», peut-être sous l'influence des Écritures (*Vulgate*) et de la langue patristique (AUGUSTIN) ; 2° par ailleurs sous l'influence du *Digeste*, *xenium* et *exenium* se sont perpétués dans la langue juridique (de l'*Edit de Rothari*, jusqu'aux *Statuts de Pesaro*, *d'Ancône*), avec le sens de «don fait à un magistrat» (aucun de ces deux emplois n'est en relation directe avec l'influence byzantine) ; 3° dans les territoires occupés par les Byzantins, où le vocable peut-être réactivé par le contact avec une communauté grécophone, semble avoir fait partie, même de façon

(100) Notons toutefois que *diplois* n'a pas survécu, et n'est pas documenté en langue vulgaire.

(101) Les principales variantes, tant graphiques que phonètiques relevées, sont les suivantes : *hexenium*, *exsenium*, *ensenium*, *insenium*, *henxenium*, *enxegnum*, etc. (*xenium* n'apparaît que dans des écrits littéraires : chez CASSIODORE ou PETRUS DAMIANUS).

(102) On dénombre cinq occurrences d'*exenium*, dans le *Liber Pontificalis* d'AGNELLO, en emploi libre (voir p. 296 «et insuper centum alio solvo tibi ... pro *exenio*», etc.).

éphémère de la langue commune (voir AGNELLO à Ravenne, et le pape GRÉGOIRE à Rome ([103])), *exenium* en vient à désigner exclusivement une redevanche particulière, qui semble caractéristique des régions administrées par Constantinople. C'est donc cet usage technique de la langue notariale qui seul nous paraît résulter de l'influence byzantine.

1.4.9. *GAUSAPE*, «nappe d'autel», du gr. *γαυσάπης/γαύσαπος* (TH GR II 535) «grosse étoffe de laine», est très abondamment attesté en latin (FOR III 188), et la tradition veut que ce vocable d'origine orientale (DEG 213), bien que très rare en grec (une seule attestation chez STRABON), ait été un emprunt du latin à cette langue ; ce qui confirmerait l'hypothèse d'une origine hellénique de *gausape*, c'est sa bonne implantation dans l'Exarchat (à Cesena, Imola et Bologne), et dans sa zone d'influence (Émilie orientale), ainsi que dans la Pentapole (à Fano et Osimo), à Rome et en Istrie, alors que le mot est inconnu du reste de l'Italie. Toutefois la rareté des attestations en grec tardif, le fait que dans le *Corpus glossariorum* ... ([104]), le lat. *gausapa* soit glosé «*βαρβαρικόν παλλίον*», incite à faire des réserves sur l'origine byzantine de ce terme.

1.4.10. *LEBES*, comme nom de récipient (allant au feu ?) est fréquent dans les documents exarchaux (à Ravenne, à Imola, à Bologne), ainsi qu'en Vénétie (à Venise et à Vérone) ; le sens qui de dégage des contextes semble proche du *λέβης* grec (TH GR V 148), «marmite munie de pieds», et est celui que proposent ISIDORE et PAPIAS, alors que le latin *lebes* (cf. FOR III 718) avait pris une valeur nettement divergente («pelvis, malluvium»). Cette aire de diffusion restreinte à deux régions ayant eu un contact direct avec la langue grecque (le reste de l'Italie ne connaît pas ce vocable), le sens du mot proche de l'étymon grec, nous incitent à voir en *lebes* un emprunt au grec byzantin, plus qu'un prolongement du *lebes* latin, qui n'a pas laissé de trace notable dans la Romania. Ceci n'est toutefois qu'une hypothèse, que vient peut-être conforter une forme *mnépëtë*, relevée à Molfetta par REW 4960.

1.4.11. *LENA*, «manteau» puis «couverture», gr. *χλαῖνα* (TH GR VIII 1515), «manteau de laine et couverture» est attesté deux fois dans les sources ravennates de l'époque byzantine (cf. TJÄ n° 8, a. 564 : «*lena* vetere una ...») et postbyzantine, chez AGNELLO (p. 350) «exornatas *lenas* et cetera

(103) Dans *GREGORII papae registrum epistolarum*, II, p. 34 dans MGH, a. 598 : «de monasterio sub *exenii* quasi specie abstulisse».

(104) Cf. vol. VI, p. 485.

indumenta», avec le sens probable, d'après l'examen de l'environnement lexical, de «manteau» ; on peut évidemment penser que ces deux occurrences ne reflètent que le prolongement de l'usage latin bien attesté avec ce même sens (TH VII 870) ; cependant *lena* apparaît à plusieurs reprises à Venise, à Rome, dans les documents anciens de Bari et de Naples, avec le sens de «couverture» non-attesté en latin, et c'est cette même valeur que nous relevons à Bologne dans un inventaire du XIVe s. «capitale et cultra alba et una *lena* ...». L'ensemble de ces données nous inciterait à émettre l'hypothèse qu'il s'agit bien là d'un réemprunt de l'époque de la Reconquête, qui présente la bivalence sémantique de l'étymon grec.

1.4.12. *OBRIZUM*, «or fin», *OBRIZUS* (appliqué à l'or) «qui a subi l'épreuve du feu», est une adaptation tardive du gr. *ὄβρυζον* (TH GR V 1718), *idem.*, qui avait déjà été introduit dans le latin classique et tardif sous la forme *obrussa* (TH IX 155), avec le sens d'«épreuve», «preuve». Ce mot est très abondamment documenté dans nos sources sous des formes variables (*obriti, obrizi, obrigo, bricium*, etc.), du IXe s., chez AGNELLO ([105]), où son emploi est bien vivant, à 1020 environ, dans les actes notariés, sous forme d'un syntagme figé servant à évaluer, dans les clauses pénales des contrats emphytéotiques le montant de l'amende : «pene nomine auri *obrizo* uncias duas», principalement à Ravenne (où nous avons relevé plus de 100 occurrences), et dans l'Exarchat : *obrizum/obrizus* est attesté également dans d'autres territoires hellénisés (mais son emploi y est moins systématique) : dans la Pentapole, en Istrie, en Vénétie, dans le Latium byzantin, à Naples ; par ailleurs *obrizus* semble avoir connu un usage limité dans la chancellerie impériale du IXe s., qui ne se prolonge pas au-delà du Xe s. Ces données vont dans le sens d'un emprunt exarchal, ou même de manière plus générale des territoires hellénisés, du gr. *ὄβρυζον*, d'où il aurait pu être diffusé dans la langue de la chancellerie carolingienne. Au XIe s., à Ravenne, *obrizus* est très fortement concurrencé par des équivalents latins (*bonus, optimus, mundus, purissimus*, etc.), qui l'emportent pendant quelques décennies, avant que l'indication de la nature de l'or des clauses pénales ne disparaisse définitivement, à la suite d'une restructuration des modes de paiement ([106]).

(105) Cf. 367 : «nares sibi et aures ex *obrizo* fecit».

(106) On remarque la tendance, au début du XIe siècle, à ne plus accompagner *aurum* d'aucune épithète. On peut penser qu'à partir de cette date, une modification dans la situation monétaire a permis de garantir la pureté du métal : peut-être institua-t-on en Romagne des tribunaux d'experts pour contrôler la teneur en or des lingots et des pièces, selon le décret de Charles le Chauve de 864, ou bien

1.4.13. *PAPYRUS*, gr. *πάπυρος*, «papyrus», «corde» (TH GR VI 191, LSJ 130) est bien attesté en Pentapole avec le sens de «mèche de la chandelle» (à Pesaro, Urbin, Ancône), alors que dans l'Exarchat l'équivalent est *stopinus* (mod. *stupén*, cf. AIS 908). Comme on le voit, le sens attesté dans la Pentapole est nettement distinct du lat. *papyrus* (FOR IV 492), et ne peut être considéré comme son prolongement, d'autant plus que le même usage est documenté à Venise, en Vénétie, dans le Frioul, l'Istrie dans les parlers modernés, et à Rome dans les documents anciens ; par ailleurs, l'adjectif dérivé *papyrea* (herba), sous la forme *paviera*, apparaît dans l'Exarchat, pour désigner une sorte de jonc, et cet usage est commun à la Vénétie, au Latium, à la Provence, à la Catalogue. On peut donc avancer l'hypothèse que l'emploi de ces deux vocables est à mettre en relation avec une influence grecque directe, et que ceux-ci ne sont pas issus de l'emprunt latin.

1.4.14. *PARASIS*, gr. *παροψίς* (TH GR VI 559), «plat», est attesté dans l'Exarchat à partir du XIIe s. (d'abord à Imola, puis à Ravenne et à Bologne), dans la Pentapole, en Vénétie, dans le Latium byzantin, et à Naples. Il est peu vraisemblable que cet usage, vu son extension particulière, trouve son origine dans l'emprunt latin, employé surtout par des poètes et écrivains hellénisés (FOR IV 510). On peut supposer que *parasis* a été réemprunté par les parlers en contact direct avec la langue grecque ([107]), à l'époque de la Reconquête.

1.4.15. *PELAGUS*, «haute mer», et *PONTUS*, «mer», empruntés au gr. *πέλαγος* (TH GR VI 686), et *πόντος* (TH GR VI 1476), dont ils avaient conservé le sens originel, par le latin classique (FOR IV 553 et 734), avaient connu dans la langue littéraire une large diffusion : c'est pourquoi il convient de s'interroger sur le sens à donner aux quelques attestations de ces deux vocables relevées dans nos sources : *pelagus* apparaît à plusieurs reprises dans les documents revennates du Haut Moyen Âge, dans des registres variés, allant de la langue soutenue, à la langue familière (voir chez AGNELLO 366 «iace in cathaleta navis ... postquam ingressus *pelagus*, ... oppila os tuum») ([108]) ; par ailleurs *pontus* est documenté à la même époque dans

l'assemblée communale se portait-elle garante de la pureté de l'or, ainsi qu'un diplôme de Lothaire II de 945 l'ordonne pour la ville de Mantoue ?

(107) DUC V 84 relève dans *Constitutiones siculae* une attestation de *parapsides*, qui pourrait être l'indice d'un usage ancien du vocable dans l'Italie méridionale (cependant LGII n'en signale aucune trace).

(108) On relève par ailleurs chez AGNELLO (300, 364) et dans d'autres sources littéraires des emplois de *pelagus* d'un registre nettement poétique.

quelques récits au ton simple ; cependant rien ne prouve que ces quelques occurrences représentent un réemprunt de l'époque byzantine, d'autant plus que *pelagus* a connu dans les langues romanes, particulièrement dans la Péninsule ibérique, un large développement ([109]), avec le sens divergent de «trou d'eau». Beaucoup plus probant nous semble-t-il est l'usage bien implanté de *pelagus*, relevé à Ancône, à Venise, en Istrie, avec le sens de «haute mer», et même, par métonymie, de «barque de haute mer» qui survit dans les parlers locaux ; mais on le voit, l'implantation de cet hellénisme est sans doute postérieure à l'époque de la Reconquête, introduit au Bas Moyen Âge par les ports de Venise et d'Ancône. Quant à *pontus*, si l'on peut douter de l'origine byzantine de nos attestations anciennes, il est certain que le dérivé *πόντική* qui sert à désigner respectivement en romagnol et en vénitien la «taupe» et le «rat» (cf. rav. *ponga*, ERC 405, vén. *pantegana*, E.V. 119), est bien un byzantinisme.

1.4.16. *PITTACIUM*, «reçu», dont on peut relever plusieurs occurrences dans deux papyrus datables du début du VIe s. ([110]), reproduit le gr. *πιττάκιον* (TH GR 1128), «tablette de cire», que le latin avait emprunté tardivement (FOR IV 686) ; il ne fait pas de doute que cet emprunt, éphémère d'ailleurs (on ne relève aucune attestation ultérieure à Ravenne), est à mettre en relation avec l'influence du grec sur la langue locale (le même usage éphémère est attesté à Rome dans *Liber Pontificalis* ; par ailleurs ROHLFS, dans LGII 405 signale l'usage de formes issues de *pittacium* dans les Pouilles et en Calabre). On notera toutefois que cet emprunt est antérieur à l'époque de la Reconquête, et témoigne de l'importance des liens commerciaux entre Ravenne et Constantinople aux Ve-VIe s.

1.4.17. *PLATEA*, gr. *πλατεῖα* (TH GR VI 1179) «rue large», emprunté avec ce même sens, et bien implanté dans la langue latine depuis l'époque de PLAUTE (FOR IV 697), est abondamment documenté dans l'Exarchat et dans la Pentapole, avec son sens originel de «rue principale», du VIIe s. (cf. TJÄ p. 24 «nec non pariete a *platea*») au XIIIe s., époque à laquelle *platea*, «rue», après un période de transition où le vocable n'apparaît que dans des formules

(109) Pour la diffusion de *pelagus* dans la Romania, cf. REW 6369, et FEW VIII 160.

(110) On peut aisément dater ces documents par les noms des consuls et vice-consuls qui figurent dans les billets ; c'est ainsi que nous apprenons que les personnages dont il est question ont contracté leurs dettes pendant la période 475-510 ; il paraît donc logique de dater ces deux papyrus au début du VIe siècle.

stéréotypées, sort de l'usage, remplacé généralement par *via*. Ce sens de «rue» ne s'est perpétué, selon les résultats d'une enquête sur l'expression de ce concept, menée dans les documents anciens de l'Italie, que dans ces deux territoires byzantins et en Campanie (à Naples, les grandes rues sont appelées *platea*). Dans le reste de la Romania, sous l'influence de la Vulgate ([111]), *platea* prend un sens d'abord plus vague, d'espace non construit en milieu urbain (cette valeur est nettement attestée dans le Sud de la Pentapole et dans les Pouilles), puis celui de «place». Certes on pourrait considérer que la survivance du sens de «rue» est à mettre en relation avec une urbanisation développée à l'époque romaine : ce serait dans ce cas un latinisme ; mais on ne peut manquer de relever la coïncidence entre l'aire de diffusion de ce vocable et la présence byzantine. Nous conclurons donc, en schématisant une situation lexicologique complexe, que *platea* n'a conservé sa valeur originelle que dans trois régions où s'est exercée une pression linguistique grecque, et qu'on peut, avec un risque d'erreur limité, considérer cet emploi comme une réactivation d'un emprunt ancien.

1.4.18. *PRASINUS*, gr. *πράσινος* (TH GR VI 1566), «vert vif», apparaît dans les sources ravennates entre le VIe et le IXe s. (cf. TJÄ, p. 8 «camisia tramosirica in cocco et *prasino*» ; un usage similaire peut être relevé à Rome à la même époque ; c'est le même sens de «vert» qui survit également dans les dialectes méridionaux (cf. LGII 422). L'usage de *prasinus*, qui a duré tout au plus trois siècles, et doit être mis en rapport avec la présence byzantine, est à distinguer, nous semble-t-il, de la diffusion de *prasinus*, comme substantif, au sens de «pierre précieuse de couleur verte», à l'époque médiévale, sur un vaste territoire ([112]), et qui pourrait dériver d'un premier emprunt du vocable par la langue latine savante (FOR IV 847).

1.4.19. *PROXENETA*, gr. tard. *προξενητής* (LAMPE 1159) ([113]), est bien documenté dans les sources de l'Exarchat (à Bologne, à Imola, à Ferrare), et de la Pentapole (à Senigallia, à Ancône) du XIIIe au XVIe s., pour désigner

(111) Le sens de «rue» est net dans certains passages (*Prov.*, cap. I, 20, *Psaumes*, cap. 17, 43), alors qu'il est très imprécis («espace libre», «espace») dans *Esdras*, cap. 10, 9 : «et sedit omnis populus in *platea* domus dei», et dans *Rois* III, cap. 20, 34 «Civitates ... reddas, et *plateas* fac tibi in Damasco, sicut fecit pater meus in Samaria».

(112) Pour la diffusion de *prasinus*, «agate verte», voir REW 6730a, FEW IX 329.

(113) *προξενητής* n'est pas attesté avant le Ve siècle.

un «fonctionnaire communal chargé de la régularité des échanges commerciaux», en concurrence avec d'autres vocables, selon les lieux, *sensalis*, *cozzonus*, *messeta*, *sprocanus*, etc. ; hors de ces deux régions, le vocable n'apparaît que dans le Latium byzantin, à Rome et Gaète, et en Sicile (on remarquera que dans les régions hellénisées du Nord-Adriatique, c'est un autre hellénisme, *messetus/messeta* qui est documenté, alors que dans les provinces méridionales domine, dans une fonction similaire sinon identique, *catapanus/acatapanus*). L'hypothèse d'une origine byzantine de *proxeneta* serait donc probable, mais il se trouve que ce mot avait déjà pénétré en latin dès le premier siècle av. J.-C. (FOR IV 966), dans la langue satirique, avec le sens négatif d'«entremetteur», et avait connu dans la langue juridique tardive une large diffusion avec la valeur neutre d'«intermédiaire». Pour concilier ces données, qui rendent aussi vraisemblable le prolongement de l'usage latin juridique, qu'une ascendance hellénique directe, il convient de supposer que l'emprunt latin *proxeneta* a été réactivé dans les régions en contact, à l'époque de la Reconquête, avec la langue grecque (on notera que *προξενητής*, qui a survécu dans la langue moderne, avec ce même sens (MLHG VII 6147) devait être bien implanté) principalement dans l'Exarchat et dans la Pentapole. Cette proposition est confortée par l'emploi, dans les autres régions ayant subi l'occupation byzantine (Istrie, Vénétie, Pouilles, Sicile, etc.) de byzantinismes indiscutables, pour rendre ce concept.

1.4.20. *SCAULA*, c'est-à-dire **scaphula*, diminutif de *scapha*, emprunté par le latin (FOR V 361-362) au gr. *σκάφη* (L SC 1605), «embarcation légère», est attesté à Ravenne au début du XIIIe s. : «navigatores qui iverunt cum una *scaula* grani et fabe», et à Cervia au XVIe s. ; comme on le voit, le sens est celui d'«embarcation moyenne, servant au transport des marchandises et éventuellement de voyageurs» ([114]), de sorte qu'il est bien difficile de considérer *scaula*, comme un simple diminutif du lat. *scapha*, «canot», qui a survécu par ailleurs en français, en breton, en irlandais, etc. (cf. REW 7653 et FEW V 285), avec son sens originel. Si l'on sait par ailleurs que le gr. tard. *σκάφη* avait pris le sens de «bateau», et que, d'autre part, les formes diminutives dont le suffixe est dépourvu de valeur sémantique sont souvent l'indice d'un emprunt de l'époque tardive (voir *mastellus*, *rumbola*), on peut avancer l'hypothèse que *scaula* représente le résultat d'un réemprunt de *σκάφη* à l'époque de la Reconquête, que corroborent d'une part la remarquable

(114) Pour l'analyse du référent, cf. *Les noms d'embarcation*... déjà cité, pp. 46-47.

implantation de *scaula* à Venise, et d'autre part, l'emploi de la forme simple *scaba* en Dalmatie ([115]).

1.4.21. *SCINDULA*, «bardeau», à la différence de *scandula*, bien attesté en latin (FOR V 361), et qui survit dans la majeure partie de l'Italie et du domaine gallo-roman (cf. FEW XI 283-5), apparaît exclusivement dans les sources médiévales (du Xe au XIIe s.) de l'Exarchat (Ravenne et Imola), et de la Pentapole (Rimini). Cette forme *scindula*, nous semble plus proche du gr. *σχίδαξ* (étymon proposé par MEILLET) ([116]), et même de *σχίδα*, «morceaux de bois fendus, pour allumer le feu» (TH GR VII 1667), que la forme la plus communément répandue *scandula*, dont on explique le *a* par l'action du v. *scandere* sur l'étymon grec (voir FOR). En s'appuyant sur ces données, on peut émettre l'hypothèse que *scindula* représenterait la réactivation de la forme étymologique **schidula* (= *σχίδα* + suff. dimin. *-ula*), au contact de la langue grecque, dans un champ sémantique, celui du travail du bois, où la technique orientale était fort avancée, et a laissé d'autres traces.

1.5. *Hypothèses rejetées après examen*

1.5.1. *ANGARIA*, «corvée», représentant le gr. attesté tardivement *ἀγγαρείς* (L SC 7), *idem.*, est documenté dans les sources de l'Exarchat-Pentapole une vingtaine de fois, soit en position libre, aux IXe-Xe s., mais toujours dominé par *opera*, soit aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge, dans quelques formules stéréotypées («cum *angariis* et *perangariis*»). Ce qui nous incite à rejeter l'hypothèse d'un byzantinisme exarchal, c'est d'une part la distribution du vocable dans les sources italiennes, qui couvre tout aussi bien des anciens territoires de l'Italie byzantine que ceux de l'Italie lombarde, et, d'autre part, l'étude des fréquences d'emploi, qui révèle que le vocable a atteint son apogée dans la deuxième moitié du IXe s., c'est-à-dire à l'époque carolingienne. Il est aisé de comprendre qu'*angaria* qui avait connu un large usage chez les juristes latins (TH II 43 et sq.), passa dans la langue de la chancellerie impériale, et fut diffusé non seulement dans toute l'Italie, mais sur un vaste territoire roman (cf. REW 37).

(115) Voir KAHANE, *The lingua franca in the Levant, Turkish nautical Terms of Italian and Greek origin*, Urbana, 1958, n° 844.

(116) Cf. E. M. 599 ; une hypothèse nettement distincte est proposée par WALDE-HOFMANN, dans LEW II 488, qui rattache le vocable au verbe *σκεδάννυμι*, «disperser avec violence», «répandre de tout côté», qui nous paraît peu convaincante pour des raisons sémantiques.

1.5.2. *APODISSA*, «attestation», «récépisse», gr. *ἀπόδειξις* (TH GR 1400-2), «démonstration», «preuve», n'est pas un vocable dominant dans l'Exarchat (il est totalement absent de Ravenne, et apparaît, toujours concurrencé par *bulletta*, au XIVe s., à Faenza, Forli, Cesena, etc.), ni dans la Pentapole (seules les villes du Sud de la région, Ancône, Osimo, Gubbio, etc. attestent l'usage de ce vocable, à partir du XIVe s.). Si l'on examine la diffusion d'*apodissa* en Italie, on constate : 1° que ce mot est attesté dans les grands ports de l'Adriatique et de la Tyrrhénienne (Venise, cf. CORT 191, Gênes, Ancône, ou dans des centres proches des grands ports comme Sienne) ; 2° que la date d'attestation du vocable, en cas divers points est presque simultanée (dans la première partie du XIVe s.) ; 3° que la forme la plus ancienne (*apodissa*), passe à *apolicia*, puis à *polizza* en langue vulgaire, selon un phénomène caractéristique des emprunts tardifs ([117]). De tout ceci on conclura qu'*apodissa* n'est pas un byzantinisme de l'époque de la Reconquête, mais un emprunt au grec introduit ultérieurement.

1.5.3. *BASTASIUS*, «porte-faix», pour lequel différents étymons grecs ont été proposés ([118]), n'apparaît à Ravenne que dans un seul document du XIVe s., alors que ce même concept est exprimé dans les recueils de Statuts successifs, et dans les autres villes de l'Exarchat, par d'autres signifiants (*portator, barilator, asinarius*) ; par contre *bastasius* est abondamment attesté dans les ports de la Pentapole (Rimini, Senigallia, Ancône), et dans la plupart des territoires hellénisés du Nord-Adriatique (Venise, Istrie, Dalmatie), et survit par ailleurs (*bastasu/vastasu*) dans les dialectes méridionaux (cf. LGII 82). Cette distribution permet d'induire une pénétration du vocable en deux phases distinctes : 1° emprunt à une époque ancienne en Grande-Grèce (cette hypothèse est confirmée par la présence du mot en Provence et en Catalogne) ; 2° réintroduction de *bastasius*, comme l'indiquent l'aire de diffusion et l'apparition tardive du vocable (non attesté avant le XIIe s.),

(117) Cf. REALL 433 et CORT LII, 21.

(118) Soit *βάσταξ* selon les plus anciennes hypothèses (MEYER-LÜBKE), étymon qui tout d'abord avait été reconstruit, et qui en réalité est attesté au VIIe siècle chez THEOPHILUS PROTOSPATHARIUS (TH. GR. II 182, SOPH. 303), soit **βαστάσιος*, selon SALVIONI, dans «Revue de dialectologie romane», IV, 1902, p. 201, ALESSIO, dans «Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica», LXVII, 1939, p. 146, et ROHLFS, LGII 82, soit *βαστάζων*, participe présent de *βαστάζω*, selon HADZIDAKIS et KOUKOULES, dont l'hypothèse est rapportée par H. et R. KAHANE dans «Romance Philology», XVII, 1963-4, p. 314, soit **βαστάκιον*, que l'on peut induire d'un *ξυλινοβαστάκιον* attesté dans un papyrus égyptien du VIe siècle ap. J.-C.

à la suite des échanges économiques avec l'Orient méditerranéen (ainsi Ravenne aurait reçu *bastasius* soit de Rimini, soit de Venise).

1.5.4. *BOCHALE*, «cruche», correspondant au gr. *βαύκαλις* (TH GR II 199), «vase au long col» ([119]), est absent de Ravenne et de l'Exarchat dans sa quasi totalité, où ce même concept est rendu par *megetta*, *garaffa* et *urceus* (cf. *mzèta*, ERC 348, *örza*, ERC 363) ; seules les villes situées aux marges de la région (Bologne, Ferrare, ainsi que les villes de l'Émilie occidentale) connaissent un usage ancien de *bochale*, qui en revanche est documenté dans toutes les villes de la Pentapole, à partir du XIVe s. ; dans les parlers modernes, *boccale* est bien vivant, selon AIS 968, dans les dialectes des trois Vénéties, de l'Émilie, des Marches, du Latium, et du Sud de la Péninsule (LGII 82). Une telle distribution, qui exclut l'Exarchat, interdit de voir en *bochale* un emprunt de l'époque de la Reconquête (au VIe s. déjà, à Ravenne, le concept de «cruche» est rendu par *orciolus* ([120])) ; il est probable que le vocable a été introduit ultérieurement dans la Péninsule, comme le confirme sa documentation tardive ; cette proposition s'accorde bien avec une hypothèse d'ALESSIO (LEX ET 42), qui voit en *boccale*, non pas le continuateur du gr. *βαύκαλις*, mais de l'emprunt arabe *būqāl* (en effet un emprunt direct au gr. aurait entraîné la conservation de la diphtongue *au* dans les dialectes méridionaux). Ainsi se trouverait justifiée la distribution sur la côte adriatique (où l'on a d'autres exemples d'arabismes à la même époque) et dans le Sud, ainsi que l'absence du vocable à Ravenne et en Romagne, région peu ouverte au commerce oriental.

1.5.5. *BROCCA/BROCCUS*, «cruche» n'est attesté qu'une seule fois dans l'Exarchat (à Imola, au XIIe s.), où le concept de «cruche» est rendu constamment par *urceus/urcea*, moins rarement en Pentapole, où cependant ses occurrences sont peu nombreuses et tardives (à Ancône, à partir du XIVe s., et à Iesi) ; d'après l'examen de la situation actuelle, il apparaît (cf. AIS 967 et 969) que *brokka* domine l'usage dans le Sud des Marches, l'Ombrie et le littoral de la Toscane, alors que les variantes d'*orsa/orć* couvrent le Nord des Marches et la Romagne. Il est difficile, dans ces conditions, d'accepter

(119) Sur la nature du *βαύκαλις*, voir l'étude de A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN dans «Byzantion», XXXV, 1965, pp. 208-220, *Du κώθων au βαυκάλιον*. Cf. aussi J. POHL dans *Le Français moderne*, t. 35 (1967), pp. 5-10.

(120) Dans TJÄ n° 8, a. 564 : «*orciolo* aereo uno ... *orciolo* testeo valente nummos octuginta».

l'hypothèse d'ALESSIO et de BONFANTE ([121]) d'un byzantinisme exarchal : même si l'étymologie grecque de *broccus* est acceptable (à partir d'un mot de la famille de *βρέχω*, «mouiller») ([122])), pour des raisons phonétiques et sémantiques, la distribution du vocable, bien implanté également sur la côte tyrrhénienne septentrionale, inviterait à voir en ce vocable un emprunt tardif, diffusé à partir des grands ports comme Gênes, Pise, Ancône, etc. Mais dans une telle perspective, comment expliquer l'absence de *broccus/brocca* de l'Adriatique septentrionale ?

1.5.6. *CALATHUS*, «corbeille», du gr. *κάλαθος* (TH GR IV 860), *idem.*, n'apparaît que trois fois dans les documents anciens de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole (deux occurrences chez AGNELLO, une autre à Iesi au XVIe s.) ; le concept correspondant est exprimé le plus souvent par *cista* ou *canistrus*, et n'a laissé aucune trace dans les parlers modernes de ces régions (cf. *zest* dans ERC 684) ; par contre *calathus*, «corbeille», «hotte», et *coltus* au sens de «tiroir», est abondamment documenté à Venise et en Vénétie, et dans les parlers modernes *calto/colto/coto* est resté bien vivant dans ces régions, et son usage s'étend même, selon AIS 895, jusqu'à l'Istrie. Il est permis en conséquence d'avancer deux hypothèses : ou bien nos attestations révèlent une tentative d'emprunt de *κάλαθος* à l'époque de la Reconquête, éliminé dans l'Exarchat et la Pentapole par des concurrents bien implantés (hypothèse que corrobore l'usage généralisé de *colto* en Vénétie), ou bien nos trois occurrences ne sont que des latinismes (le contexte littéraire d'AGNELLO ne permet pas de lever l'ambiguïté), car *calathus* avait connu dans la langue latine (TH III 125) un emploi très large, dont il reste quelques traces dans les langues romanes (REW 1488). Cette deuxième proposition semble la plus probable, en raison notamment de l'absence de *calathus* dans les documents romains anciens (présentant souvent des byzantinismes parallèles

(121) Respectivement dans DEI 604, et dans «Biblos», 1951, pp. 384-387, en appendice à l'article *Note sui nomi della guancia e della mascella.*

(122) L'étymologie grecque est probable, soit que l'on parte de *πρόχους*, (dérivé de *προχέω* «verser») qui a exactement le même sens, et que l'on explique la modification de l'initiale par l'influence de *broccus* «qui a les dents en avant» ou par sonorisation de l'occlusive initiale (cf. DEI I 604), soit que l'on parte d'un substantif dérivé du verbe *βρέχω*, «mouiller», «arroser», avec la voyelle thématique *o*, que ce soit *βροχίς*, attesté chez PHANIAS avec le sens d'«encrier» (LSJ 331, TH. GR. II 435) comme le suggère VENDRYES dans l'article *Remarques sur les graffites de la Graufesenque*, dans «Bulletin de la Société linguistique de Paris», XXV, pp. 39-40, ou tout autre vocable non-attesté de la même famille.

aux byzantinismes exarchaux), et dans les parlers méridionaux (aucune trace de *κάλαθος* dans LGII).

1.5.7. *CAZA*, «puisoir», qui pourrait représenter le gr. *ἀκάτιον* (TH GR I 1175), «coupe de forme allongée» ([123]), est attesté sporadiquement dans l'Exarchat (à Ferrare et Bologne principalement), et dans la Pentapole ; sa documentation ancienne, avec le sens d'«unité de mesure des céréales», est limitée à Pesaro et Senigallia ; par contre son usage tant ancien que moderne est bien implanté dans l'Italie nord-orientale (cf. AIS 983, «écumoire», 983 CP, «cuiller à pot») avec comme épicentre Venise. Si l'on admet l'étymologie hellénique proposée par ALESSIO, on pourrait donc considérer *caza* comme un byzantinisme ancien (une attestation de *catia* dans le *L. P. romanus* renforce les présomptions), n'ayant pas réussi à s'implanter de manière durable dans l'Exarchat et dans la Pentapole (par ailleurs, *cassa*, «grande cuiller à manche» (REW 2434, FEW III 1600), de la Provence, largement diffusé vers la Péninsule ibérique et la France septentrionale, pourrait, dans l'hypothèse d'une étymologie grecque, représenter un emprunt plus ancien, introduit par Marseille). L'incertitude quant à l'étymologie, et la faible implantation de *caza* dans l'Exarchat-Pentapole justifient nos réserves.

(123) L'étymologie de *caza* a donné lieu à de nombreuses discussions, mais il semble, comme l'indique ALESSIO dans DEI II 832 qu'il faille éliminer l'étymon *κνάθος* (cf. MEYER-LÜBKE dans REW 2434 et dans «Wiener Studien», XXV, 1903, p. 96 : *Zu den lateinischen Glossen*), et le diminutif *κνάθιον* ou *κνάθειον* (cf. G. BAIST, dans «Romanische Forschungen», I, p. 106 : *Die hochdeutsche Lautverschiebung in Spanischen*, et WARTBURG dans FEW III 1600) pour des raisons phonétiques (passage de *kya* (*kja* ou *kwa*) à *ka*) alors que sur le plan sémantique, *cyathum* et *cazza* sont fort proches (cf. *Dict. des Ant.* I, 1675, PAULY WISSOWA XI[2] 2242-6) ; même un recours à l'influence de l'ar. *taça* sur **ciattia*, que suggère ROHLFS, dans LGII 281, est peu satisfaisant, puisque *cattia* est attesté dans *Glossae SERVII grammatici* (*Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, vol. II, p. 521), dont le manuscrit date du Xe-XIIe siècle, mais dont la rédaction peut remonter au VIIIe (cf. PAULY-WISSOWA, II A2 1834, art. SERVIUS GR., et LINDSAY, «Classical Review», XXXI, p. 191), donc avant que ne s'exerce pleinement l'influence arabe. ALESSIO fait dériver *cattia* (*caça, capsia, cassia, caza*) su grec *ἀκάτιον*, «barque de pêche», diminutif de *ἀκάτος* «navire léger», qui n'est attesté qu'une fois il est vrai au sens de «vase à boire» (chez ATHÉNÉE (IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.), dans *Deipnosophiste* lib. II, 782). Cette étymologie cependant est satisfaisante puisque 1° sur le plan phonétique elle rend très bien compte de toutes les formes, 2° on trouve à Bologne le signifiant *acaça*, fort proche de l'étymon, 3° le passage sémantique du concept de «barque» à celui de «vase à boire» est déjà attesté pour *cymbium* (gr. *κυμβίον*), à la fois «nacelle» et «coupe en forme de nacelle» (TH. IV 1589).

1.5.8. *CIATUS*, «hanap», gr. *κύαθος* (TH GR IV 2042), «tasse», qui n'a pas laissé de trace dans les parlers modernes de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole, apparaît dans les documents anciens de ces régions avec une fréquence faible (chez AGNELLO, à Bologne, et en un seul point de la Pentapole), alors que le concept correspondant est exprimé le plus souvent par *modiolus*, *miula*, *bicherius*, *gottus* (cf. ERC 253 *got*) ; comme *cyathus* a connu, à l'époque classique, une certaine diffusion (TH IV 1581), on peut penser que ces diverses attestations ne sont que le prolongement de l'usage classique (et ceci est probable en ce qui concerne AGNELLO) ; cependant si l'on regarde la distribution du vocable dans l'ensemble des documents médiévaux italiens, on constate, qu'outre aux points énumérés ci-dessus, *ciatus* apparaît, avec une intensité remarquable à Venise et dans la Vénétie, dans les Marches méridionales, et à Rome, mais avec une implantation moins incontestée. On ne peut en conséquence écarter totalement l'hypothèse que cette distribution, réduite à quelques zones bien délimitées de l'Italie (le mot n'a pas d'autre descendance dans les langues romanes), soit le résultat d'un réemprunt de *κύαθος* à l'époque de la Reconquête, dans les territoires du Nord-Adriatique ; mais comme on le voit, cette proposition qui repose sur des données peu nombreuses et ambiguës, doit être avancée avec prudence.

1.5.9. *CROCEUS*, «jaune», peut être soit le continuateur du lat. *croceus*, attesté dans la langue des poètes (TH IV 1212), soit un réemprunt direct du gr. *κρόκεος* (TH GR IV 1987), «jaune safran», comme pourrait le laisser supposer une diffusion de cet adjectif, limitée cependant, dans les sources de l'Exarchat (à Ravenne, Bologne, Ferrare), et du Latium byzantin ; la première hypothèse semble la plus probable, d'autant plus que l'usage de *croceus* est limité à la langue de l'Église, et n'apparaît que dans le syntagme figé *crocei coloris*. Cependant l'attestation d'un mot proche : *crocina/crosina/grosina*, «manteau», à Ravenne, et surtout à Venise, s'il est bien issu du gr. *κρόκινος*, doublet de *κρόκεος* ([124]), inciterait à considérer plus sérieusement l'hypothèse d'un réemprunt des adjectifs *κρόκεος* et *κρόκινος* (cf. DUC II 665 «*crocea* : genus chlamydis»), dans l'Exarchat et la Vénétie, à l'époque de la Reconquête.

1.5.10. *EXARCHUS*, gr. *ἔξαρχος* (DUC GR 395), sert par trois fois, entre 1158 et 1177, à qualifier, dans les sources ravennates, la fonction politique de l'archevêque : «Anselmus s. Ravenn. eccl. Archiep. et ejusdem civitatis

(124) Voir l'étymologie dans LEX ET 130 ; par ailleurs les linguistes ont souvent attribué à *crosina* une origine germanique ou celtique (cf. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 129 s.v. *crux*).

exarchus» : il faut entendre ici *exarchus* au sens de *princeps*, valeur qu'indiquent les gloses gréco-latines «*ἔξαρχοι*: principes, proceres». Ces trois attestations sont d'autant plus surprenantes, qu'après la période de la domination byzantine, *exarchus*, avec son sens originel de «chef d'une province, représentant l'empereur» (cf. DUC GR et TH V 1178), n'apparaît plus. Ce qui est intéressant sur le plan linguistique et culturel, est le fait que deux archevêques ravennates du XIIe siècle aient éprouvé le besoin, afin d'affirmer leur pouvoir, de recourir à un mot d'origine hellénique ; ce phénomène, en raison de la nature des contextes, semble n'avoir concerné que la langue d'un groupe d'hommes cultivés ; il convient donc de souligner les limites de ce fait de langage, qui n'en reste pas moins révélateur d'un aspect de la culture ravennate du XIIe siècle.

1.5.11. *FIALA*, 1° «bouteille», 2° «unité de mesure pour l'huile», gr. *φιαλή* (TH GR VIII 786), «coupe», dont on relève quelques rares attestations dans les documents anciens de l'Exarchat, de la Pentapole et de Rome, mais qui est fortement implanté à Venise et en Vénétie, et dans une moindre mesure en Istrie, pourrait, au vu de cette aire de diffusion caractéristique, révéler un réemprunt du vocable de l'époque byzantine : en effet même si le mot avait déjà pénétré dans le lat. cl. (FOR IV 656), son emploi y était fort limité, et n'a pas laissé de trace dans la plupart des langues romanes (l'implantation de *fiolo* en provençal, cf. REW 6466 et FEW VIII 786, peut avoir pour origine un hellénisme ancien introduit par Marseille). Cependant la présence sporadique du vocable dans l'Exarchat, dans la Pentapole, et à Rome, son absence totale des territoires méridionaux, la transformation du signifié de *φιαλή* (DUC GR II 1675), que ne reflète pas l'usage médiéval italien, rendent fragile l'hypothèse d'un réemprunt.

1.5.12. *LATOMUS*, «tailleur de pierre», gr. *λατόμος* (TH GR V 129), *idem.*, n'apparaît que deux fois, dans nos sources, dans des documents semi-littéraires ravennates des Xe-XIIe s., le concept étant rendu en règle générale par *lapidarius*, et ultérieurement en vulgaire par *taiapiera* ; une des rares occurrences relevées à Rome au XIVe s. «peyrerius sive *latomus*» ne permet pas de lever l'ambiguïté sur le niveau d'emploi et le degré d'implantation de *latomus*, qui vraisemblablement ne représente qu'un prolongement savant de l'usage classique (TH VII[2] 1010).

1.5.13. *MARANGONUS*, «charpentier», serait, selon l'hypothèse d'ALESSIO ([125]) un calque du gr. *πελεκᾶς* (TH GR VI 696), «pivert» (de la famille

(125) Dans «Lingua nostra», XII, 1951, p. 68.

de *πελεκάω*, «travailler le bois à la hache»), qui par suite d'une confusion avec *πελεκάν* (TH GR *ibid.*), «oiseau de mer», aurait été rendu à tort en latin par *mergus* (FOR IV 106), «plongeon» (dont *marangonus* est l'augmentatif), calque spécifique de l'Exarchat ; si l'hypothèse du calque est vraisemblable ([126]), par contre l'étude de la distribution de *marangonus* nous interdit de le considérer comme un élément ancien et indigène de l'Exarchat : en effet ce vocable n'apparaît que très tardivement dans nos sources (fin XVe siècle), et est constamment concurrencé, à la fois comme nom commun et comme anthroponyme, par *carpentarius*, attesté dès le XIIIe siècle, et qui subsiste dans le parler romagnol contemporain (voir AIS 219 et 221), à côté de *marangon* (cf. MORRI 471, ERC 317) ; *marangonus*, par contre, apparaît très solidement et anciennement implanté à Venise et en Vénétie, et en Pentapole dans la seule ville d'Ancône. De ces données, il est permis de conclure, que si *marangonus* est bien un calque du gr. *πελεκάν*, son origine dans les parlers italiens est à rechercher dans les ports qui, comme Venise ou Ancône, avaient des relations étroites avec l'Orient méditerranéen.

1.5.14. *METRUM*, «unité de mesure (de l'huile)», gr. *μέτρον* (TH GR V 943), «mesure», est abondamment attesté dans les villes de la Pentapole maritime (de Rimini à Ancône), à partir du début du XIVe siècle, alors que dans la Pentapole intérieure et dans l'Exarchat sont en usage, selon les lieux, des vocables bien différents (*folietta, quartirone, quartarolus, fiella*, etc.) ; par ailleurs *metrum* (*miro*, sous sa forme vulgaire, cf. CORT 143) domine totalement l'usage à Venise (pour l'huile et le vin), et de manière moins exclusive dans la Vénétie et l'Istrie. Il est aisé de conclure que *metrum* n'est pas un byzantinisme ancien, d'autant plus qu'on n'en relève aucune trace à Rome, ni dans les régions méridionales, mais bien un emprunt tardif, diffusé à partir des ports du Nord-Adriatique en relation avec Constantinople.

1.5.15. *RUMBOLUS/RUMBOLA*, «fronde», gr. *ῥόμβος* (TH GR VI 2419) «objet animé d'un mouvement rapide», gr. tard. *ῥόμθα* (DUC GR II 1306) «toupie», apparaissent à première vue comme des diminutifs soit de *ῥόμβος/ῥόμβα*, soit de *rhumbus*, emprunté au grec à l'époque classique (FOR V 237), avec des sens divers ([127]) ; ce vocable figure un petit nombre de fois dans les sources de l'Exarchat-Pentapole entre le IXe et le XIVe siècle, ainsi que le verbe dérivé *rombollare* (qu'il s'agisse d'une machine de guerre

(126) Cette hypothèse est d'autant plus satisfaisante qu'en gr. mod. *πελεκάνος* représente à la fois le pélican et le pivert.

(127) Les sens attestés en lat. class. sont nettement différents : 1° «fuseau», 2° «losange», 3° «turbot».

ou d'un jeu) ; en dehors de ces régions, *rumbola* est inconnu, alors qu'apparaît un mot proche, particulièrement en Toscane, contamination de *fionda* (lat. *fundula*) et de *rhumbus*, *frombola*, accepté par la langue italienne (TOMM II 935 ; voir aussi en Romagne, *sfrombla*, avec la préfixe expressif *-ex*, ERC 523). Comme on le voit, une origine exarchale du mot est peu probable, toutefois non exclue, du fait 1° de l'antériorité de l'attestation ravennate du IXe siècle, 2° du fait que dans toute la Romania (REW 7291, FEW 381), seule l'Italie centro-septentrionale connaît le sens de «fronde», 3° que les formes de l'Italie méridionale issues de *ῥόμβος*, relevées par ROHLFS 442, avec des sens variés, comportant toutes le suff. *-ulus/-ula*, caractéristique de l'époque tardive, tout comme les formes exarchales.

1.5.16. *ZONA*, «ceinture», du gr. *ζώνη* (TH GR IV 58), *idem.*, déjà emprunté par le lat. class. (FOR VI 86), est peu documenté dans l'Exarchat (dans la langue semi-littéraire d'AGNELLO, et à Bologne), et dans la Pentapole n'apparaît qu'à Ancône, dans les *Statuts du XVIe s.*; l'analyse des contextes tend à prouver que *zona* appartenait à la langue soutenue (quelques occurrences relevées à Rome confirment le niveau limité de l'emploi) : il semble évident que *zona* représente un usage savant, à mettre en relation avec la tradition classique, et non pas, en dépit de l'aire de diffusion, avec une pression linguistique byzantine.

2. Étude de synthèse

2.1. *Données quantitatives*

2.1.1. Nombre de byzantinismes pertinents distincts

Si l'on fait la somme des vocables des quatre premières catégories que nous avons considérées, on arrive à un total de 75 éléments pertinents (80, si l'on admet quelques vocables de la cat. 5), dont l'introduction ou la réactivation dans la langue locale paraît remonter à l'époque de la Reconquête.

À cette série de mots, pour lesquels nous possédons un ensemble d'informations suffisant qui permette de comprendre le mécanisme de l'emprunt, on peut ajouter d'une part quelques vocables isolés, relevés également dans notre corpus de textes anciens, pour lesquels nous n'étions pas en mesure de mener une enquête (une vingtaine de vocables, pour la plupart attestés chez AGNELLO ([128]), tels que *alithinus*, «pourpre» gr. *ἀληθινός*, *anagrifus/*

(128) Voir notre article *De l'origine des hellénismes d'AGNELLO*, dans RLiR, XLVIII, 1976, pp. 255-298.

anagliftus, «sculpté», gr. *ἀναγλυφός*, etc.), et, d'autre part, un contingent d'une trentaine de mots encore vivants dans les dialectes locaux, qui représentent donc des hellénismes bien implantés au niveau populaire (tels que *cuturan*, «chaussures montantes», gr. *κόθορνος*, *ganasa*, «mâchoire», gr. *γνάθος*, *garoj*, «cerneau de noix», gr. *καρύδιον*, etc.). En totalisant ces trois catégories d'éléments, il apparaît qu'il nous a été possible de repérer, sur les anciens territoires de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole, un ensemble de 120/130 byzantinismes pertinents.

Il est bien évident qu'une documentation, en majeure partie bien postérieure à la présence byzantine, qui ne reflète par ailleurs qu'un seul registre de langue, et qui est fort limitée quant aux secteurs sémantiques, ne peut donner qu'un faible aperçu de ce qu'a pu être l'apport linguistique byzantin dans sa réalité. C'est pourquoi il convient d'admettre que l'élément emprunté a dû sensiblement dépasser l'ampleur de ce qu'il nous a été donné de découvrir.

2.1.2. Fréquence relative de l'élément pertinent

Pour préciser l'importance de cet élément dans la langue, nous avons jugé utile d'en mesurer la fréquence relative dans notre corpus, à partir d'un échantillon représentatif, formé de 63 pages, correspondant à la combinaison des différentes catégories de documents et des différentes sous-périodes : la fréquence relative obtenue est de 0,17 (soit un byzantinisme pour 595 unités de signification). Comme on le constate, cette fréquence est faible ; et si l'on remarque en outre que notre échantillon comprend pour une part importante certains des documents les plus sensibles à l'influence byzantine (papyrus du VIe siècle, *Liber pontificalis* d'AGNELLO, statuts de Ravenne, etc.), force nous est de considérer cette fréquence déjà faible, comme surévaluée par rapport à la fréquence moyenne de l'élément pertinent dans l'ensemble du corpus.

2.2. *Étude diachronique du phénomène*

2.2.1. Phase initiale

Notre relevé systématique permet d'émettre l'hypothèse que les byzantinismes ont pénétré dans la langue locale partiellement avant la date de la Reconquête, au cours d'intenses échanges économiques, et grâce à la présence d'une communauté grécophone établie à Ravenne (dont témoignent les documents), et sans doute dans les villes principales de nos territoires : en effet le texte où l'on relève la plus grande densité d'hellénismes lexicaux

est le remarquable papyrus de 564, dont on ne peut admettre qu'ils se soient implantés dans le système linguistique en moins de deux décennies. D'après notre documentation, on pourrait supposer que la deuxième moitié du VIe siècle marque l'apogée de l'influence byzantine, pour le nombre de vocables recensés, pour leur fréquence relative, pour leur éphémère attestation.

2.2.2. Variation d'intensité du phénomène

La variation d'intensité de l'influence byzantine au cours de la période (milieu du VIe-milieu du VIIIe où perdure le contact entre les deux cultures, est difficile à saisir, en raison du déséquilibre de notre corpus (prédominance des documents du VIe s.). Un sondage limité que nous avons effectué sur des papyrus de nature similaire des Ve, VIe, VIIe siècles, donne des résultats si discordants qu'ils semblent dus au hasard. Dans ces conditions, même si des variations d'intensité ont eu lieu, nous sommes contrainte de renoncer à les appréhender.

2.2.3. La phase de déclin

Il est plus aisé de suivre la phase de déclin de l'influence byzantine : dès le IXe s., une partie de l'élément actif de la période précédente disparaît (10 des 46 mots attestés auparavant ne sont plus documentés par la suite) ; par ailleurs, un certain nombre de vocables passent d'un emploi libre à un emploi figé, limité à quelques formules (c'est le cas pour *obrizus*, *podismus*, *platea* = rue), liées à quelques langues spéciales (notariale, administrative, technique). Par contre, à partir du XIIe siècle, nous découvrons dans les documents un ensemble de vocables d'origine byzantine, qui jusque-là n'avaient pu apparaître, en raison de l'étroitesse des champs sémantiques des sources les plus anciennes, avec lesquelles contrastent les nouveaux genres de documents qui se multiplient (inventaires, testaments, statuts de villes) ; en outre l'attitude linguistique des notaires, des rédacteurs de statuts se modifie : elle devient moins puriste, laisse filtrer des vocables d'un registre populaire jusqu'alors exclus (c'est le cas de *mastellus* par exemple). Mais en même temps, s'amorce un autre mouvement ; à partir du XIVe siècle, l'intensification des échanges économiques ouvrit les régions à des influences étrangères, provoquant une nécessaire uniformisation des lexiques locaux, qui entraîna le remplacement de beaucoup des byzantinismes de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole (ainsi disparurent *ardica*, *androna*, *anfora*, *podismus*, etc.). Vers la fin du XVIe siècle, plus de la moitié des hellénismes repérés (soit environ 40), n'apparaît plus.

2.3. *Étude spatiale du phénomène*

2.3.1. L'unité Exarchat-Pentapole

D'après notre étude, plus de la moitié des éléments pertinents sont communs à la fois à l'Exarchat et à la Pentapole, ce qui révèle une certaine unité, mais nous remarquons que ces éléments communs diffèrent parfois par la forme (*podismus/podumum*), ou par le sens (pour ce même vocable le sens d'«arpentage» dans l'Exarchat, s'oppose à celui de «contrôle des mesures» en Pentapole) ; ces cas de divergence de la forme ou du sens nous inciteraient à penser que chacune des deux provinces jouissait d'une certaine autonomie, et que les emprunts sont le résultat d'un processus indépendant (il faut observer cependant que la disparité des sources des deux régions, beaucoup plus anciennes et «notariales» pour l'Exarchat, plus tardives et plus «statutaires» pour la Pentapole, interdit une stricte comparaison).

2.3.2. Concordances avec les autres territoires hellénisés

La concordance la plus forte s'établit avec Venise, qui présente, particulièrement avec l'Exarchat, une forte proportion d'éléments communs (entre autres, *anfora, calmerium, canipa, mastellus, panteria, scafa*, etc.), alors que les éléments communs à Venise et à la Pentapole sont rares (si l'on fait abstraction des byzantinismes tardifs, non-pertinents de notre point de vue) ; il est malaisé de comparer les emprunts exarchaux et ceux de l'Istrie-Dalmatie, dans la mesure où les documents sont de nature très différente : une approximation permet d'évaluer à un tiers les éléments communs à ces deux groupes de régions non-contiguës. Ces affinités subsistent encore dans les dialectes actuels, si bien qu'on est en droit de parler d'une unité de l'hellénisme nord-adriatique.

L'Exarchat a également un certain nombre de byzantinismes communs avec le Latium (Rome), particulièrement ceux que révèlent les sources les plus anciennes (*letanea, cerostatus, platoma*, etc.). Au contraire, les concordances avec le Sud hellénisé sont assez limitées (notre comparaison porte essentiellement sur la Campanie et les Pouilles) : *ana* (Bari-Ravenne), *platea, obritius* (Exarchat-Naples). Il semblerait que le Latium constitue un terrain de transition entre les hellénismes de la zone septentrionale adriatique et les hellénismes méridionaux. Notons enfin que seul l'Exarchat présente, dans ses documents anciens, des éléments d'origine grecque encore en usage dans les dialectes méridionaux (calabrais ou sicilien), tels que *arna, bisalis, celeuma, tulpa*, etc.

2.4. *Étude linguistique*

2.4.1. Le matériau emprunté

Comme nous l'avons vu par notre section 4, une proportion élevée d'éléments que nous jugeons pertinents était déjà en usage dans la langue latine classique ou tardive : ce phénomène nous paraît hautement significatif, car ces vocables dont le signifiant était déjà adapté à la langue locale, et dont le sens n'était pas totalement inconnu, pouvaient plus aisément que les autres franchir le barrage qui s'opposait à l'intégration d'éléments nouveaux, hétérogènes de surcroît. Cette catégorie représente plus du quart de l'ensemble.

Les vocables d'origine grecque directe sont, dans plus d'un cas sur deux, déjà attestés en grec classique, ce qui peut fournir une indication intéressante sur la stabilité du lexique grec (ceci explique que les mêmes mots aient pu être empruntés, à des siècles de distance, en Provence ou dans la Magna Graecia, puis dans notre région (cf. *μάκτρα, πιττάκιον,* etc.), parfois d'ailleurs sous les formes ou avec des valeurs divergentes). Une partie réduite de l'ensemble (moins d'un tiers), est empruntée au grec tardif, ou présente une évolution significative par rapport au grec classique (*βήσ(σ)αλον, βρύλλον, γράμματα, δρόμων, νάρθηξ,* etc.).

Si nous examinons la masse des emprunts, d'un point de vue grammatical, nous constatons que les substantifs dominent (90%), alors que les mots-outils sont rares (2 unités), et de plus, figés dans des formules. Cette répartition est un indice indiscutable du fait que les possibilités d'interférence entre les deux systèmes en présence étaient réduites (car les unités de première articulation sont les éléments qui peuvent le plus aisément passer d'un système à un autre système linguistique) ; ces données, indiquant qu'il n'y eut pas de situation généralisée de bilinguisme, sont confirmées par la très faible proportion de calques parmi l'élement emprunté (le calque nécessite la compréhension de l'autre système), et par la prédominance de mots composés, qui sont plus transparents que les mots simples.

Si l'on s'interroge sur la cause de ces emprunts, il apparaît que dans un nombre très limité de cas, le vocable grec vient combler une lacune du système latin (voir *ana*, par exemple), mais la plupart du temps la cause de l'emprunt est extra-linguistique : le mot correspond à une innovation technique, à un objet nouveau, d'origine orientale (cf. *ardica, dromonis*, etc.) ; très rarement, on peut déceler dans ce recours à un mot étranger, lorsque l'équivalent latin existe, une pression culturelle de la langue grecque, fort exceptionnelle et souvent éphémère (voir l'emploi d'*agirium*, équivalent

parfait d'*argentum*, l'emploi de *deipara*, qui double le latin *dei genitrix*). Dans l'ensemble, comme on le voit, le phénomène d'emprunt est donc lié à la supériorité technique ou culturelle que détenaient les Grecs dans certains domaines : organisation de la vie sociale, poids et mesures, topographie urbaine, construction, aménagement de la maison, techniques de la chancellerie, de la boulangerie, du travail des métaux précieux, du verre, fabrication d'étoffes de prix, de vêtements, d'ornements, navigation fluviale et maritime, agriculture, chasse, etc.

2.4.2. Traitement du matériau

Notons tout d'abord que le premier choix inconscient qui s'opère, lors de l'intégration d'éléments de la langue donneuse dans le système d'accueil, s'établit entre calque (c'est-à-dire traduction du signifiant) et adaptation phonétique et morphologique de la forme étrangère : nous avons vu que dans ce cas précis, le calque, en raison des conditions de contact entre les deux langues, reste exceptionnel ([129]).

Dans la moitié environ des cas d'adaptation, le signifiant latin est régulier (l'adaptation s'opère selon des lois connues : *y* en *i* ou *e* vulgaire (*ἔνδυμα, endema*), *ei* et *ē* en *i* (*βήσ(σ)αλον, bisale*), aspirées grecques *ph, th, kh* rendues respectivement par *f, t, k* (*σκάφη, scafa*) ; parfois ces lois sont celles de la romanisation locale : ainsi le phénomène caractéristique du romagnol de syncope de la prétonique explique-t-il le passage de **brileta* (dérivé de *βρύλλον*) à *berleta*). Les phénomènes les plus courants, qui, au contraire, dans 50% des cas, troublent l'adaptation régulière sont l'aphérèse (*cona* de *εἰκόνα*), la contamination du signifiant par un mot voisin par la forme et le sens (*ἔνδυμα, intima*, sous l'influence de l'adj. latin *intima*, etc.), l'hypercorrection qui peut rendre compte d'autres anomalies (le *p* de *canipa*, issu d'un *b* grec, réagit contre la lénition de la forme vulgaire *caneva*, etc.).

Sur le plan morphologique, l'adaptation est la plupart du temps régulière, et ne pose même aucun problème ; notons quelques particularités : forme latine tirée de l'accusatif grec en *a* (*androna, cona*), passage de certains mots en *-ēs*, à la déclinaison en *-us* (*κειμηλιάρχης, cimiarcus*), changement de genre (*τύμβος, tumba*) ; dans un nombre limité de cas, on relève des traces de la flexion grecque, mais il s'agit de formes savantes (acc. *endothim*, abl. *sisimate*, pl. *celeumata*). Un fait significatif est la forme diminutive qu'assume

(129) À vrai dire, l'alternative n'existe que lorsque les éléments sont susceptibles d'être traduits : dans notre cas, on peut évaluer à 1/10 de l'ensemble (8 unités environ), le nombre d'emprunts pour lesquels ce choix était possible.

fréquemment l'étymon (*mastellus, scaula, scindula*, etc.), et qui s'accorde bien avec une tendance générale de la formation lexicale de la basse latinité ([130]).

Le traitement sémantique n'est pas toujours analysable, dans la mesure où certaines étymologies sont incertaines, et certains étymons ne sont pas attestés. Dans les cas où nous avons des données suffisantes, une fois sur 3 environ, nous ne constatons aucune évolution entre le mot grec et le mot emprunté (cf. *arna, bisalis, dromonis, matra*, etc.) ; un autre tiers des emprunts est caractérisé par une restriction de leur valeur sémantique, soit que l'un des sens seulement ait été emprunté, soit que le système emprunteur ait donné à un vocable abstrait et générique, un sens concret et limité (*ana, anfora, bravium, cona*, etc.). Dans le dernier tiers prédomine l'évolution métaphorique (*ἀμπράκιον*, «courroie», *ambrasis*, «bande de terre», etc.), ou métonymique (*φράκτης*, «palissade», *fracta*, «haie», «rangée d'arbres», etc.). Il est permis de penser que ces changements sémantiques ont eu lieu lors du passage du vocable d'un système à l'autre (mais nous n'avons aucune preuve qu'ils n'aient déjà été amorcés en grec tardif).

2.4.3. Degré d'implantation des emprunts

Nous tenterons, grâce aux données objectives dont nous disposons, de déterminer quel fut le degré d'implantation de l'élément emprunté que nous avons isolé :

Plus que la fréquence absolue (dont il ne faut pas oublier qu'elle est souvent fonction de la nature du corpus : voir les cas extrêmes de *obritius*, et de *pletria*), c'est la fréquence relative qui est la donnée significative, c'est-à-dire la situation dominante ou non-dominante du vocable par rapport à d'éventuels concurrents : parmi les vocables examinés, environ un tiers dominent le champ lexical de manière absolue (sans aucun concurrent), au moins pendant un temps donné, comme par exemple *androna* (= ruelle), *ardica, berleda*, etc. ; d'autres dominent, pour un laps de temps, un concurrent, qui souvent finira par prévaloir (cf. *aquimulus* et *molendinum, platea* et *via*, etc.) ; des autres, dont la majeure partie n'est pas classable en raison de l'insuffisance de notre documentation, se détache un sous-groupe de vocables toujours marginaux (1/8 de l'ensemble environ), tels que *argirium, artoclea, cripta*, etc.

Le niveau d'emploi du vocable peut fournir dans bon nombre de cas une information significative : ainsi un groupe de mots, assez réduit d'ailleurs,

(130) Cf. VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, Paris, 1967, §189.

n'apparaît qu'à un niveau de langue supérieur (c'est le cas de certains hellénismes d'AGNELLO, tels que *glossocomum, pelagus*, etc.) ; d'autres, au contraire, bien que transmis par la langue écrite, révèlent par leur forme qu'ils appartiennent au registre populaire (près de la moitié de l'ensemble : *caneva, cona*, etc.), hypothèse que confirme souvent leur attestation dans des documents en langue vulgaire.

Plus que toute autre indication, c'est la survie des emprunts dans les parlers locaux, qui apporte l'information la plus indiscutable sur leur implantation : la moitié environ des vocables jugés pertinents étaient encore en usage à la fin du XVIe s. ; un tiers d'entre eux est encore vivant dans les dialectes modernes. Notons enfin qu'une vingtaine de byzantinismes ont été productifs (cf. *podismus/appodimare/appodimator*, etc.), ce qui constitue un autre preuve de leur vitalité.

De l'ensemble des informations dont nous disposons, il nous est permis d'induire qu'environ les 2/3 des éléments considérés ont été, durablement ou éphémèrement bien intégrés dans les parlers locaux, et dans une forte proportion, au niveau de la langue parlée et populaire.

2.5. *Considérations de synthèse sur le phénomène*

La masse relativement réduite des emprunts, leur nature grammaticale et sémantique, qui est l'indice d'un contact superficiel et limité entre les deux communautés linguistiques, contrastent avec la situation historique (économique et politique) décrite au §0-3 ; ce contraste nous invite à aller au-delà des apparences, et à soumettre à la critique les données concernant les conditions de contact entre les langues grecque et latine.

2.5.1. Conditions réelles de contact

Le premier point à préciser est celui de l'importance démographique de l'élément grécophone dans la population. D'après l'ensemble des documents que nous possédons, contemporain du phénomène étudié, dont nous avons analysé les anthroponymes ([131]), il est permis d'induire (au moins en ce qui concerne Ravenne et Rimini) que la colonie d'origine orientale atteignait 15% au maximum dans la classe supérieure, 20% dans la classe moyenne, à peine 5% dans la classe inférieure, et qu'elle était concentrée dans les villes. Plus essentielle encore que l'évaluation démographique est l'examen des

(131) Voir dans «Studi mediolatini e volgari», XXI, 1973, pp. 7-37, notre étude *Les noms de personne dans les papyrus ravennates du VIe siècle.*

virtualités de contact entre les deux communautés : il ressort de l'étude des anthroponymes que les mariages mixtes n'étaient pas exceptionnels, mais on peut douter de leur impact sur la situation linguistique générale ; au niveau de la vie publique, les contacts ont dû être multiples, puisque la plupart des postes de l'administration (d'après l'analyse des noms) étaient occupés par des Grecs, qui devaient nécessairement être en relation directe avec la population locale ; bien moindre a dû être l'action de l'armée, qui, même si elle était principalement composée d'individus d'origine orientale, n'était pas, par sa fonction, tenue d'être bilingue et en étroit rapport avec la communauté latinophone. Le rôle essentiel pour la création d'une zone de contact entre les deux langues revient sans doute aux activités économiques des grands marchands et industriels orientaux qui devaient, de même que les artisans et les petits commerçants, par nécessité, traiter avec la population locale (n'oublions pas, par ailleurs l'importance des objets importés ou des innovations techniques, qui contribuent efficacement à créer un secteur de bilinguisme limité au lexique). Pour donner leur juste dimension à ces diverses occasions d'interférence entre les deux systèmes, il est indispensable d'affronter le problème de la langue qui dominait aussi bien dans l'administration exarchale que dans les échanges commerciaux : nous avons tout lieu de penser que cette langue était un latin riche en hellénismes lexicaux.

Ces conditions de contact que nous venons d'induire, pouvaient être amplifiées ou réduites par une autre donnée : la durée de ces mêmes conditions. Or il semble que la population grécophone et particulièrement les classes supérieure et moyenne qui avaient acquis des biens fonciers ([132]) aient eu tendance à s'établir à demeure, fait qui devait entraîner, au bout de deux générations, une totale assimilation à la culture et à la langue latine ; par contre, il est probable que les hauts fonctionnaires, et les contingents de l'armée aient été constamment renouvelés. C'est donc parmi les membres de l'administration, et parmi la catégorie des *negotiatores*, importateurs, armateurs, etc., très mobiles, que durent se prolonger au maximum les conditions optimales d'un contact entre les deux langues.

Une autre donnée déterminante est l'attitude culturelle de chacun des groupes linguistiques en présence : quel était, aux yeux des locuteurs latins le prestige de la langue grecque, et vice-versa ? D'après une étude précise

(132) De nombreux papyrus (cf. MAR 108, 115, 123, etc.), et régestes du CTER témoignent, par des achats et ventes de domaines, par des contrats emphytéotiques, de l'installation de familles d'origine orientale, dans les villes de Ravenne et de Rimini et leurs alentours.

menée sur le révélateur que constitue l'anthroponymie, il est certain que le latin était la langue de prestige, de promotion sociale pour les grécophones, alors que par ailleurs existait chez les locuteurs latins, outre un sentiment de supériorité culturelle, une tendance à l'anti-hellénisme (due aux conditions politiques), allant en s'amplifiant à la fin de la période, susceptible de renforcer le rejet de la langue grecque.

L'ultime facteur qui, à l'évidence, scella le destin de l'élément byzantin emprunté, fut l'interruption définitive par laquelle, dès 750, l'Exarchat et la Pentapole étaient coupés du monde hellénisé : on peut penser en effet que vers 800, par suite de l'assimilation des groupes grécophones, il n'existait plus dans les régions considérées, à part peut-être dans les communautés religieuses, de groupes homogènes de culture hellénique, susceptibles de vivifier l'élément emprunté, dont la partie la moins bien implantée fut rapidement rejetée (Venise et l'Istrie, au contraire, restées politiquement liées à Constantinople, non seulement conservaient, mais accroissaient, grâce à d'intenses échanges économiques au cours des siècles ultérieurs, la masse de leurs hellénismes) ; c'est pourquoi lors de l'ouverture de ces régions à des influences extérieures, les byzantinismes survivants, rendus vulnérables par leur isolement lexical, furent souvent remplacés par des vocables d'extension plus vaste, et d'origine latine pour la plupart.

2.5.2. Les domaines de la suprématie hellénique

Ainsi analysées, les conditions de contact apparaissent en réalité peu favorables aux interférences entre les deux systèmes linguistiques.

Les seuls points où des interférences étaient susceptibles de se créer, étaient ceux où les Grecs pouvaient exceptionnellement s'imposer par une supériorité indiscutée : principalement dans le domaine des diverses techniques, qui, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, fournissent une forte proportion des byzantinismes inventoriés. Ces emprunts sont dus à la nécessité.

Il existait par ailleurs quelques secteurs culturels limités, où la langue grecque jouissait d'un prestige certain : le domaine de la religion d'une part, et celui des sciences d'autre part. Ici l'emprunt ne relève pas toujours de la nécessité, mais reflète souvent une véritable «mode» culturelle.

Les causes du prestige de la culture grecque dans le domaine religieux sont multiples : elles résident d'une part dans la tradition hellénique générale de l'Église primitive, et d'autre part dans l'histoire spécifique de la région qui accueillit un grand nombre de moines, lesquels fuyaient les persécutions dans leur patrie : il en résulte une situation privilégiée, que l'on constate tant au niveau de la langue (11 éléments pertinents se rattachent à ce secteur

sémantique), qu'à travers la culture des écrivains locaux (PETRUS CHRYSOL., AGNELLO), à travers certains caractéristiques du rite liturgique, à travers l'importance du culte des saints orientaux.

Dans le domaine des sciences, un relevé systématique des hellénismes chez les écrivains contemporains (PETRUS CHRYSOL., CASSIOD., JORDANES, etc.) met en évidence le volume des mots grecs savants (dont certains sont le résultat d'un libre choix entre un vocable latin et le recours à l'emprunt), se rapportant essentiellement à la géographie, à l'histoire, à l'astronomie, à la mécanique, à la médecine, à la musique.

2.5.3. Les tendances du système linguistique

Après avoir souligné combien les conditions objectives et subjectives étaient susceptibles de s'opposer, sauf en des secteurs précis, à une pénétration massive d'éléments grecs dans la langue latine locale, il convient d'examiner à présent si les tendances du système linguistique, particulièrement du système lexical de cette époque, ne contribuait pas à réduire davantage encore la virtualité des interférences.

D'après une étude statistique que nous avons menée sur les sources du Ve-VIIe siècle (documents notariés, écrits semi-littéraires, inscriptions), il ressort que le nombre d'éléments lexicaux inconnus à la langue classique, est, de manière surprenante, fort réduit (moins de 3% de néologismes chez CASSIODORE, 0,03% chez JORDANES), et de plus on remarque que les innovations repérées sont en général des dérivés de vocables classiques ; il semble qu'il ait existé, au moins au niveau de la langue écrite, un rejet des mots nouveaux, d'autant plus marqué que ces mots s'écartaient de la norme lexicale latine (d'où, comme nous l'avons constaté, un système d'adaptation phonétique des emprunts qui respecte les lois de l'accentuation latine, d'où la fréquence des parétymologies qui ont pour finalité de rendre le mot étranger faussement transparent à un locuteur latin (cf. *monstraticus, intima,* etc.), d'où le sort privilégié des emprunts anciens réactivés avec un sens nouveau, ou réempruntés). La résistance à l'hétérogénéité a donc pu jouer un rôle capital.

Il n'est pas exclu que ces conclusions suscitent l'étonnement, voire le scepticisme : on ne peut en aucun cas perdre de vue les traits fondamentaux qui caractérisent la situation du grec dans l'Italie reconquise, c'est-à-dire l'opposition entre, d'une part, le prestige incontesté de la culture latine, provoquant l'assimilation des populations grécophones et le rejet du grec de la part des populations latines, et, d'autre part, l'apport technologique de la

culture byzantine ; il était donc logique que la domination politique de la *Pars Orientis* se trouvât limitée dans son influence à quelques secteurs sémantiques, et n'entamât pas profondément les assises de la latinité ([133]).

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ABBRÉVIATIONS

Les ouvrages de référence sont cités selon les sigles suivants :

AGI	«Archivio glottologico italiano».
AGNELLO	*AGNELLI Liber Pontificalis*, dans MGH, *Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saec. VI-IX*, éd. O. HOLDER-EGGER, Hanovre, 1878.
AIS	J. JUD et K. JABERG, *Sprach- und Sachsatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz*, Zofingen, 1928-1940.
ALI	*Atlante linguistico italiano*, resté incomplet et inédit, conçu dans les années 1930-1940, par M. BARTOLI.
ALTAM	A. ALTAMURA, *Dizionario del dialetto napoletano*, Naples, 1957.
ARN	F. ARNALDI, *Latinitatis italicae medii Aevi Lexicon imperfectum ab a. 476 usque ad a. 1202*, dans ALMA, 1950-1964.
BLAISE	*Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, Strasbourg, 1954.
BOERIO	*Dizionario del dialetto veneto*, Venise, 1867.
BOURASSE	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie sacrée*, 2 vol., Paris, 1851, tomes 11 et 12 dans MIGNE, *Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique.*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, t. XI, éd. E. BORMANN, Berlin, 1888.
CGLat.	*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, éd. G. GOTZ et G. LOWE, Leipzig, 1888-1923.
CORT	*M. CORTELAZZO, L'influsso greco a Venezia*, Bologne, 1970.
CTER	*Codex traditionum Ecclesiae ravennatis*, éd. FANTUZZI, dans *Monumenti ravennati ...*, vol. I, pp. 1-84, Venise, 1801.

(133) La matière de cet article est plus amplement développée dans *Étude des hellénismes lexicaux de l'Exarchat de Ravenne et de la Pentapole*, consultable sous forme de micro-fiches dans les bibliothèques, et reproduite par ailleurs sur papier par l'Atelier de Reproduction des Thèses de Lille (disponible chez l'auteur, 5 rue Mignon, 75006 Paris).

DEG	P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1968 et sq.
DEI	C. BATTISTI, G. ALESSIO, *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, Florence, 2e éd., 1966.
DELI	M. CORTELAZZO, P. ZOLLI, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, Bologne, 1979-1985.
Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vol., Paris, 1924-1953.
DUC	D. DUCANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Paris, 1840.
DUC GR	D. DUCANGE, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*, Lyon, 1688.
E. M.	ERNOULT-MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris, 1960.
ERC	L. ERCOLANI, *Vocabolario romagnolo-italiano*, Ravenne, 1971.
E.V.	A. PRATI, *Etimologie venete*, Venise-Rome, 1968.
FANT	M. FANTUZZI, *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo*, Venise, 1801-1804.
FEW	W. VON WARTBURG, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1922-1965.
FOR	A. FORCELLINI, *Totius latinitatis Lexicon lucubratum a J. FURLANETTO auctum et emendatum a V. DE VIT*, Prati, 1858-1879.
GLE	P. SELLA, *Glossario latino emiliano*, Cité du Vatican, 1937.
GLI	P. SELLA, *Glossario latino italiano*, Cité du Vatican, 1944.
KRIARAS	E. ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιονικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας*, vol. I, Thessalonique, 1968.
LAMPE	*A patristik greek lexicon*, Oxford, 1961.
LEX ET	G. ALESSIO, *Lexicon etymologicum – Supplemento ai dizionari etimologici latini e romanzi*, Naples, 1976.
LEW	WALDE-HOFMANN, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1938-1954.
LRW	G. KÖRTING, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, Paderborn, 1901.
LGII	G. ROHLFS, *Lexicon graecitatis Italiae Inferioris*, Tübingen, 1964.
LLI	M. KOSTRENĆIĆ, *Lexicon latinitatis Iugoslaviae*, A-K, Zagreb, 1969 et sq.
L.P.	*Liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Romae*, éd. DUCHESNE, Paris, 1886-1957.
LSJ	LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1956.
MAR	C. MARINI, *Papiri diplomatici*, Rome, 1805.

MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica ab anno Christi 500 usque ad annum 1500*, Hanovre, Berlin, 1826-1934.
MLHG	Δ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΣ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Γλωσσῆς*, Athènes, 1953-1958.
MOR	A. MORRI, *Dizionario del dialetto romagnolo*, Faenza, 1840.
PAPIAS	*Vocabularium* ou *Elementariae doctrinae rudimentum*, Milan, 1476.
PETR CHRYS	PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS, *Sermones*, dans MIGNE, *Patrologiae cursus completus : Patres latini*, tome XII, col. 183-680.
REALL	H. et R. KAHANE, *Reallexicon der Byzantinistik*, fasc. 3, 4, 5, *Abendland und Byzanz*, col. 126-576, Amsterdam, 1972.
REW	W. MEYER-LÜBKE, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 5e éd., Heidelberg, 1972.
RIS	L. MURATORI, *Rerum italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1725-1751.
RLiR	«Revue de linguistique romane».
ROHLFS	*Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, I, *Fonetica*, Turin, 1966.
SOPH	E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, New-York-Leipzig, 1888.
TARL	A. TARLAZZI, *Appendice ai monumenti ravennati ...*, Ravenne, 1869-1876.
TH	*Thesaurus linguae latinae*, Berlin, Göttingen, etc., 1900 et sq.
TH GR	H. ESTIENNE, *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, revu par HASE-DINDORF, Paris, 1831-1865.
TJÄ	O. TJÄDER, *Die nichtliterarischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700*, Lund, 1955.
TOMM	TOMMASEO-BELLINI, *Nuovo dizionario della lingua italiana*, Turin, 1865-1879.
TON	L. TONINI, *Storia di Rimini*, Rimini, 1848-1882.
UNG	G. UNGARELLI, *Vocabolario del dialetto bolognese*, Bologne, 1901.
ZRPH	«Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie».

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NORMANS AND BYZANTIUM 1071-1112

Introduction

The years between 1071 and 1112 can be seen as an era in which relations between the Normans in southern Italy and Byzantium passed what was probably their most dramatic period. It was an age dominated by increasingly daring and far reaching ambitions on the part of the Normans who, growing in influence and power from their humble beginnings as groups of hired mercenaries, often fighting against each other in the employ of local Lombard elites or Byzantine catepans, became the major power in the south. Through their machinations Byzantium lost its last foothold in the west with the fall of Bari to Robert Guiscard in 1071. Thereafter Norman ambitions, as embodied in Guiscard and his son Bohemond, lay in the Byzantine lands of the Balkans, culminating in the invasion of Albania in the 1080's. The failure of this expedition did not end Norman involvement in Byzantine affairs, and as the First Crusade headed east among its main contingents was a force led by Bohemond, who, along with his nephew Tancred, was to play a major part in that enterprise. The ensuing struggles over Antioch between Bohemond and the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus were eventually to lead to the second major invasion of Albania in 1107, under the aegis of that Norman prince.

Such are the main Norman protagonists and events of the period under consideration, but the full story does not end with them. Throughout these years the Byzantine Empire under Michael VII, and later under Alexius I, carried on relations with the lower elements of Norman warrior society, either by hiring them as mercenaries or through backing their attempts at revolt against Hauteville rule, and the nature of these relations will be a major consideration in this essay.

The character and course of Byzantine-Norman relations at that time sheds a great deal of light on a number of important factors. On the one hand, it is possible, through such a study, for one to come to a better understanding of Byzantine attitudes towards the Normans : did they view them merely as 'Frankish barbarians' who may have been excellent soldiers, but who were

still beyond the pale, or were there subtler factors involved in the colouring of Byzantine attitudes towards an individual or a distinct group of people ? With this in mind, I hope to show that the Normans represented an aristocratic-military ideal which appealed to the Comnenian court, an ideal which is implied throughout the pages of Anna Comnena.

On the other hand, this essay will also explore Norman attitudes towards Byzantium, and how the events of this period provide us with an insight into the character of Norman society in Southern Italy. However, I shall not only be examining attitudes, but also the very dynamics of Byzantine-Norman relations, that is to say, the instability of Norman society, highlighted by its contacts with the stability of Byzantine political theory. In this way, I hope to show how an analysis of political, military and social relations between two groups of people can shed light on the character and structure of their respective societies.

Part I

Byzantine Efforts to bring the Normans within their Orbit after the loss of Bari

The years following the death of Basil II in 1025 were, as D. M. Nicol has stated, "a disastrous age" for the Eastern Empire ([1]). It was a period marked by a diminished treasury, currency debasement and an increase in military pressure on the Byzantine frontiers by Turks, Pechenegs, and Normans ([2]). Inroads were continaully being made into imperial territory and the Byzantines, with the loss of their old army recruiting grounds in Armenia, had to rely increasingly on the employment of mercenaries to fight their wars and to defend frontiers. In Italy the Normans had established themselves and increased their power bases at the expense of Byzantium, culminating in the lengthy siege and eventual capture of Bari by Robert Guiscard on 16 April 1071 ; an event which, as Chalandon made clear, marked the definite end of Byzantine domination in Italy ([3]). Later in that same year the emperor's

(1) D. M. Nicol, "Byzantium and the Papacy in the eleventh century", in D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium : its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World* (London, 1972), no. II, pp. 1-20.

(2) For a fuller account of the period between the death of Basil II in 1025 and 1071 from the Byzantine Standpoint see : M. J. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204 – A Political History* (London, 1984).

(3) F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile* (3rd edn., New York, 1969), Tome I, p. 190.

forces were defeated by the troops of Alp Arslan on 26 August at Mantzikert and Romanos Diogenes himself was captured. In his absence Michael Ducas, son of the old emperor Constantine X, came to the fore in Constantinople and on 24 October was proclaimed sole emperor. When he came to the throne he was faced with the harsh realities of decades of decline, and the effects of a steady loss of territory, factors that were partially caused by internal tensions which R. J. H. Jenkins highlighted as the inability of the imperial ideal to adapt to the changed conditions of medieval Europe, the clash of races within the empire and the onset of exhaustion (4). In Italy the Normans had proved themselves to be the dominant force, and with the threat of the Turks and Pechenegs in the east it was impossible for the emperor to mount a serious offensive in the west. On the contrary, rather than attack the Normans, Michael was more interested in their worth as mercenaries, if only they could be brought within the Byzantine orbit. It was with this in mind that the emperor approached Robert Guiscard with regards to the possibility of a marriage alliance between their two families. There are extant two letters from Michael to Robert on this subject, and a chrysobull dated August 1074 which marked the fruition of marriage negotiations. In order to come to an understanding of the nature of Byzantine-Norman relations in the period up to 1074 it is necessary to assess the letters in their chronological setting.

Michael VII was not the first emperor to seek a marriage alliance with Robert Guiscard ; Romanos Diogenes had also sought a similar treaty sometime in 1071 although it is not clear precisely when. The wisdom of such a policy was fully appreciated by Michael VII and either at the end of 1071 or the beginning of 1072, he sent his first letter to Robert Guiscard on the subject. In this letter the emperor stressed their common belief in the 'true faith', how he viewed Guiscard in a different light from other rulers, and that it was "the consequence of having the same confession and faith" (5), that he was prepared to enter into terms of friendship with the Norman. The terms of the alliance were to be ratified by a marriage between one of Robert Guiscard's daughters and Michael's brother Constantine. However, this was not to be on strictly equal terms ; throughout the letter there is a perceptible emphasis on the idea of Byzantine supremacy. The emperor explains how

(4) R. J. H. JENKINS, *The Byzantine Empire on the Eve of the Crusades* (Historical Association Pamphlet, London, 1953).

(5) C. N. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη (Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi)* (Venice-Paris, 1872-94).

much of an honour it would be to be joined to the imperial house, and how Guiscard's 'government' would become more august and greatly admired "for acquiring such majesty" (6). It was a clear implication that any honours Robert held would stem from the higher authority of Byzantium. It was this notion which, if properly handled, could pull the Normans into the Byzantine world. That is to say, the notion that if they wished for greater prestige, it could only be achieved under the aegis of the Byzantine court. Towards the end of the letter we find the real motivating force behind Michael's plans, and the key terms of the treaty. In accordance with the agreement the Normans were to defend the frontiers, and to respect the territories which were still under direct Byzantine rule. Thus, in effect, Michael wished to enlist the Normans as a mercenary force, and stop their possible expansion into the Balkans which seems to have been a tacit fear that the Byzantines held in the early 1070's (7).

Robert Guiscard's response to this letter was simply to ignore it, yet the Byzantine need for allies and their fear of a Norman attack on their western frontier did not diminish, and so Michael pursued his policy with another letter dated to the end of 1072 or the beginning of 1073. Once again in this letter the emperor stresses a similarity of faith and outlook, claiming that he had turned to Guiscard because of a community of faith. He goes on to extol the qualities of Constantine, highlighting the fact that he was born a porphyrogenite. The whole tone of the letter gives us a different slant from the first ; there is no longer an emphasis on Byzantine superiority but on the respect for each other's tertitories and how kinship will flow from the cup of friendship (8).

Finally we have the chrysobull of August 1074 in which the elements of a treaty were finally concluded. The birth of a son to Michael VII at the opening of the year allowed him to place the alliance on a stronger footing, as his young son Constantine was offered as a husband for one of Guiscard's daughters. The couple were to share the title 'basileus', while Guiscard himself was given the title 'nobelissimos' and one of his sons that of 'kouropalates'. Robert was also given forty three other titles to dispense among his followers as he wished (9). However, in the chrysobull there is a

(6) *Ibid.*
(7) *Ibid.*
(8) *Ibid.*
(9) A full transcription of the chrysobull is to be found in H. BIBICOU, "Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzanze au XIe siècle : Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires", in *Byzantium* (1959), XXIX-XXX,

return to the line taken in the first letter ; an emphasis on imperial power evident from the following excerpt, when Guiscard was to, "agree to show me (Michael) compliance and good intentions which I am due ...» ([10]). Again the emperor has made it clear that all titles and honours were bestowed on Robert by the imperial majesty.

Michael VII's attitude and aims were clear throughout these negotiations ; he wished to bring the Normans within the Byzantine orbit, not only to use them as a mercenary force against the Turks, or as defenders of the western frontiers, but also in order to prevent them from expanding eastwards into Byzantine territory in the Balkans. However, P. Charanis has claimed that the Byzantines were actually reconciled to the loss of their Italian possessions ([11]). This is not strictly true ; such a complete reconciliation would be wholly incompatible with their religious and political ideology. Already before this period it is clear from Byzantine dealings with the Balkan peoples that the eastern empire refused to acknowledge the total independence of Serbian or Bulgarian rulers. D. Obolensky has pointed out that after Basil II's conquest of Bulgaria a number of Slav countries and prinicpalities including Croatia, Zachlumia, Dioclea and Raska, made their submission to the empire, and that "they were not formally annexed, but were allowed to keep their native princes who acknowledged the emperor's suzerainty" ([12]). In dealing with the Bulgarians the Byzantines had attempted to absorb them into the empire's administrative structure even dividing the country into themes ([13]). By the 1070's this desire to retain nominal authority and suzerainty over old imperial lands by bringing the populations within their orbit had not diminished. They had to accept Norman military power in southern Italy, but it was a power that could possibly be drawn into their world. The negotiations between Michael and Guiscard reflect this attitude. The emperor makes it clear that all honours, and the prestige of the Norman leaders would stem directly from their alliance with the Eastern Empire, and in particular from

pp. 43-75. In this article Bibicou argues that the politics adopted by Michael VII in his dealings with the Normans, put the breaks on their attack against the empire for a number of years.

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) P. Charanis, "Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade", in *Byzantium* (1949), XIX, pp. 14-36.

(12) D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, Eastern Europe 500-1453 (London, 1971), p. 219.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 216.

their association with the imperial house. Only in his second letter to Guiscard does Michael VII cease to stress Byzantine imperial superiority as a source of authority and power, a viewpoint toned down because the Norman leader ignored the first letter. Yet in the chrysobull of 1074 we find a return to Micheal's original attitude. Why should this have been, and why should Guiscard have finally accepted a marriage alliance with Byzantium ? The answer to these questions lies in the nature of Guiscard's relations with Richard of Capua and Pope Gregory VII in 1074. Here the timing of the letters and the negotiations is of the utmost importance.

After the failure of the second letter to Robert Guiscard, Michael apparently sought the aid of the papacy in some way, for in June 1073 two Greek monks, Nicholas and Thomas, were in Rome with a written and on oral message for the new pope, Gregory VII, from the eastern emperor ([14]). Although we have no knowledge of the details of the message it seems probable that Michael had asked for some kind of military aid and that Gregory had reacted in his own individual fashion : envisaging an armed force heading east to help Byzantium with him at its head, an idea that is clearly implied in the papal letter to Count William of Burgundy dated 2 February 1074 ([15]). In this letter he called the count to remember an oath he had made before the tomb of St. Peter, when he promised to help defend the property of that Saint, and in accordance with that oath William was to bring a military force to Italy and to send the summons on to the Count of St. Gilles and Amadeus the son of Adelaide of Turin. Gregory obviously saw himself as the leader of the expedition as he stated that, "we may cross over to Constantinople in aid of the Christians ..." ([16]). Before the pope could take any action in the east however, the problem of the Normans in the south would have to be settled. As H. E. J. Cowdrey argued, the early years of Gregory VII's rule, "represented the time of greatest difficulty in papal relations with the Normans" ([17]). Through the mediation of Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino, Gregory had met Robert at Benevento, but the meeting ended in failure on 10 August 1073. With the failure of these negotiations

(14) H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074", in *Outremer*, edited by B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 27-28.

(15) E. Emerton, *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (New York, 1932), pp. 22-23.

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius* (Oxford, 1983), p. 122.

Gregory reverted to Alexander II's policy of dividing the Norman rulers ; Richard of Capua and Guiscard ([18]). From Benevento he travelled to Capua where on 14 September, according to A. Fliche, "Richard jure fidélité au pape suivant une formule identique à celle du serment prêté par les princes normands à Nicolas II en 1059" ([19]). During the close of 1073 and the opening months of 1074 Robert Guiscard's actions hardened Gregory VII's attitude towards him. His capture of Amalfi was a blow to Gisulf of Salerno, Gregory's ally, while his attack on Benevento in February 1074 resulted in the death of Pandulf the heir of Landulf VI, another Lombard prince who had had papal support ([20]). During the early months of 1074 Gregory wrote to a number of the leading families of Europe calling on their support for a papally inspired military venture to help the Eastern Empire against the Saracens. Before heading east, however, and in response to the increasing threat posed by Guiscard, the pope had something else in mind for the forces thus raised. In the letter of William of Burgundy, cited above, Gregory made it very clear that the first object of the force was to pacify the Normans who, "learning of the expedition, may fear to join battle and be the more easily won over to the right side" ([21]). In preparation for the march against Guiscard the pope excommunicated him during the Lenten Synod of that same year. At this stage the duke must have been fully aware of the real danger he was in as the papal forces gathered at Viterbo in the month of June ; Gregory having succeeded in enlisting not only northern support against him but also Norman ; namely Richard of Capua. Although fate permitted Guiscard a breathing space when the papal force split because of internal quarrels between Gisulf of Salerno and the Pisans, it was this threat of a combined attack against him which provided the backdrop to the marriage alliance with Michael VII. With this situation in mind the crucial aspect of the alliance as far as the duke was concerned was not the titles, nor the prestige that he might have acquired, but the fact that the treaty stated that he would receive the support of the emperor.

This whole episode throws a great deal of light on Robert Guiscard's attitude towards Byzantium, which from the outset was very cold. Not even the offer of a marriage alliance into the imperial family can move him to

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

(19) A. FLICHE, *La Réforme Grégorienne II, Grégoire VII* (Paris, 1925), Tome II, p. 130.

(20) H. E. J. COWDREY, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans ...", p. 29.

(21) E. EMERTON, *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 22-23.

answer the first two letters of Michael. It is only when his position in Italy is threatened, and he has nowhere else to turn, that he eventually accepts an alliance with the Eastern Empire. This attitude of Robert's no doubt stemmed partly from the fact that he had fought so hard against the Greeks in Italy; and parly from the fact they they had consistently backed revolts against him.

Byzantine attempts to bring Normans within their orbit did not depend solely on dealings with their nominal leader. By entering into relations with disaffected Norman nobility they employed a double edged political weapon : firstly, the dependency of these nobles on Byzantine support could draw them, and it was hoped, their followers, closer to the Eastern Empire, and, secondly, by kindling revolts against Guiscard they could temporarily prevent him from attacking other Byzantine lands. The truth was that Guiscard's actions in the south encouraged revolts because his position within Norman society was by no means settled, nor as strong as is sometimes imagined. His rise to such power as he held had been at the expense, not only of other knights from Normandy, but also of members of his own family, and many openly resented his claim to rule. This resentment often erupted into open revolt usually with the support of the Byzantines. In the period from 1071 until 1080 there were two major revolts, one of december 1071 and the other in the autumn in 1078. These revolts, however, cannot be viewed in isolation but must be seen in the context of earlier revolts, especially the one of 1064 which dragged on until 1067 under the leadership of Jocelin, the Norman lord of Molfetta. This revolt had the support not only of Perenos, duke of Durazzo, but also a contingent of the Varangian Guard, and it was only when Byzantium had to withdrawn support because of Turkish pressure in the east that the revolt collapsed ([22]). In this uprising we find the names of three of Guiscard's nephews fighting against him, names which appear also in the revolts of the 1070's. There were the two brothers Geoffrey of Conversano and Robert of Montescaglioso, the sons of one of Robert's sisters, and Alebard, the son of his brother Humphrey. According to William of Apulia the latter was laying claim to his inheritance which Robert had simply taken over after the death of Humphrey in 1057, with little regard for his nephew ([23]).

In December 1071, a few months after the fall of Bari, and while Guiscard was in Sicily, Abelard and his brother Herman played a major part in a new

(22) J. J. NORWICH, *The Normans in the South* (London, 1981), pp. 164-165.

(23) GUILLAUME DE POUILLE, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Palermo, 1961), Livre II, p. 157.

revolt, along with Ami, lord of Giovenazzo, Peter II of Trani and Robert Areng. This revolt was, once again, probably backed by the Byzantines. Guiscard on his return from Sicily systematically crushed the revolt during 1073, although Chalandon has argued that Abelard may have held out at Santa Severina, with support from Richard of Capua until late 1075 ([24]). Abelard obviously held a deep grudge against his uncle, and when in 1078 after the death of Richard of Capua, Jordan became the focus of a revolt against Guiscard, this disaffected nephew of the duke appeared once again among the leaders of the rebellion along with the familiar names of Geoffrey of Conversano and Robert of Montescaglioso ([25]).

These revolts were undoubtedly aided by the fact that a number of south Italian *ἄρχοντες* had remained and entered Norman service in the 1070's. V. von Falkenhausen has researched this particular aspect of south Italian society, citing the case of the *τοποτηρητής* of Bari, one Basil Mersyniotes, who remained after the departure of the last Byzantine catepan, Steven Paternos, and who died in the city in 1075 ([26]). She also highlights the fact that Norman administration depended on members of the old Byzantine administrative system, especially in Bari. However, more importantly, V. von Falkenhausen states that, "since life was no better under the Norman rule, they rose against the Norman dukes just as they had from time to time against the Byzantines" ([27]). The presence of administratively important factions within society who could relatively easily be pulled into a revolt, no doubt aided the risings of Guiscard's Norman opponents.

With regards to the last revolt mentioned above, J. J. Norwich has stated that it was fuelled by Guiscard's antagonising of his vassals when he forced them to meet the cost of the marriage between his daughter and Hugh of Este ([28]). However, 'taxes' in themselves do not produce revolts, the explanation for these uprisings lies in a deeper problem, namely the fundamental weakness of Guiscard's rule. His authority was that of a warlord, based on leading his men into conquered territory and providing gifts of land. When his capacity to give land grants diminished, when he rode roughshod over

(24) F. CHALANDON, *Histoire de la Domination Normande*..., pp. 240-241.

(25) GUILLAUME DE POUILLE, Livre III, p. 193.

(26) V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, 'A provincial aristocracy : the Byzantine provinces in southern Italy (9th-11th century)', in M. J. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), p. 225.

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) J. J. NORWICH, *The Normans in the South*, pp. 216-217.

the land rights of other nobles, and when he tried to impose arbitrary government on those who considered themselves to be on an equal footing with him, his authority could be shown to be very shaky indeed. This weakness is adequately demonstrated by the fact that he was so often lenient to the leading nobles who had taken part in revolts against him : the reality was that he could not afford to alienate any possible support. Both Robert of Montescaglioso and Geoffrey of Conversano were pardoned twice, and even Abelard the most consistent of his opponents, had been pardoned after the '1064' and '1071' uprisings respectively. It was only after the failure of the revolt of 1078 that Abelard finally left southern Italy.

Outwith supporting these revolts, and trying to pull Guiscard into their orbit, the Byzantines had directly employed the services of Normans for a number of years. Jocelin of Molfetta who, as mentioned above, led the revolt of 1064, had, after its failure entered Byzantine service. During the siege of Bari in 1071 he was actually in command of one of the Byzantine relief expeditions sent to the town ([29]).

By this time there were many Normans in Byzantine service. Their reception was to play a part in shaping Byzantine attitudes towards the Normans. Some of their leaders were held in high esteem, most notably Roussel of Bailleul. He was the commander of the western mercenaries at the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. Amatus of Montecassino tells us that he entered imperial service and "conquered the land of Sclavonis" ([30]). This term was used to refer to the greater part of the Balkan peninsula since the Slav migrations of the seventh century ([31]), and suggests that he may have been involved in the meagre expeditions of Constantine X Ducas against the Oguz Turks. At Mantizikert he refused to fight when he saw the tide going against the Byzantines. Under Michael VII he rebelled in the eastern provinces conquering Armenia, "which paid him tribute" ([32]). In this revolt he held up the Caesar John Ducas as claimant to the throne, but was eventually captured by Tutush, ransomed to Alexius Comnenus and imprisoned in Constantinople. He was not in Byzantine imprisonment for long as he was shortly released to take up military command again. What is interesting about

(29) GUILLAUME DE POUILLE, Livre III, p. 171.

(30) AMATUS, MONACHUS CASINENSIS, *Storia de Normanni di Amato di Montecassino volgarizzata in antico francese.* A cura di V. de Bartholomaeis (1st Stor. Ital. per il Medio Evo, Fonti per la Stor. d'Ital., N. 76) (Roma, 1935).

(31) G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1980), p. 94.

(32) AMATUS, MONACHUS CASINENSIS.

Roussel is the Byzantine attitude towards him which is clear from the pages of Anna Comnena, when she relates the episode in which Alexius pretends to blind him. The emperor's cousin, one Doceianus, when he saw Roussel wearing bandages rebuked Anna's father "for having deprived a man so noble and a true hero of his sight" ([33]). This story could be interpreted only in relation to Anna's wish to emphasise her father's 'humanity and artifice', but undoubtedly there was an element of truth in her portrayal of these attitudes. This is witnessed not only by the fact of Roussel's speedy release from jail in order to fight again, but also in Anna's praise for another Norman soldier in Byzantine service : Humbertopoulos.

This Norman, whom Anna refers to as a "fine solder" was seemingly of sufficient importance in the army for Alexius to deem it necessary to enlist his support for his own bid for the imperial throne. Indeed Anna informs us that Alexius had just exchanged oaths with another commander, Pakourianus, promising that if he were elevated to the imperial throne then he would promote the latter to the rank of Domestic. It is clear from the context of Anna's account that Alexius exchanged similar oaths with Humbertopoulos ([34]). The interesting point here is that Humbertopoulos was a nephew of Robert Guiscard, possibly the son of Robert's younger brother Humbert who died in 1071 ([35]). It is clear then that a member of the house of Hauteville was in direct Byzantine employment during the 1070's.

In the years after the fall of Bari the rule of Robert Guiscard appears to have been susceptible to revolts, even of members of his own family, and inspired by the instability of his authority. Guiscard's attitude towards the Byzantines was one of mistrust because they had proved to be the main bastion of support for the opponents of his rule, while other members of Norman society looked to the east as a source of employment as mercenaries. The Byzantines, on their part, recognised Norman military capabilities and sought to attract them into their orbit. However, by the 1080's Robert Guiscard's sights were set upon the Balkans and the Byzantine empire would soon be facing the Normans in Albania, a situation which was to prove dangerous to Alexius Comnenus's personal rule.

(33) ANNA COMNENA, *The Alexiad*, transl. by E. R. A. Sewter (Penguin Classics, Suffolk, 1969), p. 37.

(34) *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

(35) *Chronicon Breve Nortmannicum*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CLIX.

Part II

The Norman Invasion of Albania

It was clear that Robert Guiscard's relations with the Eastern Empire were dictated by two factors ; his own apprehensive distrust of Byzantine imperial policy and by the external political and military pressure exercised on him by the papacy and the German emperor, elements which finally forced him to consider seriously the marriage alliance with Michael VII. The tension between Gregory VII and Henry IV had fluctuated since the papal coronation, but after the meeting at Canossa in 1077 their relations had steadily declined ([36]). On March 7 1080 the pope excommunicated Henry for the second time ([37]). As a result of papal-imperial tensions Gregory needed the military support of the Normans in the south to counter the German threat. Eventually, through the mediation of Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino, a reconciliation between the duke and the pope was achieved on 29 June 1080 at Ceprano, when Guiscard was invested by Gregory with the lands he had previously held from Nicholas II and Alexander II. The duke, in turn, agreed to pay tribute to Rome in "acknowledgement of vassalage", a payment to be given each year on the Sunday of the "Holy Resurrection" ([38]). However, the investiture of Guiscard did not bring to an end Norman involvement in papal lands. In a letter from Gregory to Desiderius dated February 1081 we find that Robert's vassal, namely Robert of Loritello, was still engaged in making inroads into papal territory in the Abruzzi, and the pope was calling on the Abbot to persuade Guiscard to call on his nephew to desist from such acts against St. Peter ([39]). As far as the duke was concerned, the investiture was of value for two reasons. Firstly, the fact that his position was acknowledged by the pope theoretically enhanced his authority by bolstering its legal standing. Secondly, it brought to an end papally inspired intrigues against him, allowing a breathing space in which he could turn his attentions towards the east. An understanding of why Robert Guiscard decided to invade the empire is central to the course of Byzantine-Norman relations.

(36) For the background to the papal-imperial conflict see, W. Ullman, *A Short History of the Papacy* (London, 1974), pp. 142-172. There is also a useful short chapter on 'Gregory and the Investiture Conflict', in G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (Norwich, 1975), pp. 77-93.

(37) E. Emerton, *The Correspondence of Gregory VII*, p. 149.

(38) *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

(39) *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

As with any question directed at an assessment of the motives animating the actions of any individual, the answers are entwined in a complex series of factors, and one solution in itself is insufficient to solve the problem. Such is the case with Guiscard's attack on Albania. Anna Comnena interprets his agression in relation to his rising ambition, as he began to dream of ascending the imperial throne ([40]). In short, she saw Guiscard's aim as that of becoming Roman emperor ([41]). This standpoint was also adopted by Chalandon ([42]), and later echoed by J. J. Norwich ([43]). Although they do not single out the ambition of gaining the imperial throne as the sole reason for the invasion, they do see it as its major goal. Chalandon, in fact, emphasises this by labelling both Guiscard's and Bohemond's efforts in the east as a "march on Constantinople" ([44]). Both these historians single out the same factor that gave rise to such ambitions in Robert's mind, that is to say, the influence of Greek culture in southern Italy in language, culture and administration. In the organisational and administrative field it has already been shown that the Byzantine *ἄρχοντες* remained in southern Italy even after the fall of Bari in 1071. Before that date the functional skills of the eastern officials could not help but have had an effect on the neighbouring Norman lords, while the influence of Byzantine culture can be seen in a number of ways. Chalandon and Norwich, notably employ the case of Guiscard's seal, which imitates the eastern style having on one side the image of Christ with a nimbus and the legend 'Emmanuel' in Greek lettering, with another Greek inscription on the obverse side. Robert Guiscard did indeed see himself as the successor of the emperor in Italy, and it is undoubtedly true that the cultural and organisational skills of the east were admired by the Normans. However, it is a rather large step to take, if one then claims that Guiscard had his sights set on the imperial throne because he admired or adopted, consciously or unconsciously, Byzantine administrative and cultural standards in order to enhance his own political power with an already prestigious set of symbols. Italy was one thing, but the actual office of Byzantine emperor seated in Constantinople was something quite different. It seems improbable

(40) ANNA COMNENA, p. 57.

(41) *Ibid.*, p. 58.

(42) F. Chalandon makes it clear in both his *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile*, p. 279, and in p. 85 that he believes Guiscard's main concern was to gain the imperial crown.

(43) J. J. NORWICH, *The Normans in the South*, p. 222.

(44) F. CHALADON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier ...*, pp. 81-82.

that a man with such a politically shrewd mind as Guiscard could seriously have considered becoming the emperor in the east.

G. Koloias also cites the influence on Guiscard of the Byzantine world, but in this case he sees it as the sole factor which influenced the duke in his dealings with the east. He ignores the part played by Gregory VII in pushing Robert into the marriage alliance of 1074, and that of Henry IV which prompted the Norman-papal alliance of 1080, which in turn enabled Guiscard to head east ([45]). He sees the duke's commitment to his oaths given to Michael VII in 1074 as the overriding factors in motivating his attack on Albania in order to guarantee the rights of his son-in-law, Constantine, and daughter Helen. Such a viewpoint is also found in Orderic Vitalis ([46]), and Lupus Protospatarius ([47]), who both believe in the pseudo-emperor Michael VII, and the legality of Guiscard's invasion as an action designed to aid the legitimate eastern ruler.

However, while it is probable that the idea of his daughter as empress no doubt appealed to the duke, it is unlikely that he would have launched a full scale invasion simply to save her honour. It was, furthermore, by no means certain that Constantine, when sole emperor would follow a pro-Norman policy whether he was Guiscard's son-in-law or not. Yewdale's assertion that Botaniates's revolt was a "slight to his ducal dignity", is simply not a sufficient explanation of Robert's attack ([48]).

While it would be wrong to dismiss the above factors out of hand since they probably played some role in shaping Guiscard's intentions, there were a number of sound political reasons for his invasion. J. J. Norwich, in fact, highlighted one such important point, in that the western frontiers of the Byzantine empire had for many years provided a place of refuge and supply for Norman rebels ([49]). Byzantine support focused on Durazzo, the city where the rebels of 1064 had met the eastern representative Perenos, and had received gifts and money from Constantinople. These revolts could prove crippling to Guiscard's authority and to his wider plans, and the chance to

(45) G. KOLIAS, "Le motif et les raisons de l'invasion de Robert Guiscard en terre byzantine", in *Byzantion* (1966), XXXVI, pp. 424-430.

(46) ORDERIC VITALIS, *Thew Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and transl. by M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1973), Vol. IV, Bk. VII, p. 13.

(47) LUPUS PROTOSPATHARIUS in *M. G. H. Scriptorem V Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorem tv*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1844), pp. 61-63.

(48) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924), p. 10.

(49) J. J. NORWICH, *The Normans on the South*, p. 164.

eliminate one of their sources of backing afforded him by the dethronement of Michael VII, must have appealed to the duke.

Another factor which was referred to in the previous section but must be considered in this context, is the nature of Guiscard's rule. He was a warrior leader, and as such he had to embark on war in order to maintain any semblance of authority, by leading his men in battle and distributing fiefs to his faithful followers. The fact that this was the basis of his authority was brought into sharper focus during that part of the Albanian campaign when Guiscard himself was back in Italy. It was then that many of his men, because of the lack of pay, and the fact that they had received no land grants decided to enter Byzantine service ([50]).

Robert Guiscard's weakness can also be inferred from his need to use an impostor to imitate the dethroned emperor Michael VII. From this fact it is clear that he could simply not attack Byzantium, a Christian state, at his own whim. He had to use the monk Raitkor ([51]) in order to win papal support and thereby gain legitimacy for his attack. This pseudo-Michael could also be used to enlist support in the east, and indeed both William of Apulia ([52]) and Anna Comnena ([53]) relate that "Michael" was paraded before the walls of Durazzo in the hope that this would win Greek supporters for Guiscard's enterprise. He may also have been seeking to delude his own followers by using Raiktor, and this may account for his violent outburst against Raoul. The duke had sent the latter to Constantinople in the winter of 1080/81 in order to censure Botaniates, and while there he had seen the real Michael in a monastery ([54]). He voiced this fact on his return, only to incur the wrath of Guiscard to such a degree that he had to leave for Illyria to join Bohemond who was already there, and thence to Constantinople. It was also important that Guiscard should in no way lose the support of the pope, who had already made clear his support for Robert in a letter of July 1080 to the bishops of Apulia, instructing them to aid the duke in his expedition against the east.

There is another factor which contributed to Guiscard's decision to invade Albania, namely the position of his eldest son, Bohemond. He was the only child of his marriage to Alberada, and a young man who, as Anna Comnena stated, was "the image of his father" ([55]). Guiscard had already declared that

(50) ANNA COMNENA, p. 173.
(51) *Ibid.*, pp. 58-61.
(52) GUILLAUME de POUILLE, Livre IV, p. 219.
(53) ANNA COMNENA, p. 136.
(54) *Ibid.*, p. 67.
(55) *Ibid.*, p. 60.

his inheritance in southern Italy and Sicily was to fall to his younger son Roger Borsa and not to Bohemond. This decision was emphasised before his departure on the eastern campaign when he once again designated Borsa as his successor to Apulia, Calabria and Sicily ([56]). However, by that time, Bohemond's major role in the east was clear: he had been appointed second-in-command and had already set off before his father. It seems probable that Robert envisaged the territorial acquisitions in the east as his eldest son's future patrimony, and that Bohemond may in turn have felt them to be such.

Bohemond's role in the Albanian wars was crucial in forming his attitude towards Byzantium and vice versa. These struggles formed the precedent in his mind for the use of war against Byzantium as a means of carving out his own territory. During this expedition he experienced success at Durazzo along with his father on 18 October 1081, a battle in which the Norman forces were spurred on by having their ships burned the previous day in order to make them fight harder ([57]). In the Spring of 1072, after the fall of Durazzo, both father and son were engaged in the invasion of the interior. After Robert's departure in early Summer 1082, overall command was given to Bohemond, who proceeded to consolidate territory between Castoria and the Adriatic, and to attract the support of Greek troops ([58]). This undoubtedly had an effect on Alexius Comnenus who witnessed Bohemond, not only gaining Greek support, but also defeating him at Yanina ([59]). At this stage, however, Chalandon tends to exaggerate by stating that the inhabitants of the Balkans believed that it was the end of the empire ([60]). True, the Byzantines saw Guiscard and his son Bohemond as a dangerous threat not only because of their military prowess, but also, as M. J. Angold has made clear, because they held a pretender to the throne, who was a direct threat to Alexius's imperial authority ([61]). Nevertheless, once again the Norman

(56) GUILLAUME DE POUILLE, Livre IV, p. 215.

(57) GAUFREDUS MALATERRA, *De rebus Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, in MURATORI, *Antiquitates italicae medii aevi* (Milan, 1724), Vol. V, III, *XXVII*, p. 73.

(58) ANNA COMNENA, p. 163. Anna states that Bohemond was followed by officers of the Roman army and governors of the countries and cities conquired by Robert.

(59) GUILLAUME DE POUILLE, Livre V, p. 237.

(60) F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis*, p. 87.

(61) See the section on 'The Norman Threat' in M. J. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, pp. 106-109.

situation proved to be fundamentally weak, which was highlighted by the fact that the loss of one battle, namely that of Larissa, proved to be such a decisive turning point. This defeat, partly due to disease, and the lack of supplies and reinforcements ([62]), was aggravated further by Alexius's urging of the knights under Bohemond to demand their pay, or to enter the imperial army where they would "enjoy good wages" ([63]).

Indeed, despite the fact of the invasion of Albania, Alexius was still prepared to draw as many Normans into the eastern orbit as he could, and very much on the same lines as preceeding emperors. That is to say by employing them as mercenaries in the imperial forces, or by using them to rekindle revolt in Italy. By doing this he would reduce Guiscard's and Bohemond's capacity to engage in warfare in the east. In southern Italy a revolt broke out while Robert Guiscard was still in the east. We find the beginnings of this revolt in the pages of William of Apulia, when he relates that Troia and Ascoli refused to pay tribute, and that the rebels attacked Roger Borsa who was shut up in the Citadel of Troia ([64]). Once again the names of the leading rebels strikes a familiar chord. Both Abelard and Herman took leading parts in the rising, the latter seizing Cannae ; and Geoffrey of Conversano besieged Oria while Henri of St. Angelo also rose against Guiscard's rule ([65]). These events seem to have occurred in the Spring of 1082 and it was a message to Guiscard in either April or May 1082, informing him of the revolts, and also a summons from the pope asking for his aid in the struggle against Henry IV, which forced the duke to abandon his own part in the advance in Albania and return home. What is interesting here is that Anna Comnena tells us that Alexius had urged Henry IV to invade Lombardy, in order to "keep Robert busy", while he could collect his armies ([66]). The Byzantine emperor referred to the treaty concluded between himself and Henry, the conditions of which are to be found in Anna Comnena's transcription of the letter sent to the German emperor, and delivered by one Choerosphaktes ([67]). Henry received 144,000 pieces of gold and a hundred purple cloths of silk, while a further 216,000 pieces of gold

(62) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, p. 22.

(63) ANNA COMNENA, p. 137.

(64) GUILLAUME DE POUILLE, Livre IV, pp. 231-233.

(65) For a creditable secondary account of this revolt see, F. CHALANDON, *Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile*, Tome I, pp. 273-274.

(66) ANNA COMNENA, p. 160.

(67) *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128.

was to be forwarded by his "most faithful Abelard" when he invaded Lombardy ([68]). It is clear from the context of the letter that Abelard was, at that point, in German imperial service. It is also evident that he was back in southern Italy, and still in touch with the Byzantine court since he was able to act as a go-between for the German-Byzantine treaty. It is therefore probable that the revolt which called Guiscard back from Albania had received the backing of both Alexius Comnenus and Henry IV, through the person of Abelard.

If Normans were either dissatisfied with their lot or out of favour with Guiscard, it appears to have been natural for them to seek some other source of employment and protection. It has already been stated that Raoul, after falling out of favour with Guiscard, sought refuge in Constantinople. In doing this he was following in the wake of his brother Roger who had already entered Byzantine service early enough to warn them of Guiscard's invasion plans ([69]). It is impossible to speculate why a figure such as Roger decided to enter Byzantine service, although it would be safe to say that it is unlikely that he would do so if he believed that he would not profit from doing so. Indeed the road east seems to have been open to all, and to have been taken by many Normans when dissatisfied with their lot. Even before the desertions after Larissa, events seem to have been heading in that direction, for example, when Bohemond was camped at Asprae Ecclesiae three knights ; Pounteses, Renaldus and William formed a "conspiracy to desert to the emperor" ([70]). Renaldus and William were caught only to be blinded by Bohemond and Guiscard respectively, while Pounteses managed to escape to Constantinople. Marquis de la Force has pointed out that Du Cange thought that this 'Pounteses' was in fact Count Raoul of Pontoise and that he was one and the same as the 'Raoul' referred to in Anna Comnena ([71]). However, de la Force argues convincingly that this hypothesis was wholly unacceptable citing the fact that Anna refers to both Pounteses and Raoul as separate individuals. He also points out that Raoul II's father was one Amaury of Pontoise, while the father of Raoul and Roger was Dagobert, a name not used in the Pontoise house. It appears that this Pounteses was merely a knight from Italy who employed the name of some southern Italian town such as Ponte Landolfo

(68) *Ibid.*, p. 127.
(69) *Ibid.*, p. 68.
(70) *Ibid.*, p. 166.
(71) MARQUIS DE LA FORCE, "Les conseillers latins du Basileus Alexis Comnène", in *Byzantion* (1963), p. 161.

or Ponte Maggiore, in his own cognomen ([72]). Thus opposition to the Hauteville rule came not only from 'equals' such as Abelard, but also from the lower knightly echelons, who became restive once their commander failed to provide them with pay or land grants. Faithful to their mercenary attitudes, they looked to the relative wealth of Byzantium as a way of advancement.

However, the situation was not quite as clear cut as this would suggest, for there were Normans who felt tied to Guiscard in some way. It is not clear whether these ties consisted of a "feudal" oath, a personal liking for the duke, or simply the fear of being caught deserting during an offensive campaign. Whatever the reason, the vacuum following Robert's death on 17 July 1085 saw more Normans entering the service of Alexius. One such was Peter Aliphas, who had been one of Bohemonds's leading commanders and had held the two Polobus, fortresses in the north-east of Albania. After Robert's death he headed east and entered Byzantine service ([73]).

In the drift over to Alexius's employ at this time it seems highly probable that among those who went over was one of Guiscard's sons : Guy. When assessing this possibility it will be necessary to refer to evidence which dates from a later period than that covered in this section. Nevertheless, it is important to seek for some solution to this problem in order to highlight the dislocation after Guiscard's death. Chalandon has stated that Guy actually betrayed his father, and one would infer from this that he entered Byzantine service before Robert's death ([74]). This is too hasty a conclusion. Anna Comnena is our only source for this and she merely states that Guy had been approached before his father's death, but nowhere does she imply that he accepted Alexius's offers before 17 July. On the contrary, as Guiscard's son, it would be wise for him to remain in his father's favour in the hope of gaining territory in the Balkans in the wake of their invasion. However, with Robert's death and the total collapse of the expedition little else was left for him to do ; after all, Alexius had offered him money, gifts and one of his nieces in marriage, whereas little remained for him in Italy. Roger Borsa was the sole heir of Guiscard's title, and it is not even clear whether Bohemond himself was granted any land in 1085. It is obvious, therefore, that Guy had nothing to lose by entering Byzantine service after 17 July 1085.

(72) *Ibid.*

(73) ANNA COMNENA, p. 406. Here Anna highlights Peter's loyalty to Alexius by stating that he was a man "whose loyalty to the emperor was absolutely dependable".

(74) F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier*, p. 92.

There is one other argument which related to Guy's case. Yewdale states that Anna was wrong to date his defection to this early period, and that she was mixed up with the events of Bohemond's later invasion of Albania in 1107 ([75]). However, his argument is not really a convincing one. Although a good deal of Anna's chronology is less than accurate, it would be unwise to dismiss her testimony about one who was married to her full cousin. Furthermore, in the *Gesta Francorum* Guy's name is not mentioned at all in the list of the Normans who followed Bohemond from Italy. He does appear later in that chronicle as a member of Alexius's army marching south to relieve Antioch ([76]), when he was apparently also involved in the emperor's inner war council ([77]). The period from 1085 until 1097 is a lengthy span but a number of factors must be taken into consideration. He was a Hauteville, son of Guiscard and a prominent warrior, as is clear from the fact that Robert sent him with Roger Borsa to raid Avlona during the duke's second invasion of Albania. As a Hauteville, and a warrior it seems highly improbable that he could have played no part in the civil wars in Italy following Guiscard's death, and yet we find no mention of him at all during this period in the main Latin source, the chronicle of Geoffrey of Malaterra. Furthermore, Yewdale spoils his own case by pointing out that the signatories of a grant made by Sigelgaita to Orso, archbishop of Bari, in 1086, included Roger Borsa, Bohemond and their younger brother, Robert ([78]). In this case Guy is conspicuous by his absence. Before 1085 we find that he was the signatory to a grant of 1082 along with his father, Guiscard and mother, Sigelgaita, the actual inscription reading, "Signum Guidonis, filli Roberti magnifici ducis" ([79]). After the duke's death, Guy's name does not appear among any of the extant documents of grants or donations made by the Norman leaders in that period. It is also unlikely that he could have been confused with 'Robert', son of Guiscard, since the latter appears, as distinct from Guy prior to 1085, in a grant of 1076 in which Duke Robert granted to the Cathedral of St. Maria of Melfi the monastery of 'St. Giovanni de

(75) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, see footnote p. 22.

(76) *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 63-64.

(77) WILLIAM OF TYRE, Vol. I, p. 277.

(78) For the full text of this grant see, L. R. MENAGER, *Recueil des Actes des Ducs Normands d'Italie (1046-1127); I. Les premiers ducs (1046-1087)* (Bari, 1980), pp. 171-172.

(79) *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

Iliceto' ([80]). There are sound reasons, therefore, for arguing that Guy entered Byzantine service not long after the death of his father.

Here it is seen once again that Norman society was much more fluid than one might expect. There were those who resented Hauteville authority, those who sought steadier income and those who sought refuge, most of them, in turn, looking to Byzantium which was willing to accept their services. Alexius, in this early period followed the Byzantine pattern in dealing with the Norman threat. He faced up to their leaders as best he could, while consistently offering employment for Norman mercenaries, and at the same time kindling revolt in Italy. These were measures designed to disarm any serious offensive against imperial territory, and in the case of Albania it proved quite effective. These tactics split the Norman forces ; in that Guiscard had to take a sizeable force back to Apulia, while Bohemond was left to face eventual defeat at Larissa. Furthermore, the attack of Guiscard on Albania was not so much a show of strength but the result of the necessity of war to maintain his authority. This was a fundamental weakness of Norman society at this period revealing as it did, its lack of stability. There was little to hold it together in times of peace, a consequence no doubt of the mercenary origins of Norman power. We must now turn to the civil wars in southern Italy which formed the important prelude to the Norman involvement in the First Crusade.

Part III

Civil War in Southern Italy and Norman Involvement in the First Crusade

The troubles in southern Italy following the death of Guiscard are important in that the period forms the backdrop to the Norman involvement in the crusade, and provides us with evidence of continuing tensions within Norman society, tensions which were to continue throughout the period of the crusade ([81]). In the wake of the duke's death, and in accordance with his wishes ([82]), his second son, Roger Borsa, was proclaimed duke in September 1085 ([83]). It has already been shown how Guiscard's authority was limited

(80) *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.

(81) For a more detailed account of these civil wars see, F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Domination Normande*, Vol. I, Chap. XII.

(82) Guillaume de Pouille, Livre IV, p. 215.

(83) R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, p. 25.

in that he was continually faced with revolts of his vassals. This factor of Hauteville rule was more acute during Borsa's reign due partly to his weaker character. Indeed, as Yewdale stated, his weakness was shown by the fact that he had so often to rely on his uncle, Count Roger of Sicily, for support ([84]). Roger Borsa was faced not only with town and noble revolts, but also with the open hostility of his half-brother Bohemond. Guiscard's wars in the east, which might have resulted in Bohemond acquiring a principality in the Balkans, had ended in failure ; and with Roger inheriting all his father's titles in Italy, there is no doubt that the eldest son must have felt bitter when reflecting on his own situation. It was a bitterness that grew into open war against Borsa, shortly after his return to Italy when Bohemond captured the town of Oria and ravaged the lands between Taranto and Otranto ([85]). Roger was forced to cede to his brother, these three towns together with Gallipoli and the lands of his cousin Geoffrey of Conversano ([86]). Like his father before him, Borsa coud not afford to alienate any possible followers, and these towns, at least, were probably held by Bohemond as a vassal of Roger ([87]).

This highlights the main weakness in Bohemond's position, that is to say, the only legal claims he could make to territory came from holding it as a fief from his lord ; Roger Borsa. Such a situation was obviously not acceptable to Bohemond and thus he revolted for a second time, and, according to Oderic Vitalis, with the aid of Jordan, Prince of Capua ([88]). This revolt broke out in either September or October 1087, when Bohemond attacked Borsa's troops at Fargnito ; and gaining a foothold in Calabria, left Hugh of Chiarimonte in charge of Cosenza after it had fallen into his hands ([89]). Once again the duke was forced to concede the towns of Cosenza and Maida to his elder brother, although probably not as Malaterra stated, because of his generosity ([90]). Shortly after making peace they exchanged the towns of Bari and Cosenza. However, the authority of the duke's position and Bohemond's weakness was highlighted in September 1089 at Melfi when Borsa was made the special vassal of Urban II, receiving a banner in token of his investiture.

(84) *Ibid.*
(85) GAUFREDUS MALATERRA, Book IV, IV, p. 87.
(86) *Ibid.*
(87) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, p. 26.
(88) ORDERIC VITALIS, Vol. IV, Book VIII, p. 169.
(89) GAUFREDUS MALATERRA, Book IV, p. 91.
(90) *Ibid.*

In this situation there was little room for Bohemond to further his ambitions by legal means, for his young brother was recognised as duke not only by the pope, but also by Count Roger of Sicily. When in 1093 rumours of Roger Borsa's death prompted Bohemond to occupy his brother's fortresses in Calabria, claiming that he was safeguarding the rights of Borsa's heirs, Count Roger stepped in to take these fortresses from him, in order to defend his nephew's interests ([91]). Without recognition Bohemond had little hope of establishing an acceptable and stable hegemony in southern Italy, and during the period from 1089 to 1096 he seems to have been uneasily resigned to this fact.

The general course of events in the south followed the pattern of earlier years with both town and noble revolts, led by those who either resented Hauteville domination or who wished to exploit the situation for their own advantage. In May 1091 the town of Cosenza revolted and was besieged by Count Roger of Sicily, Roger Borsa and Bohemond ([92]). In that same year Oria, which was in Bohemond's territory, revolted under the leadership of Robert of Anse. It seems that this Norman lord was afterwards reconciled to Hauteville rule since he was one of the knights who followed Bohemond from southern Italy, on the latter's march to the Holy Land in 1096 ([93]). In 1093 Roger Borsa's brother-in-law William Grantmesnil, who had married Guiscard's daughter Mabel ([94]), revolted and seized Rossano. He refused to surrender to the forces of Count Roger, Borsa and Bohemond, and after defeat sought refuge in Constantinople. Byzantium was, therefore, still viewed as an outlet for fortune seekers and those out of favour with the Norman leaders, its wealth still attracting the disaffected Norman nobility. These struggles show the continuing resentment of the lower orders against Hauteville rule, and the attractions of the east for the Norman adventurers.

It was just such troubles which were to provide the immediate backdrop to the first crusade as Count Roger, Bohemond and Roger Borsa were engaged in laying siege to Amalfi, when the first northern crusader contingents arrived in southern Italy on their way east ([95]). The number of Normans who followed Bohemond when he took the cross is emphasised by the fact

(91) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, p. 33.
(92) GAUFREDUS MALATERRA, Book IV, p. 96.
(93) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 7.
(94) ORDERIC VITALIS, Vol. IV, Book VIII, p. 169.
(95) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 7.

that Count Roger had to end the siege of Amalfi ([96]). Here it is useful to refer to the work of E. Jamison ([97]) who has researched into the individuals who went with Bohemond as listed by the author of the *Gesta Francorum*; himself a Norman in the service of the latter ([98]). It is interesting to note that those who went east seem to be representative of a wide range of Norman society. For example, Robert of Sourdeval was a baron of Count Roger, Robert Fitz-Toustan and Humphrey Fitz-Ralph were both vassals of Borsa, while Tancred and the author of the *Gesta* seem nominally to have been vassals of Bohemond himself. It appears that Norman society had few real ties to hold together a social structure, although it must be remembered that in this case the "crusade" held a special place outwith normal ties of vassalage. It nevertheless is significant that Count Roger, and Roger Borsa could not stop their own vassals from following Bohemond if they wished to, and follow they did to such a degree that the siege of Amalfi was rendered wholly ineffective. This was a state of affairs that neither Count Roger nor Borsa could willingly accept. The very fact that they were powerless to put any check on their own men who wished to head east indicates, once again, a weakness in Hauteville rule.

The reasons why these Normans joined the crusade involves a range of factors, and although we can arrive at no general conclusions about those taking part, an assessment may be made about two extreme cases. On the one hand, we find Robert Fitz-Toustan, who belonged to the counts of Molise and had given a number of donations to the church ([99]). This is probably indicative of genuine pious intentions reflected in his taking the cross. On the other hand, it is curious to note that in the Norman contingent we come across the names of disaffected nobles who had taken part in earlier revolts. We find Robert of Anse who had led the revolt of 1091 at Oria, but of more importance there is the familiar name of Herman of Cannae, brother of Abelard, and a Hauteville family rebel. It seems probable that these nobles had warmed to the idea of heading east for their own gain, and it is into this grouping that Bohemond, himself disinherited, must be placed.

(96) *Ibid.*

(97) E. JAMISON, "Some Notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, with special reference to The Norman Contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade", in *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature presented to professor Mildred K. Pope* (Manchester, 1939).

(98) *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 7-8.

(99) E. JAMISON, Some Notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, p. 204.

From the outset it was clear that Bohemond's attitude towards Alexius I was a reversal from the days of Guiscard's campaign in Albania. The march from Avlona to Constantinople was marked by his appeasing actions towards the emperor. According to the author of the *Gesta Francorum* he had called a council, warning those who followed him to be courteous and refrain from plundering the Greek lands ([100]). After the attack on his forces by Pechenegs and Turcopuli on the Vardar ([101]) the Byzantine mercenary troops who were captured were allowed to go "Scot free" by Bohemond ([102]), and when Tancred and others wanted to attack a castle he was furious ([103]). As Jamison states, it was clear that Bohemond wished to co-operate with the emperor ([104]). The reasons for this change in attitude are tied in with his aims in taking the cross in the first place. F. Chalandon states that Bohemond left Italy with the idea of creating a principality in the east ([105]). This echoes the attitude of Anna Comnena who thought that Bohemond and his friends coveted the Roman Empire ([106]), and that the crusaders, in general, wished to dethrone Alexius and seize the capital ([107]). This was a belief not confined to eastern sources for in Geoffrey Malaterra we find that Bohemond was always desirous of conquering the Byzantine empire for himself ([108]). Such standpoints, however, are too dogmatic in their approach, written with hindsight and a lack of understanding. The desire of the Norman to appear friendly to the emperor was related directly to his position in southern Italy, as explained above, and to his future negotiations with Alexius I at Constantinople. His position in Italy lacked any legal basis which would allow an extension of his powers, and as it has been argued, Byzantium continued to be receptive to Norman mercenaries who wished to give their services. It was these factors which were uppermost in Bohemond's mind at the opening of the First Crusade, and were the key to his request to be made Domestic of the East when at Constantinople ([109]). His actions during the

(100) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 8.

(101) For a secondary account of this skirmish see, S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades* (London, 1978), Vol. I, p. 156.

(102) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 9.

(103) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

(104) E. JAMISON, Some Notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, p. 193.

(105) F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier*, p. 183.

(106) ANNA COMNENA, p. 313.

(107) *Ibid.*, p. 319.

(108) GAUFREDUS MALATERRA, Book IV, p. 102.

(109) ANNA COMNENA, p. 329.

march east suggest that he had already thought of asking Alexius for the post of Domestic, and thus his efforts were designed to ensure that the emperor might look favourably on him despite the events of the 1080's. It is impossible to say what Bohemond would have done had he been granted that office, but it appears that he was willing, for a while at least to enter Byzantine service. His willingness to enter imperial employ at this stage is emphasised by his eagerness in taking the oath and paying homage to Alexius.

However, Bohemond's plans were frustrated by Alexius Comnenus' apprehensive attitude, not only with regards to the Normans, but also towards the whole crusading movement. He had not expected such a vast number of knights to come from the west, and with his forces dispersed throughout the frontiers of the empire he must have felt himself to have been in a somewhat delicate position ([110]). Hence his immediate negotiations with the crusading leaders in order to get them to take the western oath of fealty to him in order to safeguard the empire ([111]). However, by doing this he also hoped to use the crusading forces to help restore the empire to its former glory. The exact nature of the oaths and homages given while at Constantinople are dealt with in an article by F. L. Ganshof, who argues convincingly that Alexius Comnenus not only employed the Western oath, but at the same time the Byzantine custom of adoption in order to create a "family" dependent upon him ([112]). However, with Bohemond the emperor was doubly apprehensive ; after all he was the son of Guiscard and had already defeated Alexius in a pitched battle. He was naturally suspicious that Bohemond would use the office of Domestic in order to further his own ends ([113]), and so he had answered the Norman in an ambiguous manner, stating that the time was not yet ripe for such an event ([114]). It must have been clear to Bohemond from this point on that Alexius would never trust him and that if he wished to benefit personally from the crusade it would have to be outwith the aegis of Constantinople.

(110) M. J. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, p. 139.

(111) For a fuller account of these negotiations see, F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier*, Chap. VI and S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the crusades*, Vol. I, Book III, Chap. III.

(112) F. L. GANSHOF, "Recherches sur le lien juridique qui unissait les chefs de la première croisade à l'empereur byzantin", in *Mélanges P. E. Martin* (Genève, 1961), pp. 49-63.

(113) M. J. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, p. 139.

(114) ANNA COMNENA, p. 329.

It seems unlikely that at this stage Bohemond had any precise idea about what his next moves were to be. Such notions only came in to sharp focus when the crusading forces were at Antioch. It was in that region, after all, that the emperor had conceded a large territory to Bohemond. Since this concession was only mentioned by the author of the *Gesta Francorum* many historians have doubted its worth, for had such a grant been made, Bohemond would undoubtedlty have used it in support of his actions at Antioch. Furthermore, it smacked of a later interpolation intended to aid his propaganda of 1106. After reviewing such arguments E. Jamison had decided against such a viewpoint ([115]). The most important factor is that the *Gesta* does not refer to the city but merely to "lands beyond Antioch, fifteen days' journey in length and eight in width" ([116]). It follows, therefore, that Bohemond could not have used the grant in defence of his actions at Antioch, and also that he would not have entered such an imprecise statement into the *Gesta* if it was intended as propaganda in support of his hold on the city. Jamison sees in this concession the fact that Alexius was using Bohemond like a mercenary, in order to create an outpost against Islam and in particular against Aleppo. However, Bohemond seems to have set his sights on possession of the city even before it fell into crusader hands by urging the other leaders, except Raymond of Toulouse, to hand Antioch over to him if he managed to gain them access to its precincts ([117]).

It is unlikely that Bohemond would have any designs on the city before the arrival of the crusader army under its walls. Yewdale tried to argue that Tancred's expedition in Cilicia was designed to gain important frontier towns for the future principality of Antioch ([118]). This is not the case ; the sources themselves are rather obscure as to why such a course of action was taken.

In the *Gesta Francorum* Tancred and Baldwin are portrayed as simply leaving together, giving us no insight into the reason why ([119]). However, it is more than likely that the decision to leave the main force was made personally by Tancred, possibly after a council with his own leading knights, and that his expedition, aimed at personal gain, was outwith the control of the other crusading leaders, in the same way as Baldwin of Boulogne's expedition against Edessa.

(115) E. JAMISON, Some Notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, pp. 193-195.
(116) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 12.
(117) WILLIAM OF TYRE, Vol. I, pp. 248-249.
(118) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, pp. 49-50.
(119) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 24.

Bohemond's designs on Antioch while encamped in the surrounding country of the city are clarified by his dealings with the Byzantine commander Tatikios. This leader left the crusaders for Cyprus, travelling through the port of St. Simeon, sometime between December 1097 and February 1098. Yewdale has seen this flight as an indication of his cowardice ([120]), but surely there was more to Tatikios's departure than this. Chalandon has rightly argued that the presence of Tatikios posed a serious threat to the Norman leader's plans, by the fact that of the city was captured it would have to be handed over to the Byzantine commander to hold in the name of the emperor, in accordance with the conditions of the oaths given to Alexius at Constantinople ([121]). Here the sources available to us are somewhat contradictory. The bulk of the Latin writers emphasise Tatikios's cowardice while Anna Comnena states that he was deceived by Bohemond who warned him that the other counts were planning to kill him ([122]). We must remember that the western chroniclers were vehemently anti-Greek and that, while it fitted with Latin prejudices to accuse Tatikios of cowardice, it went against the grain to suggest that Bohemond had held secret negotiations with Tatikios since the latter's departure undoubtedly weakened the crusading position at Antioch. However, Raymond d'Aguilers does tell us that before his departure Tatikios ceded to Bohemond the three towns Tursol, Mamistra and Adana ([123]). Although there is little to persuade us that this indeed happened, the evidence does imply that Raymond was aware that some kind of meeting had taken place between Tatikios and Bohemond, although he himself was unaware of the content of the discussions. Now, this, coupled with Anna's statement does suggest that Bohemond had played a part in the departure of Tatikios, and that such an action fitted into the context of his desire to take Antioch for himself.

After the defeat of Kerbogha and the expulsion of the Provencal troops from the city, Bohemond assumed the title 'Prince of Antioch' and began the process of consolidating his hold on the surrounding countryside ([124]). He

(120) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, pp. 58-63.

(121) F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier*, p. 201.

(122) ANNA COMNENA, p. 343.

(123) RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, transl. by J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 37.

(124) For general accounts of the events of the First Crusade during the Antioch period see, S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, and H. W. MAYER, *The Crusades*.

attacked the town of Laodicea, aided in this venture by Daimbert, the papal legate, who had recently arrived with a Pisan fleet. Although this siege was brought to a halt with the arrival of Raymond of Toulouse on his way back from Jerusalem, the event did introduce a figure who was to play a major part in our understanding of Bohemond's later actions : namely Daimbert. Before this period Bohemond had not visited Jerusalem ; only after the arrival of the papal legate does he decide to go with Baldwin of Edessa to the 'Holy City', ostensibly to fulfill his crusading vows. However, while at Jerusalem Daimbert was elected patriarch with the support of Bohemond ([125]). In return for this help the Prince of Antioch was granted legal possession of his territories by Daimbert in his capacity as patriarch. This is what Bohemond had always lacked : a distinct legal recognition of his territories. It was this that had made his position in Italy fundamentally unstable, and had aggravated his struggles with the Provencals over Antioch. Now his principality had been recognised as his by right by a member of the Latin church. Here we must emphasise that this 'legal' right in this sense was derived indirectly from the papacy ; it had nothing to do with Byzantine attitudes, claims or rights. Thus by this stage Bohemond had burned his bridges ; his stance from now on had to be in distinct opposition to Alexius who could not afford to lose Antioch as the city was the key to Byzantine restoration in the south ([126]).

With Bohemond's possession of Antioch and his complete refusal to countenance the emperor's claims, there was little Alexius could do except engage in open war. In this way the emperor's old enemy from the 1080's had proved also to be his main opponent in the crusading forces, and his distrust of the Norman while at Constantinople had proved to be justified. An army was sent south under Butumites and Monastras in order to gain control over Cilicia although they achieved little apart from the occupation of Marash. The emperor's best chance of dealing with this problem came when Bohemond and his cousin Richard of the Principate were captured by Gumustekin while marching to relieve Malatya. Orderic Vitalis tells us that Alexius "sent envoys to the Danishmend, urgently requesting him to accept a great ransom for Bohemond and surrender him to the emperor in return for a hundred thousand Philips" ([127]). He informs us that he did this, not to

(125) FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, transl. by Francis Rita Ryan (University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1969), p. 132.

(126) M. J. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, p. 140.

(127) ORDERIC VITALIS, Vol. V, Book X, p. 355. Here Orderic Vitalis uses the

restore the Norman to freedom, but to keep him in prison forever. The emperor's attempts to secure the release of Bohemond failed. Had he succeeded it seems unlikely that he would have placed him in jail, but rather that he would have attempted to bring him into the imperial orbit, perhaps under the terms of a treaty in the mould of the future Treaty of Devol. As it was, Bohemond was ransomed by the Latins and Alexius' only recourse was once again to war.

While his uncle was imprisoned, Tancred had continued the work of consolidating the principality's hold on the surrounding regions capturing Tarsus, Adana, Mamistra and, after a one and a half year siege, Laodicea. In 1104 Alexius, therefore, prepared for another campaign in the south : his timing was perfect. Frankish forces under Bohemond and Baldwin of Edessa had suffered a great defeat at the hands of the Turks at Harran, a conflict which cost them a large number of men ([128]). Rudwan of Aleppo took advantage of the situation and devastated the lands of Antioch as far as the Iron Bridge ([129]). Meanwhile a Byzantine fleet under Cantacuzenus had occupied Laodicea and captured Argyrocastrum and Jabala, while land forces under Monastras captured Tarsus, Adana and Mamistra. Alexius was determined to crush Bohemond and regain Antioch, while the prince, in his turn, was commited to holding the city in order to retain his own position of authority. Bohemond's only hope in such a dangerous situation was to look to the west for military support, and so, accordingly he sailed from the port of St. Simeon sometime in August 1104 and arrived at Bari in January 1105.

During the course of the First Crusade we must remember that there were still a number of Normans in Byzantine service, notably Guy, Bohemond's half-brother, William of Grantmesnil, and Peter Aliphas. It has already been argued in this essay that Guy was with the Byzantine forces under Alexius during their march south to aid the Latin forces at Antioch. The other two Normans mentioned here deserve to be given further treatment. In the case of Peter Aliphas it seems clear that he was well thought of among the Byzantine ranks. While the crusaders and the imperial troops under Tatikios

term 'Philip' as a synonym for bezants which was an antiquarian touch of the author. The origin of the term lies in the fact that Macedonian gold coins with the image of Philip of Macedon were called 'Philips'.

(128) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, p. 100.

(129) R. L. NICHOLSON, *Tancred, A Study of His Career and Work in Their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (Chicago, Illinois, 1940), p. 148.

were marching south he was given command of Plastencia ([130]), "a fair and very wealthy city" ([131]). Although the Latin sources such as the *Gesta Francorum* and the History of Orderic Vitalis suggest that it was the crusading leaders who allowed him to hold the city, this seems unlikely at a stage in the crusade when the Byzantine commander Tatikios was still present. As S. Runciman makes clear, it was probably the imperial commander who appointed Peter as 'guardian' of the city, perhaps playing on the fact that he was originally a Latin, in order to placate western crusaders ([132]).

William Grantmesnil also remained in Byzantine service. His desertion from Antioch does not automatically mean that he had previously joined the western crusading ranks. It seems more than likely that he had served under the command of Tatikios during the march south. The departure of the latter did not mean the withdrawal of all Byzantine forces since Raymond d'Aguilers states that the imperial commander had "abandoned his forces at Antioch" ([133]). It must also be remembered in this context that Grantmesnil's first action after fleeing from the city was to head north, back to Byzantine service, meeting Alexius' army at Philomelium ([134]).

We also have evidence of disaffection among the ranks against their leaders ; a striking echo of the revolts within Norman society on southern Italy before the crusade. In the *Gesta Francorum* we find that, "the rank and file, with those who were very poor, fled to Cyprus or Rum, or into the mountains" ([135]), while the author of that work, himself disillusioned with Bohemond's actions at Antioch, took service with Raymond of Toulouse. However, the main figure among the Norman ranks who displayed actions indicative of a lack of cohesion in social ties was Tancred. Bohemond was already angry with his nephew's attempts to lay siege to a castle during the march to Constantinople, and, as has been explained, Tancred's march into Cilicia seems to have been carried out for his own benefit rather than in response to his uncle's orders. More dramatically, however, we find after the siege of Antioch he was bribed to enter the service of Raymond of Toulouse, his uncle's principal enemy among the crusading leaders ([136]). Tancred's duplicitous nature seems to have been recognised by many of his contem-

(130) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 25.
(131) ORDERIC VITALIS, Vol. V, Book IX, p. 67.
(132) S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, p. 191.
(133) RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, p. 37.
(134) ANNA COMNENA, p. 348.
(135) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 36.
(136) RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, p. 80.

poraries. When he was called to Antioch after Bohemond's capture the citizens there would not let him enter the gates until he gave an oath to be faithful to the prince. It is important also to remember that he did not do anything to secure the release of his uncle, since that would remove him from his position of power as regent of Antioch. Tancred's attitude appears to have been totally mercenary. He was willing to enter the service of anyone willing to pay him, but always capable of setting out on his own, and of retaining what power he had regardless even of the position of his nominal lord, Bohemond.

It appears then that the same social structure, attitudes and tensions existed in southern Italy as were evident in the Norman forces throughout the crusade. That is to say, ill defined social ties of lord over vassal, with variations ranging between faithfulness, open revolt, and disillusionment. A basic mercenary attitude is evident especially in the figure of Tancred, but also within the lower Norman ranks, such as those who deserted at Antioch and entered the service of Raymond of Toulouse. Once again we find that Byzantium was the main opponent of Bohemond, and that it still provided a source of employment for the disillusioned and disaffected.

Part IV

Bohemond in the West and the Invasion of Albania

By 1104 the main Latin opponent of Alexius Comnenus in the east was undoubtedly Bohemond, Prince of Antioch. His stance as such was highlighted by his actions in the west between 1105 and 1107, when he apparently turned a crusade against the eastern empire, resulting in the attack on Durazzo. He posed a threat to Byzantium that was obviously viewed seriously by Alexius as witnessed by his efforts, both diplomatic and military to counteract the actions of Bohemond. However, the exact nature of the events when the prince was in the west are not settled, as one is confronted by conflicting interpretations and assessments, which must be cleared up in order to enable us to arrive at some understanding of Bohemond's aims and diplomatic skill, and the eastern emperor's attitude towards the Norman.

The first problem that confronts one is the crucial factor of whether or not Bohemond received papal backing in 1105 for an attack against the eastern empire. On the one hand a number of historians including S. Runciman ([137]),

(137) S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II, p. 48.

R. B. Yewdale ([138]) and M. J. Angold ([139]), all accept that Pascal II did indeed give his backing to Bohemond's plan for an invasion of the Byzantine Empire. On the other hand, we have the article by J. G. Rowe in which he argued the case that the Prince of Antioch, had through subtle manipulation, and shrewd diplomatic cunning, managed to dupe the pope into backing what was ostensibly a crusade against the infidel, which Bohemond himself then turned to his own advantage ([140]). In short, Rowe believes that the pope had not sanctioned Bohemond's call for a crusade against Alexius in 1105. The question is of such importance that Rowe's argument requires a more detailed assessment at this stage.

Rowe's case is based on the doubtful criticism of the source material for this period, and his basic mistake in this context was that of investigating some sources while simply neglecting or dismissing others. A criticism of this method is required before going on to discuss the possibility of papal backing for the attack on Albania. Firstly, he describes the *Historia belli sacri* as a "mishmash of dubious value" ([141]), and yet the work does provide us with a credible insight into Bohemond's aims. The author, who was probably a monk at Montecassino stated that while Bohemond was still at Antioch he recalled a vow made while in captivity to travel to the shrine of St. Leonard of Noblac in Limousin in France. Now, such a statement demands sensitive treatment since it suggests the important possibility that Bohemond had turned his thoughts towards France before he himself set out for the west at the end of 1104. The inference of the above statement carries more weight when seen in the light of Orderic Vitalis who tells us that soon after Bohemond's release from captivity he sent, "Richard, the companion of his captivity, to Gaul, and dispatched silver fetters by his hand to the holy confessor, St. Leonard, giving devout thanks for his delivery" ([142]). This Norman was Richard of the Principality, the cousin of Bohemond, whose father was William, count of Salerno, the full brother of Robert Guiscard. Richard and his brother Rainulf had been among the leading knights of southern Italy who took the cross with Bohemond, and he maintained close links with both Tancred and Bohemond throughout the First Crusade. The

(138) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, pp. 107-108.

(139) M. J. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, p. 142.

(140) J. G. ROWE, "Paschal II, Bohemond of Antioch, and the Byzantine Empire", in *Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library* (1966), IL, pp. 165-202.

(141) *Ibid.*, p. 178.

(142) ORDERIC VITALIS, Vol. V, Book X, p. 377.

importance of his branch of the Hauteville family is attested by the fact that his son Roger of Salerno was named in Tancred's will in 1112 as regent of Antioch, a post he was to hold until Bohemond's young son, Bohemond II demanded the city ([143]). It is significant in this case that Bohemond chose to send not merely a simple knight, but a member of the Norman nobility, and his own cousin, to France. His services as a knightly leader must surely have been missed from Antioch at this time, and Bohemond must have had a number of specific reasons for sending him. Firstly, his very nobility would mean that he would cut a more impressive figure in French courtly circles. This was probably enchanced by his own participation in the successful First Crusade, a participation that was marked by an anti-Byzantine quality similar to that embodied in Tancred. As the author of the *Gesta Francorum* relates, "Tancred and Richard of the Principality crossed the Hellespont secretly because they did not want to take the oath to the emperor" ([144]). It would be rash, therefore, to dismiss out of hand the author of the *Historia belli sacri* who, although not aware of the full factors involved, does realise that Bohemond, while still in the east had turned his attentions towards France.

Rowe is willing to accept the information provided by another contemporary, Bertolf of Nangis, to the effect that Paschal had "presented Bohemond with the banner of St. Peter". This he assumes, came from a westerner in Bohemond's forces. However, he puts forward the case that in doing this the pope had merely sanctioned the calling of a crusade against the infidel and not against Alexius, and that the Norman prince and Bruno of Segni were sent to France in order to raise support for an expedition against the Saracens. Here he cites the lack of a clearly defined anti-Byzantine sentiment in some of the western source material such as the *Historia belli sacri*, and the writings of Peter the Deacon in the *Chronica of Montecassino*, to suggest that the pope held no such notions. This is in direct contast to the attitudes espouced in the *Hierosolymita* of Ekkhard which portrays Alexius as the enemy of the crusades. He argues that Paschal II's unwillingness to back an attack against Byzantium in 1105 was conditioned by the eastern emperor's ransoming of Frankish prisoners from the infidel. This was a factor that Alexius himself played on, as is evident in the *Alexiad*, where Anna tells us that the emperor had paid for the freedom of "Kelts and sent them west to refute Bohemond's propaganda" ([145]). He also highlights the fact that Alexius

(143) WILLIAM OF TYRE, Vol. I, pp. 492-493.
(144) *Gesta Francorum*, p. 13.
(145) ANNA COMNENA, pp. 370-371.

did not lack friends in southern Italy, notably in the figure of Abbot Oderius of Montecassino whom, he argues, probably fostered pro-Byzantine attitudes at Rome ([146]). Rowe's arguments, however, are wholly unconvincing ; not only does he play down the effect of anti-Byzantine propaganda in the west after the troubles of the First Crusade and the failure of the expedition of 1101, but he also fails to pursue the real keys to the problem, namely the actions of Daimbert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the exact nature of Bohemond's exploits in the west as revealed to us in a crucial sentence in Orderic Vitalis.

It is clear from both William of Tyre ([147]) and Fulcher of Chartres ([148]) that Daimbert had travelled west with Bohemond, and that he presented himself at the papal court in order to receive official recognition of his position as patriarch of Jerusalem, a post from which he had been deposed on 8 October 1102 ([149]). He was successful in this and was, "given an apostolic letter and sent back to his own land, in full favour, to resume the seat from which he had been wrongfully ousted" ([150]). During his stay at the papal court Daimbert's case was undoubtedly supported by Bohemond who had already backed him in his original election to the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem ([151]). Daimbert in his turn probably fostered a climate of opinion favourable to Bohemond's plans, that is to say, by helping to create a distinctly anti-Byzantine sentiment at Rome. He probably did this, not only in return for the prince's support, but also because of his own anti-Byzantine standpoint. His position in the east as patriarch of Jerusalem was threatened by the Byzantines who were looking to expand their frontiers southward, and whose orthodox faith stood in direct opposition to Daimbert's Latin teachings. The similarity of Bohemond's and Daimbert's aims are seen when reflecting on their relations in the east. From the outset Daimbert had shown little respect for the Byzantines ; Anna Comnena tells us that he organised and directed the Pisan fleet to attack the imperial lands of Corfu, Leucas, Kephalonia and Zacynthos ([152]). Shortly after that he joined Bohemond on his attack on Laodicea in 1099 ([153]). The prince's part, in the election of

(146) J. G. ROWE, "Paschal II, Bohmeond of Antioch", p. 171.
(147) WILLIAM OF TYRE, Vol. I, p. 460.
(148) FULCHER OF CHARTRES, p. 177.
(149) WILLIAM OF TYRE, Vol. I, p. 461 (see footnotes).
(150) *Ibid.*, p. 467.
(151) FULCHER OF CHARTRES, p. 132 (see important footnote).
(152) ANNA COMNENA, pp. 360-363.
(153) S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, p. 300.

Daimbert has already been discussed in this essay, and since Bohemond's legitimate authority as prince stemmed from his being granted Antioch as a fief of the church, the fact that the patriarch had been deposed threatened the legal basis of the Norman's position. With this in mind it is clear that Bohemond had to back Daimbert's rights, and aid him in obtaining official papal recognition. On Daimbert's part it seems that he affiliated himself early on to Bohemond and his position at Antioch. After his deposition the patriarch "fled to Bohemond" were he was received with great honour and granted the church and benefice of St. George ([154]). From 1102 he dwelt continually at Antioch until his departure for the west in 1104 ([155]). In that time he became totally embroiled in Bohemond's ventures even taking part in the disastrous Harran campaign ([156]). It is obvious that by 1104 Daimbert had become closely involved with Bohemond's activities at Antioch, activities marked by their anti-Byzantine stance. Thus when at the papal court, Daimbert could not help but foster the Norman's aims since his position at Antioch was closely linked to the patriarch's own maintenance of authority. Furhermore, Daimbert's evidence, as the accepted patriarch of Jerusalem, must have had more sway in papal circles than that of Oderius of Montecassino, especially when coupled with the effects of 1101, and Bohemond's own testimony on Greek treachery. All of this points to the fact that, contrary to Rowe, the political climate at Rome was ripe for advocating an attack on Byzantium.

One problem remains : how could Bohemond persuade the pope to sanction on outright attack on the Christian east ? Here we must turn to Orderic Vitalis and his statement which tells us that when Bohemond was in France he was, "accompanied by the son of the Emperor Diogenes and other eminent Greeks and Thracians, whose suit against the Emperor Alexius for treacherously depriving them of the dignities of their ancestors further stirred up the warlike Franks to fury against him" ([157]). This is important since it suggests that Bohemond was now following the pattern set by his father Guiscard, who had used the pseudo-Michael VII in order to win papal, and general support for his attack on Albania in the 1080's. His eldest son was fully aware that any open attack against a fellow Christian, even if he had proved untrustworthy, would involve legal, moral and religious problems.

(154) WILLIAM OF TYRE, Vol. I, p. 452.
(155) *Ibid.*
(156) FULCHER OF CHARTRES, p. 178.
(157) ORDERIC VITALIS, Vol. VI, Book XI, pp. 69-71.

However, a 'just cause' for such an attack could be found by advancing the claims of a "rightful" emperor against an imposter: Alexius. This would deflect any possible attacks on Bohemond for advocating such an attack, and would enable the pope to give the expedition his full backing since in theory he would merely be sanctioning the support of the "rightful" Christian emperor of the east. There is no reason whatsoever to doubt the evidence of Orderic Vitalis since he was undoubtedly present at some of Bohemond's crusading councils. In this case since the latter used a Greek imposter, and the evidence of disaffected Greeks in France, it is more than likely that he would have employed similar tactics in Rome to win the support of the papacy. Indeed with attitudes in Rome distinctly anti-Comnenian, due to the effects of 1101 and Daimbert's stay at court, Bohemond's attempts to raise a crusading force which could deal with Alexius Comnenus on route to the Holy Land undoubtedly received papal backing. The prince of Antioch had, therefore, played a major part in turning a crusade against Alexius I, but the expedition's destination was a factor fully realised by all, including Paschal II.

Bohemond, after receiving papal support, set himself to the task of raising wider support in the west for his attack on Alexius, and of strengthening his social position. During an interview with King Philip, while he was in France, Bohemond asked for the hand of his daughter Constance in marriage ([158]). Around the same time it was arranged for another of Philip's daughters, Cicilia, to be sent east to wed Tancred, an event which took place sometime in 1106 ([159]). Bohemond's own wedding was celebrated after Easter in the same year ([160]), and through these two events it was clear that the Hauteville principality in the east had been recognised by western royalty, and this further enhanced the prince's political standing.

In order to aid his propaganda in the west, it is known that Bohemond distributed copies of the *Gesta Francorum* and that even before leaving Apulia he had sent envoys to King Henry I of England, "to inform the King why he had come to southern Italy" ([161]). Even on the day of his wedding, Orderic Vitalis tells us that Bohemond "mounted the pulpit before the altar of the blessed Virgin and Mother, and there related to a huge throng that had assembled all his deeds and adventures, and urged all who bore arms to attack the emperor with him, and promised his chosen adjutants wealthy

(158) *Ibid.*, p. 71.
(159) R. L. NICHOLSON, *Tancred*, p. 162.
(160) ORDERIC VITALIS, Vol. VI, Book XI, p. 71.
(161) *Ibid.*, p. 69.

towns and castles" ([162]). Many knights soon flocked to Bohemond and their names are recorded by Vitalis : Ralph of Pont Echanfray, his brother Walchelin, Simon of Anet, Robert of Maule with his cousin Hugh Sans-Avoir, "and many others" ([163]). It is clear that Bohemond's intentions at this stage had by far eclipsed those of his father. The effects of his struggles in the east against Byzantines, Muslims, and Latins under Raymond of Toulouse, his eventual recognition as Prince of Antioch by the papacy and western society in general, had fused and indoubtedly led to the idea of his creation of an eastern power under his aegis, one which would stretch from Durazzo to Antioch. Such an attitude is reflected in his use of the crusading forces collected in Apulia under his authority. He made no attempt to head directly for Antioch which could have provided a power base for the new crusade against the Saracens and Byzantines, but instead he made straight for Avlona on the Albanian coast. There he entered on a campaign which closely resembled that of the 1080's. That is to say, one designed to gain military control of Albania at the expense of Byzantium, which would in turn catch the Byzantines in a pincer between Albania and Antioch.

Bohemond's attack on Albania was indeed viewed seriously by Alexius Comnenus, who had been fully aware of the anti-Byzantine propaganda spread by the Norman while in the west. Hence, the emperor's removal of his forces from Cilicia and posting of them to the west. Cantacuzenus and Monastras were summoned from Cilicia ([164]), while Isaac Contostephanus was promoted Grand Duke of the Fleet and sent to Durazzo. His orders were to "stop Bohemond's convoys" and "allow nothing whatever to be transported to him from Lombardy" ([165]). This was the key to Alexius's eventual success. He was, as Anna tells us, "unwilling to risk a hand to hand fight" ([166]), and his main tactics were to stop supplies reaching Bohemond and in that way starve him into submission. Indeed, according to Orderic Vitalis one of the main reasons for Bohemond's defeat in Albania was the fact that his supplies were exhausted ([167]). He does cite another reason : the fact that a number of the prince's followers went over to the Byzantine side, including his half-brother Guy and Robert Monfort ([168]). This shows that

(162) *Ibid.*, p. 71.
(163) *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.
(164) ANNA COMNENA, p. 372.
(165) *Ibid.*, pp. 388-389.
(166) *Ibid.*, p. 405.
(167) ORDERIC VITALIS, Vol. VI, Book XI, p. 103.
(168) *Ibid.*

Byzantium continued to have its attractions for disaffected and disillusioned Normans. Here Anna Comnena provides us with a number of examples. Again we come across Normans who had been in imperial service for some years ; we find that Peter Aliphas and "Roger the Frank" were summoned from Constantinople to give the emperor advice during the campaign ([169]). Furthermore, it is clear that the Byzantines pursued their time honoured policy of employing knights in order to bring them within their orbit and also to help defeat Bohemond's attack. Anna relates the case of one William of Claret who saw that Bohemond's forces were being wiped out by famine and plague, and deserted to the emperor who welcomed him, gave him gifts and the title of "nobilissimus" ([170]).

Strikingly, we find among the signatories of the Treaty of Devol for the imperial court, the name of Richard of the Principality. Marquis de la Force has stated that he had entered Byzantine service along with William of Claret before the end of hostilities ([171]). The important factor here is that from as early as 1096 Richard displayed a decidedly anti-imperial attitude, closely involved as he was with Bohemond's ambitions and actions at Antioch and in France. Nevertheless, faced with defeat and little prospects for profit, he felt few qualms about going over to Byzantium. The fact that he appears in official imperial service so soon after Byzantine success serves to show not only his quick assimilation but also reinforces the Marquis de la Force's argument that Alexius deliberately chose Normans as signatories for the treaty in order to humiliate Bohemond ([172]). It must indeed have been most disconcerting for the prince to see his cousin, one with whom he had shared captivity at the hands of Gumustekin, and had trusted well enough to send him on to France to prepare the way for his own arrival, now in the imperial service and signing a treaty which marked the end of Bohemond's enterprise in the east.

There is also the figure of Guy to consider. Here we have a Norman who vacillates between Hauteville and Byzantine service ; he had served the father in the early 1080's, was in imperial service at the time of the First Crusade, and joined Bohemond on his Albanian expedition only to desert back to Alexius. Such behaviour, however, was not unique ; his actions had been

(169) ANNA COMNENA, p. 406.

(170) *Ibid.*, p. 417.

(171) MARQUIS DE LA FORCE, "Les conseillers latins du Basileus Alexis Comnène", in *Byzantion* (1936), p. 157.

(172) *Ibid.*, p. 163.

foreshadowed by Abelard, who as William of Apulia tells us, entered Byzantine service after his last revolt against Guiscard, and who appears in the pages of Anna Comnena in the employ of the German emperor Henry IV. It is clear from this that the German court also had its attractions for disaffected Normans, and that the fluidity of allegiance was not just a matter of entering either Norman or Byzantine service but could also include German or indeed papal employ. In the particular case of Guy and Abelard, it seems that we have two individuals who were proficient in the ability to shift their allegiance whenever they felt that such a shift could lead to their profit. Thus from 1080 until 1108 the fluid character of Norman society had changed little, as some knights were always willing to follow paths that they believed would result in profit.

The conditions of the Treaty of Devol itself provides us with an insight into Byzantine attitudes. After all that Bohemond had done against the empire it is significant that they could still accept the idea of bringing him into their service as a liege man of the emperor, to be his "servant" and "subject" and serve against those who opposed his power ([173]). He even agreed to wage war against Tancred if necessary in order to bring him into line with Byzantine wishes ([174]). Bohemond must still have seemed to be a dangerous figure who could attack the eastern empire at any time. In order to prevent this the Byzantines attempted to pull him into their world by granting him several privileges. He was granted Antioch, Souetions, Doux, and other cities, as well as the themes of Casiotis and Lapara. He was given the title of 'sebastos', and was to receive, every year, the "sum of 200 talents, in coin of good quality" ([175]). In short, the Byzantines were seeking to employ his undoubted military prowess in their schemes, a service based on Antioch ; the key to expansion in Syria. If the Byzantines could control that region through the figure of Bohemond, they would in one fell swoop neutralize his and Tancred's attacks on imperial territory, and also have a strong bastion in northern Syria from which they might hope to recover the Euphrates lands to the north.

Such were the Byzantine aims in the Treaty of Devol, but what of Bohemond himself? His position must be seen in the light of the defeat of his 'crusade' against Alexius. This defeat marked the end of his effective agression towards the eastern Empire, and although he ostensibly became a

(173) ANNA COMNENA, p. 424.
(174) *Ibid.*, p. 427.
(175) *Ibid.*, p. 433.

vassal of the emperor, his attitude towards this idea was reflected by his return to Apulia after Devol, rather than staying in the east where the emperor exercised control. By 1108 Bohemond's ambitions had expanded to such a degree, that for him to enter Byzantine service, as he had attempted to do in 1096 was an idea foreign to his way of thinking. As S. Runciman states, "the vastness of his unscrupulous ambition was his downfall. The time had not yet come for the crusaders to destroy the bulwark of eastern Christendom" ([176]).

By 1112 the Hauteville threat had ceased to exist for the time being. Bohemond, after returning to Apulia in the wake of Devol died in 1111 to be followed a year later by Tancred. In the last decade of his life Bohemond had shown to what heights of ambition a Norman could climb, by directing a crusade against Byzantium in order to strengthen his own position. Nevertheless, his actions were tempered by that continual lack of cohesion in Norman society, as we are confronted, once again, with little evidence of lasting vassal-lord bonds. While the Normans played for their own profit, Byzantium continued to adopt the stance that had always dogged the Norman leadership. That was by offering employment to Normans, and through gifts of money and titles, attempting to draw them into an eastern-imperial orbit.

Conclusion

Throughout the whole period under consideration in this essay, Norman society displayed one element of continuity above all others : its instability. Both Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemond were plagued by, and had their aims thwarted, by the tendency of their leading knights to leave their ranks and entre Byzantine service. This was a condition which was aggravated in times of war but not confined specifically to periods of open conflict. Abelard had, with Byzantine support, revolted against Guiscard when he was not actually engaged in anti-Byzantine military activities. Raoul and his brother Roger entered into imperial service before Robert's first invasion of Albania. However, in times of conflict, the Byzantines increased their overtures to Norman leaders to join their ranks, in order to cripple the Hauteville's military capacity. This trait of Norman knighthood of entering Byzantine service, either for life, such as Peter Aliphas, or to vacillate between a number

(176) S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II, p. 51.

of lords, such as was evident in the actions of Bohemond's half-brother Guy, was conditioned by their basic mercenary mentality. This was a factor displayed not only by the lower knights, but also by the higher warrior echelons of Norman society. Bohemond himself, when disinherited in the 1080's resorted to civil war against Roger Borsa, and in 1096 when he had little hope of expansion in southern Italy, he was apparently willing to enter Byzantine service as Domestic of the East. His nephew Tancred epitomised the mercenary character of Norman society. From the start of the crusade it was clear that he was out for himself even if it meant defying Bohemond, by entering the service of Raymond of Toulouse, and later offering little help to release him from captivity. This is not to say that Norman society lacked any kind of feudal ties ; an element of faithfulness to a lord is noticeable in both Peter Aliphas and Guy Hauteville who did not enter into Byzantine employ until after the death of Robert Guiscard. It must be emphasised however, that these ties seem to have been on a purely personal basis ; both of these knights showed no desire to follow Robert's successor Roger Borsa, nor did they adhere to any notion of a coherent Norman society in southern Italy. On the contrary, with the death of Guiscard they did not hesitate to go over to Alexius Comnenus.

The one stable factor in the Norman world was the continual receptivity of Byzantium towards disaffected Norman warriors. They continually offered employment to the Normans, not merely to disarm the Hautevilles' military capabilities but to use them as mercenaries for their own ends, by bringing them into their orbit through distributing gifts and titles. Through the figure of Bohemond's cousin Constantine Humbertopoulos, we can see that the Byzantines, and in particular, the Comnenian court, valued and admired Norman military abilities. In Anna Comnena we find that Humbertopoulos was discovered conspiring against Alexius, along with the Armenian Ariebes. Despite this they are still described as "distinguished officers and brave men" ([177]). Both of them were condemned to exile but the "emperor resolutely opposed the extreme penalty demanded by the laws" ([178]). Furthermore, it is clear that Humbertopoulos was soon back in the role of military commander as he is later mentioned by Anna as one of the leaders during an expedition against the Cumans ([179]). This respect for Norman prowess was also evident in the shock felt by Doceianus when Alexius

(177) ANNA COMNENA, p. 261.
(178) *Ibid.*, p. 262.
(179) *Ibid.*, p. 298.

pretended to blind Roussel of Bailleul, the Norman who was a "true hero" ([180]). It is clear, in this context that Anna believed that his 'heroic' character was due to his military exploits and prowess in the battlefield. We find a similar, though more grudging respect for Tancred whom Anna described as being "among those most admired for their quality and skill as leaders" ([181]). However, in Anna's description of Bohemond the princess's admiration of noble military qualities is made very clear indeed. According to Anna he was a man of "aristocratic" and "indomitable spirit" ([182]), whose very stature "inspired admiration" ([183]). His physical warrior qualities ; great height, broad shoulders and strong arms, roused true respect in the princess who even deigned to describe him as "great" ([184]). It appears, therefore, that the Comnenian court was attracted to the image of the Norman warrior who could display physical power and nobility on the battlefield.

However, how successful were the Byzantines in bringing Normans within their world ? Both D. M. Nicol ([185]) and S. Fassoulakis ([186]) have shown that a number of the original Normans who entered Byzantine service during the period under discussion did assimilate fairly well into Byzantine life. Roger, brother of Raoul who had entered Byzantine service in 1081, eventually married into a noble Byzantine family ([187]), and by the time of his death had won enough renown to merit the poet Nicholas Kallikles composing an epitaph for him ([188]). Nicol also argues that there was a certain *sebastos*, Constantine Rogerios, who died before 1136 who could have been the son of the original Roger ([189]). The significant factor here is that he died a zealous orthodox, presumably one of the major prerequisites for complete assimilation, and that his brother was probably John Dalassenos Rogerios who married Maria Comnena, the eldest daughter of John II, and was himself entitled 'Caesar' ([190]).

(180) *Ibid.*, p. 37.
(181) *Ibid.*, p. 373.
(182) *Ibid.*, p. 66.
(183) *Ibid.*, p. 422.
(184) *Ibid.*, p. 423.
(185) D. M. NICOL, *Symbiosis and Integration ; Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th centuries* (Amsterdam, 1979).
(186) S. FASSOULAKIS, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens, 1973).
(187) D. M. NICOL, *Symbiosis and Integration*, p. 123.
(188) *Ibid.*
(189) *Ibid.*, p. 124.
(190) *Ibid.*

With regards to the descendants of Roger's brother Raoul, S. Fassoulakis has had a somewhat difficult task for the early period due to the paucity of records. However, two names do emerge : Humbert ([191]), who had been one of the signatories at the Treaty of Devol in 1108, and Leon ([192]), a scribe of two manuscripts in 1139. This family appears to have fallen out of imperial favour after the death of Alexius I Comnenus in 1118, since no-one of note emerges from its ranks until the late twelfth century, when one Constantine Raoul was *sebastos* during the reigns of the emperors Isaac II Angelus and Alexius II Angelus. Despite this hiatus, Fassoulakis concluded that the family had been completely hellenized by 1139 ([193]) because Leon Raoul was an orthodox priest. The family of Peter Aliphas seems to have settled quite easily into the Byzantine orbit. After 1108 in return for his faithful service, the emperor granted his family an estate in the area of Didmoteichos in Thrace. Forty years after that, Niketas Choniates recorded the bravery of four 'Petraliphas' brothers who fought under Michael I against the Normans in an attempt to recover Corfu ([194]). It is clear, even from these few examples, that a fair degree of assimilation was attained by Norman families in the Byzantine empire.

Throughout the later period under discussion, the figure of Bohemond loomed large. In the years from 1096 to 1111 his ambitions grew to embrace the idea of setting up another crusading kingdom on the lands of the old Byzantine empire. The First Crusade had resulted in the creation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Bohemond, already Prince of Antioch, probably saw the assumption of royal power as his next logical step. It was clear from the tactics of his invasion of the Byzantine empire in 1107 that he intended to crush Alexius Comnenus and expand his own territories centred on Antioch. The contributing factors in the formation of his ambitions were, his recognition as Prince of Antioch by Daimbert, his years of struggle against Turk and Byzantine, marriage into the French royal house and papal backing for an expedition against Alexius I. After Devol he returned to southern Italy where he was to die in 1111. Unfortunately little is known about these last years in Bohemond's life. However, a number of historians have looked to his tomb at the Cathedral of St. Sabinus at Canosa in the hope that it will provide an insight into the prince's attitude towards Byzantium and his own

(191) S. FASSOULAKIS, p. 11.
(192) *Ibid.*, p. 12.
(193) *Ibid.*, p. 13.
(194) D. M. NICOL, *Symbiosis and Integration*, p. 132.

position. Both A. R. Gadolin ([195]) and A. W. Epstein ([196]) have argued that rather than being based on a Muslim 'turbe' the prince's mausoleum was heavily biased towards Byzantine models. The choice of site was of importance since, unlike the Abbey of Santissima Trinita at Venosa where most of the Hauteville leaders were buried, the Cathedral at Canosa appears to have been based on the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, which contained the great imperial sarcophagi of the Byzantine ruling dynasties. The eastern influence goes further ; the interior of the actual tomb resembles the cross-in-square church common in Byzantine building, and even early Byzantine acanthus capitals were employed in its construction. Epstein states that Bohemond probably "regarded Canosa as a surrogate for its metropolitan model", in that it "bore the imperial connotations of its prototype" ([197]). She argues that Bohemond was attempting to emulate Byzantine imperial funerary tradition by adopting a model which was imbued with imperial symbolism. In this light it is important to try to date Bohemond's construction of the mausoleum, whether it was before or after Devol. However, in doing this, one finds that a number of significant factors do not fit the hypotheses that the prince actually wished to be buried in southern Italy. Let us first take the period prior to 1107. At this stage all of Bohemond's actions were geared to the expansion of his principality of Antioch. As has been discussed, there was little for him in Italy where Roger Borsa was his overlord. While in the east he had been recognised by the Latin church and invested with Antioch by Daimbert. He had fought to retain the city against Turks, Byzantines and Raymond of Toulouse, and it was only because of the increased pressure exerted by Alexius I and Rudwan of Aleppo, that he decided to leave in 1104 to raise support in the west. The invasion of Albania in 1107 was designed to benefit his principality of Antioch, Italy merely being used as a source of supply for his expedition. Bohemond was primarily concerned with his position in the east and it is highly unlikely that he would have considered burial in Italy at the same time as he was setting out on an expedition that might have resulted in making his principality of Antioch the most powerful state in the east.

(195) A. R. GADOLIN, "Prince Bohemond's Death and Apotheosis in the Church of San Sabino, Canosa di Puglia", in *Byzantion* (1982), LII, pp. 124-153.

(196) A. W. EPSTEIN, "The Date and Significance of the Cathedral of Canosa in Apulia, South Italy", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (1983), XXXVII, pp. 79-90.

(197) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

It would be all too easy to imagine that Bohemond's ambitions had been laid to rest in the wake of the humiliating Treaty of Devol, and that the erection of such a tomb in this period may have reflected an acceptance of Byzantine superiority. However, a number of problems arise with this hypothesis. Epstein herself spoils her own case by highlighting the fact that Bohemond had few ties with St. Sabino in Canosa and that in contrast, he and his family had given a number of gifts to St. Nicola in Bari and S. S. Trinita ([198]). R. B. Yewdale cites only one example of his connections with St. Sabina and that was early in 1105 when he merely gave the church two thorns from Christ's crown ([199]). It is highly improbable that no other evidence should remain to illustrate his ties with St. Sabina if Bohemond had had a hand in erecting the tomb and chosing the site. Too much tacit emphasis has been placed on the humiliation of Devol, which tends to paint the picture of Bohemond spending the last years of his life in Italy a broken man. It must be emphasised that after defeat he had to accept the terms of Devol, but when back in Italy he could simply pay them little heed. The fact of the matter is that Bohemond's legitimate claim to Antioch lay in the rights accorded to him by the Latin church in the person of Daimbert ; Alexius I Comnenus, despite Devol, had little to do with Bohemond's rights in the east. As R. B. Yewdale pointed out Alexius actually gained very little from the treaty as Tancred was still in Antioch defending its territories ostensibly on behalf of his uncle ([200]). The fact that Bohemond's ambitions remained in the east is born out by the fact that he continued to style himself 'Prince of Antioch' and more dramatically, by the fact that at the time of his death he was raising an army and a fleet to take east ([201]). As Yewdale suggests, it is more than likely that he would have used this against Alexius ([202]). It is highly unlikely that he would have thought of Italy as a possible site for his family burial ground at this time. His thoughts at this stage still lay in the east, as he could not abandon his rights to Antioch. That city, with its wealth and apostolic and patriarchal associations must have seemed a more fitting resting place for himself and his family.

There are other factors which highlight for us the contemporary belief that the prince's real authority and rights lay in Antioch as opposed to Italy.

(198) *Ibid.*, p. 85.
(199) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, p. 106.
(200) *Ibid.*, p. 131.
(201) WILLIAM OF TYRE, Vol. I, p. 472.
(202) R. B. YEWDALE, *Bohemond I*, p. 106.

William of Tyre states that after his death, "he left as the heir of his name and principality, one son by the Lady Constance", no mention was made of Italy ([203]). Tancred, on his own death, left Antioch to Roger of Salerno only on condition that he would hand it over to Bohemond's heir, Bohemond II, when the latter demanded it ([204]). The inscriptions on Bohemond's tomb provide us with more startling evidence of his eastern outlook. In the first one which is above the tympanum, it is stated that "the magnanimous prince of Syria lies under this roof", again there is no reference to Italy. In the second which is on the bronze doors of the tomb, Bohemond's life is portrayed as a battle between himself as Syria's protector against the Greeks :

> "How noble, how valuable Bohemond was,
> Greece has witnessed, Syria enumerates.
> He conquered the former ; protected the latter from the enemy" ([205]).

Bohemond's role in the east is emphasised ; there is no mention of his position in southern Italy.

It would appear, therefore, that Bohemond at no time in his life could have wished to have been buried in the west, when both his actions and the attitudes of contemporaries makes it clear that his thoughts lay entirely in the east. What of the tomb ? Epstein's only date for the chapel was "early twelfth century" and she fitted this into her belief that Bohemond had had a hand in building it ([206]). However, such an imprecise dating could equally mean that it was not erected until some time after Bohemond's death, and this is probably the only conclusion that one can draw. The eastern style of the tomb was probably due to a member of Bohemond's following, recognising and respecting his lord's ambitions. After his death Bohemond's burial would have fallen to his widow Constance, and it is to this individual that one must seek the reasoning behind the tomb, but such a search is beyond the scope of this essay. The monument stands as a symbol of Bohemond's eastern ambitions but it was not a result of his living desires. These still lay in Antioch up until his death. However, Bohemond's personal ambitions stood for little in Norman society as a whole. Its fractious nature was still evident in 1108, and, while Bohemond lay in his "Byzantine" tomb, Norman families who had fought along side him were establishing themselves under Comnenian rule.

(203) WILLIAM OF TYRE, Vol. I, p. 133.
(204) *Ibid.*, pp. 492-493.
(205) A. W. EPSTEIN, p. 86.
(206) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

This was a period in which Norman society had not yet found its feet. Its origins lay in mercenary activity and that element remained the predominant motivating factor in most individuals. Overall, the Normans showed the basic hallmarks of a young society; instability, which was aggravated in times of war and revolt, highlighting the lack of a cohesive social ethos. It was a new society, still dominated by the original mercenary families, that confronted, in the east, a well established empire which had had several hundred years in which to form a cohesive and stable political theory.

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CHRONIQUE

CHRONIQUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE

Une nouvelle fois une décennie s'est écoulée depuis la précédente *Chronique* (publiée dans *Byzantion*, t. XLVI, 1976, pp. 128-208, 429-549 ; t. XLVII, 1977, pp. 370-497). Il ne pouvait être question de dresser ici un bilan exhaustif des apports des dix dernières années, qui ont été particulièrement fécondes en publication de résultats de fouilles, de monographies et d'études de synthèse. Je me suis laissé guider dans mes choix par les publications reçues et par mes centres d'intérêt personnels.

Je remercie vivement les auteurs et les éditeurs qui veulent bien me faciliter la tâche en m'envoyant directement leurs publications à mon adresse personnelle : Charles Delvoye, Professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles, 76, avenue des Ortolans, B-1170 Bruxelles.

Études générales sur l'art byzantin

Étienne Coche de la Ferté, *L'art de Byzance.* Principaux monuments de l'art de Byzance par Giustina Ostuni. Paris, Éditions d'art Lucien Mazenod, 1981. 1 vol. 25 × 31,5 cm, 592 pp., 1004 figg. dont 168 en couleurs (L'Art et les Grandes Civilisations).

Ce volume a inauguré, dans une des plus prestigieuses collections de livres d'art, la série des ouvrages consacrés à l'art chrétien médiéval, où ont paru depuis (cités dans l'ordre des époques traitées et non dans celui des dates de publication) *Des Barbares à l'An Mil* et *L'art roman* dus à Marcel Durliat et *L'art gothique* d'Alain Brandenburg. L'un des principaux mérites de ce livre réside dans son illustration, riche en inédits et en documents peu connus, et de très haute qualité. Des missions photographiques ont été envoyées en Italie, en Grèce, en Turquie et jusqu'au mont Sinaï. De nouvelles photographies ont été prises au Louvre et au Trésor de Saint-Marc. 168 excellentes figures en couleurs (le plus souvent chacune aux dimensions d'une planche entière) scandent la progression du texte de M. Coche de La Ferté. Puis

viennent 471 photographies en noir et blanc, groupées par genre (sculptures, mosaïques, fresques, manuscrits, icones et mosaïques portatives, ivoires, stéatites, pierres dures, céramiques, orfèvrerie et métaux, médaillons et bijoux, croix, reliquaires et panneaux émaillés, tissus), ce qui permet de voir se dessiner les évolutions stylistiques. La dernière partie du volume est constituée par les notices historiques sur les principaux monuments de l'art de Byzance, judicieusement confiées à Mme Giustina Ostuni. Elles vont de Constantinople à la Russie (avec la seule Kiev) en passant par l'Asie Mineure, la Syrie-Palestine, la Grèce continentale, la Grèce insulaire, Chypre, l'Italie, la Serbie et la Macédoine septentrionale (Yougoslavie). Mme Lucienne Mazenod a enrichi cette partie de 364 photographies, plans et dessins, dont près de 40 photographies qui, *in fine*, permettent de suivre l'évolution des représentations des visages du Christ et de la Vierge ainsi que celle des chapiteaux. La traduction du texte de Mme Ostuni paraît dans l'ensemble correcte. On relèvera, cependant, qu'en français on dit Porte des *Lions* et non *Léonis* (p. 473, dans le nom turc il eût été plus correct d'écrire Çatladı que Catladi), Juliana et non Giuliana (p. 482), mur à *arcades* et non mur *arqué* (p. 483), Constance II et non Constantius II (p. 484), marbre *de* (et non *du*) Proconnèse (*ibid.*), Caÿstre et non Kaystros (p. 494).

De son côté, M. Coche de La Ferté a d'abord cherché à définir les limites qu'il lui paraissait convenir d'assigner au domaine de l'art byzantin, tout en reconnaissant que c'était sans pouvoir y «mettre trop de rigueur». Dans le temps il a choisi au départ le règne de Justinien (en anticipant sur la fin du Ve s.) et à l'arrivée la prise de Constantinople par les Ottomans ; dans l'aire géographique, les frontières sont plus fluctuantes au gré des époques. Après quoi l'auteur a étudié successivement ce qu'il a appelé les «prémices» (où, en partant du IIIe siècle, il a tenté de cerner ce qui revenait au legs de Rome, aux apports de l'Orient et aux innovations chrétiennes), le premier épanouissement de l'art byzantin (de la fin du Ve s. jusqu'au début du VIIIe), la querelle des images, l'apogée de la civilisation byzantine (sous les Macédoniens et les Comnènes, mais sans avoir mis en lumière ce que je considère comme le tournant décisif qu'avait représenté entre ces deux dynasties, pour la civilisation et pour l'art, l'accès au pouvoir impérial de l'aristocratie civile), l'art profane (en un chapitre un peu bref, où il n'a pas tenu suffisamment compte des données fournies par les textes et qui aurait dû être plutôt intégré dans les divisions chronologiques), l'intermède latin et la renaissance des Paléologues. Le texte se termine par un «bref essai» (de deux pages) «de caractérologie de l'art byzantin». Comme on pouvait l'attendre d'un historien de l'art qui a consacré, avec la finesse et le goût que l'on sait, sa carrière surtout aux

objets, les meilleurs chapitres sont ceux qui concernent les icones, les manuscrits et les arts somptuaires. Les considérations sur l'architecture et sur la grande peinture m'ont paru parfois un peu rapides, voire imprécises ou inexactes. Ainsi p. 36 il aurait dû être rappelé que Saint-Georges de Salonique était l'ancien mausolée de Galère (ce qui est fait pp. 54 et 521) ; telles que les choses sont formulées on pourrait croire que cette église est inspirée de la rotonde du Saint-Sépulcre. — P. 54, il eût convenu de préciser que la cathédrale construite par Théodoric à Ravenne était la cathédrale des Ariens et que la basilique de l'évêque Ursus était aussi une cathédrale ; il eût été bon encore de distinguer les basiliques à cinq nefs de celles à trois nefs. Pp. 154-155, les plans de la Théotokos de Skripou et de Gül Djami illustrent des étapes de l'évolution menant de la basilique au plan en croix grecque inscrite. P. 155, il n'y a pas 3 mais 10 églises à trompes d'angle en Grèce à cette époque et je vois mal en quoi ce parti venu de la Perse par l'entremise de l'Arménie et de l'Anatolie «nous ramène vers l'hellénisme et Byzance». Pp. 156-157, la Cappadoce a connu aussi dans ses églises rupestres le plan en croix grecque inscrite, qui y apparut au xe s. ; les sondages dans la façade de Saint-Marc de Venise ont non pas «confirmé» les dessins d'Ongania mais les ont inspirés. P. 157, l'église des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople datait non pas de la «période médiévale classique» mais du règne de Justinien (cette assertion surprend d'autant plus qu'il est dit correctement p. 156 que cette église était du vi^{e} s.). P. 255, la Parigoritissa d'Arta et les églises de Mistra eussent mérité une analyse plus détaillée de leurs structures complexes. En ce qui touche à la peinture, puisqu'il était question p. 34 du baptistère des Ariens à Ravenne pourquoi n'avoir pas mentionné les mosaïques, beaucoup plus belles, du baptistère de Néon et pourquoi avoir mêlé à ces mosaïques de revêtement les pavements du Grand Palais de Constantinople (en les datant du ve siècle alors que la poterie recueillie en dessous appartient au vi^{e} s. et que ces pavements doivent donc se situer au plus tôt sous le règne de Justinien si ce n'est au viie s.). P. 58, la mosaïque pariétale était une technique non pas déjà *soupçonnée* mais *pratiquée* par les Romains. P. 72, je ne pense pas que ce soit la qualité artistique des icones qui ait porté à croire aux icones *acheiropoiètes* mais le besoin de se reporter à une origine miraculeuse (comme déjà dans l'Athènes antique le *xoanon* en bois d'olivier d'Athéna tombé du ciel). P. 137, ce n'est qu'en apparence (et par une compréhension inexacte de la nature de la crise iconoclaste et de ses vicissitudes) qu'il est paradoxal que les Chrétiens des territoires passés sous la domination musulmane soient restés fidèles aux images ; M. Coche de La Ferté écrit lui-même p. 138 que «le plus important théoricien de l'opinion iconophile

fut saint Jean Damascène» haut fonctionnaire de la cour omeyyade. Il n'est pas plus exact d'avancer que «le peuple, du moins à Constantinople et dans certaines régions de l'Empire ... (a) approuvé la décision impériale» (à vrai dire il y a eu plusieurs décisions impériales successives) : M. Coche de La Ferté parle d'ailleurs p. 139 de «rébellion plus ou moins clandestine au sein de la communauté grecque». Et l'on se souviendra de l'émeute que provoqua à Constantinople l'enlèvement de l'icone du Christ au-dessus de la porte de la Chalcé. P. 166, on regrettera de ne rien trouver sur la peinture à Chypre au XIIe s. P. 171, *Platytéra* signifie non pas «lourde, porteuse d'enfant», mais «plus large» que les cieux ; le quatrième personnage des icones de l'iconostase est le saint titulaire de l'église et non pas nécessairement saint Nicolas. Pp. 240 et 259, M. Coche de La Ferté ne me paraît pas avoir rendu suffisamment justice à ce qu'il y a de novateur dans les peintures de Mileševo, de Sopočani et de Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde. P. 260, à la Kahriye Djami, les scènes de l'Enfance de la Vierge sont illustrées par des mosaïques (comme il est d'ailleurs bien dit p. 257) et non pas des fresques (nouvel exemple des contradictions que l'on peut relever dans ce livre à quelques pages de distance).

Il y aurait encore bien d'autres remarques de détail à faire, principalement dans le domaine de l'information historique. Je m'en tiendrai à quelques-unes à titre d'exemples. P. 29, novembre 324 n'est pas la «date de la conquête par Constantin de sa future capitale» (qui se plaça le 18 septembre de cette année) mais la date de la décision prise par l'empereur de fonder la Nouvelle Rome. Pp. 40-41, chronologiquement l'arianisme aurait dû être cité avant le nestorianisme ; la première de ces deux doctrines ne niait pas la divinité du Christ mais subordonnait le Fils au Père ; ce n'est pas elle mais le nestorianisme qui a été condamné par le concile d'Éphèse. P. 61, le peuple dont Odoacre était le chef n'était pas les Ostrogoths mais les Skires. P. 62, le «Palatium» à l'extrémité Ouest du registre inférieur des mosaïques du côté Sud de Saint-Apollinaire le Neuf ne représente pas le palais de *Justinien* mais celui de *Théodoric*. P. 68, il était arrivé dans l'Antiquité que l'on représentât Héraclès terrassant le *cerf* (au lieu de la biche) de Cérynée (par exemple sur une des métopes du trésor des Athéniens à Delphes) ; on connaît maintenant *deux* piédestaux du monument de Porphyrios. P. 69, on eût souhaité quelques précisions sur l'évolution dss sarcophages de Ravenne. P. 79, le plat de Constance II n'est pas à Istanbul mais à l'Ermitage (comme il est dit correctement p. 457 à la légende de la fig. 562). P. 80, les plats avec des scènes de la vie de David ont été trouvés non pas à Nicosie mais à Lampusa (Lapithos) (ce qui est bien indiqué p. 81). P. 179, Constantin Monomaque

n'est plus un empereur macédonien et le nom de sa femme, Zoé, qui, elle appartient à cette famille impériale, aurait pu être cité. P. 183, il suffit de regarder à la fig. 150 les deux bracelets émaillés de Salonique pour constater que le décor n'est pas «purement végétal et abstrait» mais qu'il comprend aussi des oiseaux. P. 184, Brixen n'est pas en Allemagne mais dans l'Adige (autrefois en Autriche, maintenant en Italie ; c'est en italien Bressanone). P. 222, fig. 95 et p. 357, fig. 214 : ce ne sont pas des griffons mais des sphinx qui sont sculptés sur cette plaque. P. 260, l'hésychasme n'était pas considéré comme une hérésie. P. 266, Top Kap*ou* est une transcription désuète pour Top Kapı (ainsi qu'il est imprimé p. 489). P. 323, fig. 134, saint *Jacques* le Perse et non *Jacob* ; fig. 135, cette icone ne représente pas saint Jean l'Évangéliste mais saint Jean de Rila (comme l'indique l'inscription ; de plus le type iconographique n'est pas du tout celui de l'Évangéliste). P. 359, fig. 221, ce personnage (*ΕΥΦΡΑCΙC*) représente non pas l'*Opulence* mais la *Jovialité* (comme il est dit correctement p. 447). P. 371, fig. 280, il aurait fallu ajouter le nom du cinquième saint : Grégoire de Nazianze. P. 383, figg. 334 et 335, Nouvelle *Église* de Tokalı et non pas Nouvelle Tokali.

P. 391, fig. 378, cette fresque de Mistra représente uniquement la Guérison de la Belle-Mère de Pierre ; la Guérison de l'aveugle se trouve plus à gauche sur une partie qui n'est pas reproduite ici ; en revanche, p. 274, dans la légende de la fig. 110, il eût fallu ajouter la Samaritaine au puits avant les Noces de Cana. P. 465, Byzance devint la capitale non pas «de l'empire d'Orient» mais «de la partie orientale de l'empire». P. 466, il est exagéré de dire qu'«après la conquête de 1453, tout ce qui avait été à l'origine de (*la*) splendeur (*de Constantinople*) avait disparu ou était en ruine» ; que l'on songe à Sainte-Sophie ! P. 484 : depuis quelques années on entre de nouveau à Sainte-Sophie par le côté ouest et non plus par la porte du Sud de l'ésonarthex. P. 485, il ne s'agit pas de «transept» à Sainte-Sophie mais de la «clôture du chœur». P. 493, sans doute n'existe-t-il en Cappadoce «aucun décor daté du XIIe siècle», mais il en est que de bons connaisseurs comme Otto Demus rapportent à cette époque en raison du style, sans être suivis par tous les spécialistes de la région. P. 495, c'est Théodose II (comme l'indiquent bien les dates données pour le règne) et non pas Théodose (I) qui a construit la première église cruciforme de Saint-Jean d'Éphèse. P. 504, le socle de la colonne de saint Syméon Stylite est *au centre* et non *autour* d'un octogone. P. 515 : le Protaton de Karyès est loin d'être la plus ancienne église de l'Athos.

Le nombre de fautes d'impression et d'erreurs de ponctuation est si élevé que l'on a le sentiment que les épreuves n'ont pas été soumises aux auteurs.

Laissant de côté les fautes d'orthographe, nombreuses, je ne signalerai guère ici que celles qui risqueraient de faire école ou d'induire certains lecteurs en erreur. J'indiquerai la forme fautive à la gauche des : et, à droite, la forme correcte. P. 29, missorium de Théodo*r*e : Théodo*s*e. Pp. 34, 172, 490, 495, Byth*i*nie : B*i*th*y*nie. *Scriptoria* est considéré quasi constamment comme un féminin pluriel : scriptoria *juives* (p. 40), *impériales* (p. 174), *grecques* (p. 240). P. 40, apogée justinien*ne*. P. 58, hypogée souterrain*e*. Pp. 72 et 159, prosk*i*nèse : prosk*y*nèse. P. 73, ambro*i*sienne : ambrosienne. P. 80, m*é*thodologique : m*yth*ologique. P. 81, *la* nielle (maladie du blé !) : l*e* nielle ; h*y*ppodrome ! P. 114, pl. 16 et p. 351, fig. 180, Eur*r*opios : Eu*t*ropios. P. 138, nous avons l'habitude de dire en français Epiphan*e* et non Epiphan*ios* de Chypre. Pp. 138 et 141, o*mme*yade : o*me*y*y*ade. P. 153, un*e* planisphère. P. 179, la première phrase du deuxième alinéa et celle du quatrième me paraissent incompréhensibles, sans doute parce qu'une partie en est tombée à la composition. P. 180, devant *l'*autel : devant *d'*autel. P. 181 (à deux reprises), Mar*t*ienne : Mar*c*ienne (comme il est correctement écrit p. 341, fig. 156). P. 183, Or*da*fo : Ord*ela*fo. P. 229, L*uit*grand : L*iut*prand. P. 255 (à deux reprises et dans l'index p. 588), Milo*n*tine : Milo*u*tine. P. 258, Whitt*i*more : Whitt*e*more ; il est, en outre, inexact de parler d'*école* américaine. P. 264, monastère *du* Hodegon : *des* Hodègôn ou *tôn Hodègôn*. P. 267, e*x*phraseis : e*k*phraseis. P. 401, figg. 426-427, Ménolog*ue* : Ménologe. P. 420, figg. 518-519, coffret *dit* «Veroli» : *de* Veroli. P. 440, fig. 610, pend*a*ntif. P. 455, fig. 486, Katap*i*ghi : Katap*hy*ghi (écrit à tort p. 262 Kataph*i*ghi) (il eût convenu en plus d'indiquer que cette fig. et la fig. 496 représentaient les deux faces d'une même icone). P. 473, ak*o*metoi : ak*oi*metoi. P. 483, Justin *II* : *I*. P. 516, l'archontari*a* : l'archontari*on*. P. 543, Kurbinovo, 19*1*1 : 1*1*91.

L'orientation bibliographique s'en tient — et on félicitera l'auteur — aux «principaux ouvrages récents» et aux «plus importants parmi les anciens». On s'étonnera de ne pas y trouver *Byzantion* parmi les périodiques, ni le *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, ni le recueil de traduction de textes de Cyril MANGO, *The Art of Byzantine Empire, 312-1453, Sources and Documents* (1972). P. 581, pour le nom de l'auteur des *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, il eût convenu d'ajouter DODD à CRUIKSHANK. Même page *W*OLBACH : *V*OLBACH. M. Coche de La Ferté aurait peut-être trouvé à enrichir ses considérations sur l'architecture et la sculpture monumentale en se reportant aux pages que j'ai consacrées à ces sujets dans *Architecture et sculpture des origines à nos jours, L'art antique*, II, sous la direction de Jean Charbonneaux, Paris, Nathan, 1970 (pp. 268-374).

En bref, cet ouvrage, décevant par certains aspects, ne rendra de services à la mesure ni des efforts qui ont été déployés pour l'illustration ni de son prix.

LE GRAND ATLAS DE L'ARCHÉOLOGIE. Conception et mise en œuvre éditoriales : Christine FLON. Paris, Encyclopaedia Universalis, 1985. 1 vol. 27 × 37 cm, 425 pp., un millier d'illustrations.

Dans cet ouvrage, dont la matière couvre toute la planète (de l'Europe à l'Océanie) et va chronologiquement des débuts du paléolithique à l'archéologie industrielle, une section, due presque entièrement à Jean-Pierre SODINI, est consacrée au monde byzantin et fait la synthèse d'informations précieuses que les méthodes nouvelles de la recherche archéologique nous apportent sur plusieurs questions importantes relatives à l'histoire de l'Empire et au mode de vie de ses habitants (pp. 132-145). Après avoir retracé les étapes du développement de l'archéologie byzantine depuis ce milieu du XVIe s. où Pierre Gyles publia le premier ouvrage sur la topographie de Constantinople, J.-P. SODINI a d'abord montré comment l'urbanisme hellénistico-romain s'était prolongé dans les villes byzantines, avec, dans plusieurs d'entre elles, «toute une architecture de prestige ... qui rehaussait carrefours et places». Des cités détruites ou à l'abandon ont été refondées. Mais «à la différence des villes romaines des premiers siècles de l'Empire, le rempart devient une caractéristique essentielle des villes byzantines». Le grand nombre d'échoppes dénote l'importance de la vie commerciale. Les plus anciens khans ou caravansérails apparaissent dans les villes caravanières de Syrie et de Palestine. Mais il faut aussi prendre en considération les modifications introduites par l'apparition des églises et des groupes épiscopaux. Jérusalem est révélatrice de ce nouvel urbanisme «sacré». En de nombreux endroits nos connaissances sur l'habitat privé se sont enrichies et précisées (l'illustration comprend les reconstitutions graphiques de la salle à manger avec banquette en fer à cheval d'Argos et d'un appartement dans un immeuble de «standing» à Éphèse). J.-P. SODINI a évoqué ensuite l'image que nous pouvons nous faire de la vie rurale, prospère, dans les bourgades et villages de Lycie, de Cilicie, du massif calcaire du nord-ouest de la Syrie, du Hauran, du Néguev, de la Cyrénaïque et de l'Égypte, des lacunes subsistant pour la Grèce et les Balkans. Dans le chapitre intitulé *La culture matérielle : production et échanges* ont été étudiés par Michel KAZANSKI, Cécile MORRISON et J.-P. SODINI, les carrières et l'exportation des marbres, les lieux de fabrication et la diffusion de la céramique paléochrétienne et, plus brièvement, les lampes, la verrerie, les objets en métal (notamment l'argenterie). Ces trois mêmes

auteurs ont ensuite rappelé les témoignages archéologiques qui attestent l'effondrement devant les invasions slaves, perses et arabes (auxquelles se sont ajoutées des causes internes de crise) : traces de destructions, d'incendies et d'abandons, trésors monétaires enfouis, objets ressortissant aux cultures slaves, raréfaction de la monnaie et de la céramique. Mais la construction d'églises et la reprise de la circulation monétaire montrent que dans les régions égéennes (y compris l'Anatolie) «la crise commence à s'estomper vers la fin du VIIIe siècle et au IXe». Il faudra toutefois «attendre le Xe siècle pour que les signes du *décollage* se généralisent dans tout l'Empire». C'est à Jacques LEFORT, C. MORRISSON et J.-P. SODINI qu'il a appartenu de décrire ce que la documentation archéologique nous apprend sur l'essor démographique et économique de l'Empire du Xe s. au milieu du XIVe, «marqués par la multiplication des villages et des défrichements et par le développement des villes». Mais «après 1347, la peste mit fin à une croissance dont le rythme paraît s'être ralenti dès le début du XIVe siècle, et la conquête ottomane s'est effectuée dans un climat morose». Enfin, Jean-Michel SPIESER a fait le point sur les principaux résultats obtenus par les «nouvelles approches» de la céramique byzantine.

L'antiquité classique, le haut moyen âge et Byzance au musée de Cluny. Sculpture et décoration monumentales. Petite sculpture. Orfèvrerie et métallurgie : objets d'usage personnel et profane. Orfèvrerie et métallurgie : objets à destination votive ou liturgique. Catalogue par Jean-Pierre CAILLET, conservateur au musée de Cluny. Paris, Éditions de la Réunion de musées nationaux, 1985. 1 vol. 21 × 27 cm, 269 pp., nombreuses figg. en noir et blanc, 4 pll. en couleurs. Prix : 150 FF. ISBN 2-7118.0295-7.

Ce catalogue est un modèle par l'élégance de la présentation, l'abondance et la qualité de l'illustration, le soin extrême avec lequel ont été rédigées les notices, où les objets sont décrits avec la plus rigoureuse précision dans les termes les plus pertinents, où leur histoire est minutieusement rapportée depuis leur apparition, et où sont abordées de manière approfondie, avec une connaissance du tout dernier état des questions, les problèmes que posent l'interprétation iconographique, la datation, l'appréciation des caractères stylistiques et l'attribution à un centre de production. Ces notices sont en outre accompagnées d'une bibliographie bien à jour et de notes. Les inscriptions grecques et latines sont correctement transcrites et restituées (ce qui n'était pas toujours la cas dans *The Age of Spirituality* ni dans *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, voir *infra*, pp. 487-497). Le volume se termine par une copieuse bibliographie, des tables de concordance entre les numéros d'inven-

taires et les numéros du catalogue, une table des modes d'entrée au musée (avec indication des dates) et un index très développé. On aura profit à lire aussi l'introduction où M. Caillet a dégagé l'intérêt des objets catalogués pour l'histoire de l'art et pour la connaissance des interrelations des cultures prises en compte (antiquité romaine, Byzance et Haut Moyen âge occidental).

Du point de vue byzantin, le musée de Cluny est surtout célèbre par ses ivoires. On signalera ici les positions prises par J.-P. Caillet touchant certains d'entre eux.

N° 48 : Il continue à estimer que la plaque de diptyque avec l'inscription au nom des Nicomaques appartiendrait au même diptyque que la plaque des Symmaques au Victoria and Albert Museum mais il accepte l'hypothèse de P. Claussen (*Pantheon*, 36, 4, 1978, p. 308) et d'Al. Cameron (*AJA*, 89, 1984, p. 399) d'après qui elles auraient été exécutées par deux artistes différents. Il inclinerait à voir dans ce diptyque un cadeau fait par les deux familles à l'un de leurs coreligionnaires, entre 382 et 392 ou entre 399 (environ) et 408, pour annoncer des *ludi* en l'honneur de Jupiter Cultor (13 mars), Liber-Dionysos (17 mars), la Magna Mater (10 avril) et Cérès (12 et 19 avril). N° 50 : la plaque d'applique avec Ariane, une ménade et un satyre, serait vraisemblablement, par ses qualités plastiques, originaire de Constantinople plutôt que de l'Égypte et daterait de la fin du ve s. ou de la première moitié du vi^e^. N° 51 : ces peignes fragmentaires inédits auraient été fabriqués en Égypte aux ve-vi^e^ s. N° 52 : il n'a pas été possible à J.-P. C. de préciser le lieu de fabrication, dans l'Orient byzantin, aux ve-vi^e^ s., de cette pyxide portant quatre épisodes de la vie du Christ. N° 53 : l'origine de cette pyxide avec la guérion de l'aveugle-né ne serait pas gauloise mais orientale (Égypte ?) ; la datation reste aussi floue : vi^e^-début du viie s. ?). Il en irait de même pour la plaque n° 54 (avec saint Paul). N° 55 : cette amulette en os, inédite, découverte à Antinoë, pourrait dater aussi bien de l'époque omeyyade que de l'époque paléochrétienne. N° 57 : cette plaque avec un saint orant (qui fait songer à saint Ménas mais sans les chameaux) doit être sortie d'un atelier de l'Orient méditerranéen (Égypte ou mieux encore Syro-Palestine) à la fin du viie s. ou au début du viiie. — N° 59 : les scènes christologiques à l'avers de ce diptyque auraient été taillées en Angleterre au viiie s. et non, comme on l'a cru longtemps, dans le monde byzantin antérieurement à l'époque iconoclaste. Elle furent rabotées lorsque les feuillets ont été adaptés à une surface plane (très probablement une reliure de manuscrit) ; c'est alors que furent sculptés, sans doute en Italie du Nord vers 900, sur les revers, les rinceaux d'acanthe peuplés de figures humaines, d'animaux et d'êtres fabuleux, où il ne faudrait donc plus reconnaître une

œuvre des temps de l'iconoclasme. N° 61 : ces plats de reliure aux cadres orfèvrés rhénans du début du XIIIe s. présentent d'intéressants ivoires d'origine diverse. La fenêtre du plat inférieur est occupée par une plaque, avec la Vierge debout à l'Enfant sur le bras gauche, d'un type très proche de l'Hodighitria, qui aurait été exécutée en Europe occidentale à l'extrême fin du Xe s. ou dans la première moitié du XIe d'après un modèle byzantin ; les six bustes de saints qui la flanquent auraient été sculptés à Constantinople même dans la seconde moitié du Xe siècle, et appartiennent au groupe dit «de Nicéphore» ; dans la fenêtre du plat supérieur se loge une Crucifixion, exécutée en Lotharingie à la fin du IXe ou au Xe s. N° 64 : la plaque avec le couronnement d'Otton II et de Théophano aurait été réalisée au cours des deux dernières années du règne du souverain (982-983), après qu'il eut pris le titre d'*imperator*, et aurait été offerte par le moine calabrais Jean Philagathos, évêque de Plaisance ; J.-P. C. préfère y voir, pour des raisons stylistiques, l'œuvre d'un artiste byzantin, du groupe «de Nicéphore», travaillant à l'occasion en Occident plutôt qu'«un produit d'atelier purement occidental s'efforçant à l'imitation d'un modèle constantinopolitain». N° 65 : la plaque avec la Dormition de la Vierge doit dater de la fin du Xe s. ou du début du XIe plutôt que des XIe-XIIe s.

Parmi les autres documents byzantins (ou vraisemblablement byzantins) présents dans ce catalogue, on mentionnera : N° 26 : le célèbre chapiteau avec les figures des saints Théodore, Georges et Démétrios, datant de la fin du XIIIe ou du début du XIVe s. (à la bibliographie pourrait être ajouté *Architecture et sculpture des origines à nos jours*, L'art antique, II, sous la direction de Jean CHARBONNEAUX, Paris, F. Nathan, 1970, p. 370). N° 72 : les deux têtes de lion en quartz, sans doute ornement d'un siège, se rattachant plus à la tradition du trône de la Déesse syrienne qu'à celle du trône de Salomon (comme l'avait avancé K. Reynolds Brown dans *Age of Spirituality*, n° 330) peuvent avoir été taillées aussi bien en Orient qu'en Occident (où J.-P. C. ne voit aucune raison de privilégier Trèves) dans un éventail chronologique qui va du milieu du IVe s. au premier tiers du VIe au moins. N° 149 : un pied de lampe en bronze, inédit, des Ve-VIIe s. (?), d'un type largement attesté en Égypte et en Syrie. N°s 150-152 : encensoirs (ou brûle-parfums) en bronze. N° 112 : une croix pectorale en bronze découverte en Cilicie. N° 165 : une plaque émaillée avec les saints Matthieu et Luc, des Xe-XIe s., à moins quelle ne soit tout simplement moderne (XIXe s.) !

Pour les influences byzantines en Occident, on verra surtout les couronnes votives visigothiques (n°s 153-158) et une croix pectorale en or (n° 111 : d'Italie, d'Allemagne du Sud ou de Suisse) ; l'*antependium* de la cathédrale

de Bâle (n° 163) et l'autel portatif en porphyre vert antique de l'ancienne collection Spitzer (n° 164).

Les tissus, nombreux, feront l'objet d'un autre catalogue.

De l'art romain à l'art byzantin

L'art de l'Antiquité tardive (expression qui tend heureusement à se substituer en français à celle de Bas-Empire, entachée de quelque connotation péjorative) et le problème de sa mutation en art paléochrétien et paléobyzantin ont retenu particulièrement au cours de la dernière décennie l'attention des savants et suscité expositions et publications.

Beat BRENK, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum.* Berlin, Propyläen Verlag, 1977. 1 vol. 21 × 28 cm, 351 pp., 103 figg., 400 pll. (PROPYLÄENKUNSTGESCHICHTE, Supplementband I).

Cet important recueil est l'un des premiers où ait été considérée dans son ensemble la période qui va des environs de 200 à ceux de 600. Dans son excellente introduction B. Brenk a distingué quatre phases : l'époque préconstantinienne (de 200 à 313), l'époque constantinienne et postconstantinienne (313-380), l'époque théodosienne et le ve s. (380-500), l'époque de Justinien et de ses successeurs (500/525-600). (Il eût été plus facile de suivre l'exposé sur les sarcophages si des références avaient été données au *Repertorium* de Fr. W. Deichmann pour les pièces qui n'étaient pas reproduites dans le volume). L'illustration (et par conséquent les notices qui s'y rapportent et les textes qui les introduisent) a été répartie par pays ou par région : Italie, Constantinople, Asie Mineure, Grèce, Terre sainte, Arménie et Géorgie, Syrie, Égypte, Afrique du Nord, Espagne, Gaule et Germanie, Yougoslavie, Hongrie et Roumanie, Bulgarie. À vrai dire elle eût été plus révélatrice des évolutions si elle avait été soumise à un classement chronologique : le volume s'ouvre sur les églises paléochrétiennes de Rome et de Ravenne sans que l'on ait vu les peintures des catacombes, les sarcophages du IIIe s., le baptistère de Doura. Mais un gros effort a été fait pour y intégrer des monuments peu connus ou qui ne figurent pas d'ordinaire dans les ouvrages généraux (mosaïques de Casaranello, tombes peintes de Nicée et de Sopianae, etc.). On intervertira les légendes des pll. 90 et 91.

Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978. Edited by Kurt WEITZMANN. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, published in association with Princeton University Press, 1980. 1 vol. 22 × 28,5 cm, XXXI-735 pp., 692 figg. en noir et blanc, 15 pll. en couleurs. Prix : 56,50 dollars.

Préparée pendant plus de cinq ans sous la direction de K. Weitzmann, cette exposition — la plus vaste qui ait été consacrée à ce sujet — a réussi, conformément aux intentions didactiques des organisateurs, à donner une vue globale de la richesse et des mutations de l'art païen et de l'art chrétien depuis le IIIe s. jusqu'au VIIe, voire parfois jusqu'au début du VIIIe, et à évoquer l'ambiance sociale, politique culturelle et religieuse dans laquelle avaient évolué le paganisme et le christianisme. Le catalogue a représenté une telle somme de travail qu'il n'a paru que deux ans après la fermeture de l'exposition. Outre de substantielles introductions aux différentes sections, il comprend 596 notices, dues à 39 savants. Ce catalogue est désormais une base de départ pour l'étude de tout problème relatif à l'art païen de l'Antiquité tardive ou de l'art paléochrétien. Il présente même les objets qui finalement n'ont pas été prêtés (comme ceux de Leningrad et la plupart de ceux du Caire). Ont figuré à l'exposition bon nombre d'inédits, notamment des vases et des plats en terre sigillée rouge de l'Afrique du Nord appartenant au Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum de Mayence. Les objets et les photomontages d'architecture avaient été groupés non pas par techniques mais, en fonction des thèmes traités, par «domaines» (le pouvoir impérial, le classicisme, la vie quotidienne, le judaïsme et, enfin, le christianisme), ce qui a permis, à l'intérieur de chacun d'eux, de judicieux rapprochements comme celui du tissu copte du IIIe s. avec des représentations de poissons et de la mosaïque, contemporaine, qui aurait été découverte à Uzitta (Tunisie) (n°s 182-3 et 184).

Pour la *monarchie*, cadre institutionnel de cette évolution, avaient été présentés des portraits non seulement d'empereurs (de Trébonien Galle et de Gallien jusqu'au colosse de Barletta — en qui l'on reconnaîtrait aujourd'hui Léon I plutôt que Marcien ; le manuscrit de Naples avec Héraclius en Job n'avait pas été prêté : n° 29) mais aussi d'impératrices (depuis Ariane jusqu'à Théodora) et de grands personnages (principalement sur les diptyques d'ivoire). A été également illustré tout le cérémonial de la vie impériale (y compris les guerres et les chasses, et en y incluant, ici encore, les grands

personnages). L'architecture était évoquée par des photographies de palais, d'hippodromes et de mausolées (la villa de Piazza Armerina y avait été rangée sans qu'allusion soit faite aux doutes sur son interprétation comme demeure impériale). Dans la deuxième section la vitalité de la *tradition classique* était attestée par les représentations mythologiques (images de dieux – surtout Dionysos, Apollon et Aphrodite – et de héros, scènes légendaires), les personnifications (de villes, de fleuves et de saisons), les dieux orientaux (Isis, Sarapis, Mithra, cavalier danubien, dieux palmyréniens) et les illustrations des traités scientifiques et des œuvres littéraires, qui ont maintenu le courant «classique» jusque dans le Moyen Age byzantin. Dans son exposé sur l'architecture, M. Alfred Frazer a surtout insisté sur l'adaptation et la transformation des ordres classiques dans les édifices paléochrétiens. En ce qui regarde la *vie quotidienne*, outre des scènes de pratique des métiers et de mariage, on a montré des portraits d'inconnus (dans l'ensemble de belle qualité jusqu'au VIe s.), de nombreux bijoux et des objets usuels (comme des lampes, des poids et des balances, des brûle-parfums). Les photographies d'architecture avaient été consacrées aux villes, aux bains et aux maisons. L'apport du *judaïsme* au christianisme justifiait qu'une section lui fût consacrée, même si l'on peut se demander si, à certains moments, il n'y eut pas plutôt évolution parallèle de l'art de l'un et de l'autre.

La section *christianisme* était la plus riche (et, bien entendu de nombreux objets de l'art chrétien avaient été présentés dans les sections précédentes). Du point de vue iconographique, elle avait été subdivisée, non sans quelque arbitraire dans l'application, en scènes abrégées, mettant l'accent sur l'idée de salut (on y trouvait les curieuses statues en marbre du cycle de Jonas, datables du troisième quart du IIIe s. et attribuées à l'Asie Mineure) et en scènes narratives plus développées, traitées sans doute initialement dans les manuscrits. On a pu voir dans chacune de ces deux catégories de nombreux sarcophages et des plaques funéraires, de précieux manuscrits (comme la Genèse de Cotton, celle de Vienne, le Pentateuque d'Ashburnam, l'Itala de Quedlinburg). Une autre catégorie était celle de l'art, plus hiératique, des icones et des représentations d'allure canonique qu'elles ont inspirées dans diverses matières : images du Christ, de la Vierge et de saints. Les problèmes des thèmes traités dans les absides et de leur influence sur l'art paléochrétien ont été repris par Mme Margaret E. Frazer. Il valait la peine d'étudier spécialement aussi, pour tout ce dont elles ont enrichi le répertoire de l'art chrétien, les représentations venues des Lieux saints, par l'entremise, notamment, des objets ramenés par les pèlerins. Enfin les objets liturgiques attestaient le luxe des églises d'Orient et d'Occident. Dans son introduction

à cette partie de l'exposition, M. V. H. Elbern a bien souligné le symbolisme qui s'y attachait. K. Weitzmann a fait judicieusement observer que rien n'est plus incorrect que de les appeler «objets d'art décoratif». Le dernier chapitre du catalogue, dû à M. A. Frazer, est consacré à l'architecture depuis la cathédrale et Saint-Pierre de Rome jusqu'à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople (pour l'existence de grandes églises avant Constantin, M. Frazer n'a pas tenu compte du témoignage d'Eusèbe, *Hist. eccl.*, VIII, 1).

Cette exposition a confirmé qu'au début l'art chrétien ne s'est pas différencié par le style de l'art païen. C'est avec la triomphe de l'Église au IVe s. qu'il a été empreint d'une spiritualisation croissante mais le besoin de spiritualité avait été déjà ressenti au IIIe s. comme nous l'apprennent les sectes et les religions à mystère. De plus, l'évolution d'un art naturaliste vers un art plus abstrait, inspiré par un souci plus grand de spiritualisation, n'a pas été continue mais elle a été interrompue ou accompagnée par des «renaissances» (*revivals*) d'inspiration païenne ou classique, dont les plats de David à Chypre sont l'un des derniers témoignages.

Dans un volume d'une telle ampleur on peut évidemment trouver à redire de-ci de-là ou encore relever des divergences entre auteurs. Pp. 540-542, n° 486 : sur le plat des Évangiles tenus par les quatre évangélistes sur ce diptyque de Cambridge, ce ne doit pas être une simple étoile à huit branches qui est gravée mais un chrisme (cf. p. 595). — P. 547, n° 91 : la rotonde de Galère s'appelle aujourd'hui non pas Saint-Démétrius mais Saint-Georges. — P. 593 : pour les filtres (*strainer*) on ajoutera n° 538. — P. 601, n° 534 : ce coffret en argent de Baltimore, décrit ici comme un reliquaire acheté en Syrie et seulement associé dans la suite au trésor de Hama, est donné p. 597 comme une pyxide provenant de Hama par M. Elbern, qui reconnaît d'ailleurs que dans beaucoup de cas il est difficile de distinguer pyxides eucharistiques et reliquaires en forme de pyxides. — N° 382 : ce verre doré a été reproduit à l'envers. — Dans cette revue fondée par Henri Grégoire on regrettera qu'en dépit de ses travaux, l'Edit de Milan soit si souvent cité et qu'en revanche l'Edit de Galère soit ignoré ! On déplorera aussi que le renvoi aux figures n'ait pas été accompagné de l'indication de la page où elles avaient été imprimées : leur recherche en est souvent longue et difficile, car elles peuvent être reproduites loin de l'endroit où elles sont mentionnées.

Les références bibliographiques à la fin des notices ne visent pas à l'exhaustivité ; elles s'en tiennent aux publications récentes et importantes. J'y apporterai ici quelques compléments, surtout d'études parues depuis l'exposition. P. 24, n° 18 : cette tête de la collection Ortiz identifiée comme étant celle de Gratien est donnée beaucoup plus prudemment dans le

catalogue de l'exposition *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* de Francfort (voir *infra*) comme le portrait d'un jeune homme appartenant sans doute aux milieux de l'aristocratie sénatoriale. Pp. 47-48, n°s 46-47 : Al. CAMERON et D. SCHAUER, *The Last Consul : Basilius and his Diptych*, dans *JRS*, 72 (1982), pp. 126-145 ; pour les diptyques en ivoire on se reportera à l'article d'Anthony CUTLER dans *Byzantion*, LIV (1984), pp. 75-115. — N° 99 : Jean Ch. BALTY, *Hiérarchie de l'Empire et image du monde. La face N.-O. de la base de l'obélisque théodosien à Constantinople*, dans *Byzantion*, LII (1982), pp. 60-71. — N° 112 : Ch. DELVOYE, *Éléments iconographiques gréco-romains dans l'art copte : le «châle de Sabine» au Musée du Louvre*, dans la *Chronique d'Égypte*, LX (119-120, tome dédié à J. BINGEN), pp. 48-55. — N° 210 : Martin HENGEL, *Achilleus in Jerusalem*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1982, pp. 23-24 et 44, pl. XXIX. — N°s 126, 208 et 251 : *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, 2 vol., Derendingen, Habegger Verlag, 1984 (voir une analyse de cet ouvrage dans la suite de cette *Chronique*). — N° 156 : Ch. DELVOYE, *L'art paléochrétien de Chypre*, dans *XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports*, V. *Chypre dans le monde byzantin*, Athènes, 1976, p. 46. — N° 523 : *I Mosaici di Giordania*, Edizioni Quasar, 1986, pp. 34-35, 40-43, 105, 151, 233 (n°s 53-55) et pl. I (p. 47). — N° 581 : Jean-Charles PICARD, *Le quadriportique de saint-Pierre du Vatican* dans les *MEFRA*, 86 (1974), 2, pp. 851-890.

Je me permets aussi de rappeler que j'ai présenté un rapport (qui semble avoir échappé à l'attention de plus d'un byzantiniste, témoignage de la césure qui existe trop souvent entre archéologie classique et archéologie byzantine !) intitulé *De l'iconographie païenne à l'iconographie chrétienne* au IXe Congrès international d'archéologie classique (Damas, 1971) publié dans les *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*, XXI (1971), pp. 329-345.

Age of Spirituality : A Symposium. Edited by Kurt WEITZMANN. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, published in association with Princeton University Press, 1980. 1 vol. 22 × 28,5 cm, VIII-174 pp., 90 figg. Prix : 31,50 dollars.

Au catalogue précédent il est indispensable de joindre le recueil des communications présentées au colloque qui s'est tenu en liaison avec l'exposition en novembre 1977. Elles ne concernaient pas seulement l'histoire de l'art mais, conformément aux buts que M. K. Weitzmann avait assignés à l'exposition, la vie politique, économique et sociale ainsi que la théologie et la littérature. Le volume s'ouvre par une préface de M. Weitzmann

résumant les travaux du colloque et par une introduction, où le même savant a dégagé les enseignements fondamentaux de l'exposition et retracé l'histoire des appréciations portées sur l'art de l'Antiquité tardive depuis Ghiberti et Vasari jusqu'à Wickhoff, Riegl et Wörringer. Il est revenu à M. Arnaldo Momigliano, à titre d'introduction, de passer en revue, en les replaçant dans leur contexte historique, les différentes théories proposées sur les causes du déclin et de la chute de l'Empire romain depuis Gibbon et d'exposer ses propres vues, nuancées, sur le sujet. C'est aussi en guise d'introduction que M. Peter Brown a traité des rapports entre l'art («d'une exubérante diversité») et la société : le souci de prestige des commanditaires (empereurs, aristocrates, évêques) a inspiré, surtout dans la Méditerranée orientale de nombreuses constructions (on a parlé de *λιθομανία*), ce qui explique le renouveau urbain des IVe et Ve siècles ; le faste du déroulement des cérémonies impériales et religieuses a profondément influencé les arts. M. Brown estime que ce ne fut un «âge de spiritualité» que pour une minorité ; la majorité des habitants de l'Empire souhaitaient jouir des traditions séculaires de la vie urbaine ; le paradis a été imaginé comme un paysage classique. M. Hans-Georg Beck a retracé l'essor de Constantinople comme nouvelle capitale de l'Est de l'Empire du point de vue politique mais aussi en tenant compte de l'émergence des activités intellectuelles et artistiques ; la fondation de Constantinople, ville sans véritable passé, a été pour l'Orient grec le «signal d'une réévaluation de toutes ses valeurs traditionnelles» et en a renforcé les caractères romains et latins. M. Beat Brenk a cerné la part de l'héritage de l'imagerie impériale, à Rome, sur les sarcophages et dans les mosaïques. De son côté M. Ihor Ševčenko a suivi l'héritage classique dans la littérature chrétienne de langue grecque du IIe au VIIe s., tandis que M. George M. A. Hanfmann a étudié semblablement la continuité de l'art classique : 1) dans la *παιδεία* (représentation de Muses, d'auteurs – Homère, Platon – qui ont pu inspirer des images du Christ et de prophètes ; portraits de Virgile assis à l'origine de certaines figures d'Évangélistes vus de face ; miniatures d'ouvrages scientifiques), 2) dans l'emploi de sujets mythologiques, traités pour eux-mêmes ou christianisés (comme Orphée et, dans certains cas, Bellérophon), 3) dans des œuvres proclamant la foi chrétienne (comme la patène de Riha et le tissu copte de Cleveland figurant Marie entre Michel et Gabriel). Le Révérend Massey H. Shepherd Jr., théologien, après avoir esquissé l'histoire des conceptions christologiques jusqu'au deuxième concile de Nicée (787), a précisé la signification des scènes vétéro-testamentaires dans l'art funéraire du IIIe s. et des images du Christ depuis cette époque jusqu'au VIe s. mais en reconnaissant qu'il n'était pas possible de les mettre

en relation avec les doctrines nicéennes ou ariennes, chalcédoniennes ou monophysites. Les deux natures du Christ ont inspiré les images qui le montrent simplement habillé d'une tunique et d'un pallium, sans couronne, mais majestueux et glorieux dans des scènes inspirées de l'iconographie impériale. M. Richard Krautheimer a montré que, si les basiliques paléochrétiennes dérivaient sans difficulté d'un modèle architectural fort répandu, des constructions comme l'Octogone doré d'Antioche, Saint-Laurent de Milan et Saint-Étienne-le-Rond de Rome étaient des reprises, mal adaptées à la célébration de la messe, d'un type, rare et raffiné, attesté par des pavillons de la Villa d'Hadrien ainsi que par l'édifice dit Temple de la Minerva Medica et qui devait être utilisé dans des villas et des palais de l'Antiquité tardive. À Saint-Étienne-le-Rond ce plan aurait été emprunté précisément aux villas parce que l'église se dressait dans une zone de jardins : ce fut, conclut M. Krautheimer, un «beautiful freak», «un beau caprice» ! Enfin M. Ernst Kitzinger a suivi, à l'aide de quelques exemples, empruntés surtout à l'exposition, le développement de l'iconographie chrétienne en y distinguant trois phases : 1) les tâtonnements des débuts, au IIIe s., où les images sont des «signes» apportant des promesses de salut ; 2) la grande ère d'épanouissement de Constantin à Justinien, où apparaissent de nouveaux thèmes et de nouveaux «modes de représentation», notamment ceux qui projettent sur les scènes célestes le cérémonial de la cour impériale ; il faut rappeler aussi la constitution de cycles narratifs et le goût pour les portraits ; 3) l'ère de «potentiation» (d'efficacité) du milieu du VIe s. jusqu'à la crise iconoclaste : les grands programmes deviennent rares et les images votives, les icones, fréquentes, sans doute en liaison avec les périls et les troubles de l'époque ; dans les scènes des cycles narratifs, le nombre des personnages se réduit ; les images cessant d'être de simples représentations pour devenir détentrices d'une partie de l'énergie divine.

Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Ausstellung im Liebighaus. Museum alter Plastik. Frankfurt am Main. 16. Dezember 1983 bis 11. März 1984. Francfort-sur-Main, Liebighaus, 1984. 1 vol. 21 × 27,5 cm, XIII-698 pp., nombreuses illustrations. Prix : 25 DM.

Les notices, détaillées et précises, du catalogue de cette exposition, conçue et organisée par M. Dagmar Stutzinger, sont précédées dans plus de la première moitié du volume (pp. 1-379) d'études, le plus souvent novatrices, qui, réparties en quatre sections, nous éclairent sur de multiples aspects de la vie politique, intellectuelle, religieuse et artistique des siècles pris en considération.

Dans la première intitulée «*les Chrétiens et l'État*», après une introduction où Karl Leo NOETHLICHS a retracé le développement de l'Église chrétienne depuis «l'hérésie des Nazaréens» jusqu'à la *Cité de Dieu* de saint Augustin en insistant sur sa progressive insertion dans les structures de l'Empire et en rendant justice, comme le firent les auteurs d'autres contributions de ce volume, à l'Edit de tolérance de Galère, trop souvent ignoré (pp. 1-8), on trouve des études sur : la conscience que l'Église eut d'elle-même (D. STUTZINGER, pp. 9-19), les persécutions (Karl-Heinz SCHWARTE, pp. 20-33), les prêtres et les prêtresses du culte impérial (Élisabeth ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, pp. 34-40), le portrait romain du IIIe s. (avec le sous-titre «Die Zerstörung der organischen Form und das Transzendieren des Menschenbildes ; Marianne BERGMANN, pp. 41-60), les portraits impériaux du IVe au VIe s. (Urs PESCHLOW, pp. 61-69), les représentations de Rome sur les contorniates (Brigitte KLEER, pp. 70-74) et enfin les réponses apportées par saint Augustin aux inquiétudes qu'inspiraient à ses coreligionnaires les épreuves que les invasions infligeaient à l'Empire chrétien (pp. 153-160).

La deuxième section est consacrée aux *religions* qui progressèrent *dans l'Empire romain* au début de l'ère chrétienne : le gnosticisme (D. STUTZINGER, pp. 161-174), les religions égyptiennes (G. HÖLBL, pp. 98-110), le culte de Cybèle et d'Attis (D. STUTZINGER, pp. 111-123), les mystères de Mithra (Reinhold MERKELBACH, pp. 124-137), Jupiter Dolichenus (Michael P. SPEIDEL, pp. 138-144), Sol Invictus (Helga VON HEINTZE, pp. 145-152) et la magie (Hanna PHILIPP, pp. 153-160).

La troisième section aborde le problème de la conception du *Θεῖος ἀνήρ*, l'homme extraordinaire et divin (philosophes comme Pythagore, Platon, Aristote, Apollonius de Tyane, ou héros comme Héraclès et Achille ; D. STUTZINGER, pp. 161-179, et H. VON HEINTZE, pp. 180-190) et de son influence sur le christianisme : idées sur le Christ (Peter STOCKMEIER, pp. 191-198), iconographie de Pierre et de Paul (Manuel SOTOMAYOR, pp. 199-210), culte des saints martyrs et ascètes (avec un exposé, pp. 211-222, du regretté Jürgen CHRISTERN sur les sanctuaires d'Abu Mina et de Qal'at Sim'an).

La dernière section traite des problèmes plus spécifiques des rapports des Chrétiens et de l'art : opposition des docteurs des premiers siècles aux images et changement d'attitude chez les Pères cappadociens, dont les conceptions sur le rôle et la nature de l'art sont plus proches de celles de Philostrate que de celles de Plotin ; reprise de la tradition des descriptions chez les Chrétiens (D. STUTZINGER, pp. 223-240) ; constitution du cycle de Jonas (qui, tout en empruntant des motifs à l'art païen — le personnage

couché aurait eu pour modèle Dionysos plutôt qu'Endymion – affirme, dans son ensemble, son caractère chrétien ; Helmut SICHTERMANN, pp. 241-248) ; les scènes maritimes (Hugo BRANDENBURG, pp. 249-256) et bucoliques (Josef ENGEMANN, pp. 257-259) qui traduisent les aspirations des hommes de l'Antiquité tardive à une vie sereine et faite de loisirs ; les fondements impériaux de l'art chrétien (autrement dit la reprise par l'Église de motifs de l'art impérial ; J. ENGEMANN, pp. 260-266) ; l'*adventus* de l'empereur et l'Entrée du Christ à Jérusalem (D. STUTZINGER, pp. 284-307) ; l'extension aux membres du haut clergé du droit honorifique d'être véhiculé en char, – ce qui est illustré sur l'ivoire de Trèves (Winfried WEBER, pp. 308-311) ; la représentation du mariage avec la *dextrarum junctio* chez les païens et chez les Chrétiens (Carola REINSBERG, pp. 312-317) ; l'évolution des sarcophages depuis l'époque préconstantinienne jusqu'à la fin du IVe s. (Helga KAISER-MINN, pp. 318-338 ; à partir des années 350 des conceptions théologiques marquent de leur empreinte le décor sculpté, plus d'une fois inspiré de celui qui était peint dans les églises) ; l'iconographie des guérisons miraculeuses (dont le nombre est restreint en comparaison de celles qui sont relatées dans le Nouveau Testament ; Claudia NAUERTH, pp. 339-346), de la Nativité du Christ où à partir du VIe s. se répandent les représentations inspirées des lieux de pélerinage de la Syro-Palestine ; Günter RISTOW, pp. 347-359), de la Passion et de la Résurrection (G. RISTOW, pp. 360-379).

Les documents exposés, au nombre de près de trois cents, venaient, pour le plus grand nombre, de musées d'Europe occidentale et surtout d'Allemagne, mais quelques prêts avaient été consentis par des institutions des États-Unis d'Amérique. Ils comprenaient essentiellement des portraits (portraits impériaux de Septime-Sévère et de Julia Domna à Honorius et Ariane ; portraits d'inconnus et d'inconnues, souvent de bonne qualité, allant du IIe au Ve s., notamment des portraits de prêtres et de prêtresses), des monnaies, des médaillons et des contorniates (si instructifs sur la survivance de l'idéologie romaine jusqu'au Ve s.), des plats en terre rouge sigillée d'Afrique du Nord, des camées, des gemmes magiques, des statuettes (en terre cuite ou en calcaire) d'Isis, d'Harpocrate et de Sarapis (dont il y avait aussi des bustes en marbre), des pyxides aux sujets nilotiques ou chrétiens, des reliefs du culte de Mithra et de Jupiter Dolichenus, des diptyques en ivoire, des reliquaires en argent, des ampoules de pèlerins, des sarcophages (entiers ou fragmentaires), des plats en argent.

Parmi les inédits (appartenant surtout à des collections privées) que cette exposition a fait connaître nous mentionnerons : des statuettes en terre cuite d'Isis (n°s 117, 120 : cette dernière une Isis allaitant), d'Harpocrate (123,

124), de Sarapis trônant (126), de l'*Agathos Daimôn* (130), un reliquaire en pierre en forme de sarcophage (169), un reliquaire en argent de l'époque d'Héraclius, décoré des bustes des douze Apôtres, assez proche de la Capsella Vaticana (171), des fragments de plats en argile rouge avec des scènes de la vie d'Achille (184, 185), un sarcophage à strigiles, de la fin du IIIe s., avec des scènes bucoliques (214). On signalera aussi parmi les documents intéressants peu connus : une statuette en ivoire de Julien l'Apostat (n° 199) ; une cruche en laiton du Franz Joseph Dölger Institut de Bonn, avec l'Adoration des Mages, qui pourrait dater du VIIe s. et avoir été fabriquée en Palestine (n° 242) ; des plats en terre sigillée rouge avec des scènes de *damnatio ad bestias* (nos 262 et 263).

Chaque notice est suivie de références bibliographiques généralement assez développées et où les auteurs ont été bien inspirés de mentionner les titres des publications (au lieu de les désigner seulement par leur date, comme dans le catalogue de New York). On trouve très peu à y ajouter. N° 23 : K. FITTSCHEN et B. ANDREAE, *Art de l'ancienne Rome*, p. 327 ont proposé de reconnaître dans cette tête découverte à Nicomédie Aurélien plutôt que Dioclétien. N° 40 : *Age of Spirituality*, n° 10. N° 48 : pour la référence à *Age of Spirituality*, corriger *13* en *15*. N° 62 : *Splendeur de Byzance, Europalia 1982 Hellas-Grèce*, Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1982, p. 75, Sc. 1. N° 74 : *Splendeur*..., p. 76, Sc. 2. N° 76 : *Age of Spirituality*, n° 26. P. 475, n° 77, corriger *Age*... Nr *27* en *273*. N° 120 : ajouter cf. *Age*..., n° 167. N° 141 : Pour A. Cutler, *AJA*, 85 (1981), p. 240, les célèbres plaques des Symmaques et des Nicomaques n'appartiendraient pas au même diptyque. N° 177 : cf. *Age*..., n° 512. N° 182 : *LIMC*, I, p. 597, n° 167. N° 183 : *Age*..., n° 208 et *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, 2 vol., Derendingen, Habegger Verlag, 1984 ; Ch. DELVOYE, dans *L'Antiquité classique*, 53 (1984), pp. 185-190. N° 194 : cf. *Age*..., n° 162. N° 228 : *Splendeur*, p. 132, O 2. N° 239 : *Age*..., n° 375. N° 251 : *Splendeur*..., p. 96, Iv. 5. N° 22 : *Splendeur*..., p. 95, Iv. 4.

L'impression des mots grecs n'a pas été suivie avec tout le soin nécessaire. C'est ainsi que p. 560 on trouvera des fautes dans la transcription de l'inscription de l'amulette n° 165 (par ex. *ἔτμ* pour *ἔτη*, *ἐν* pour *ἐν* / et dans le texte de Marc, V, 24-34 (*ῥυνὴ* pour *γυνὴ*, *παῖς αὐτῆς* pour *παρ' ἑαυτῆς*, *χεῖσον* pour *χεῖρον*). P. 574, lire *ΤΟΠΩ(ν)* et non *ΤΟΠΝ*, *ΘΕΟC* et non *ΘΕΟΨ*, *ΖΩΗC* et non *ΖΩΗΨ*, *ΕΜΜΑΝΟ(υη)Λ* et non *ΕΜΜΑΝΟ(υη)L*. Ces fautes sont vraisemblablement dues au désir légitime de faire sortir le catalogue à temps pour l'exposition et c'est sans doute à la même raison qu'il faut attribuer l'absence, regrettable, d'un index. Mais on se félicitera que le

généreux appui de différents organismes ait permis de vendre à un prix aussi modéré un volume d'une telle ampleur et aussi remarquablement illustré.

Ernst KITZINGER, *Byzantine Art in the Making. Main lines of development in Mediterranean Art. 3rd-7th Century.* Cambridge (Massachussetts), Harvard University Press, 1977. 1 vol. 19 × 25 cm, 175 pp., 223 figg., 8 pll. en couleurs. Prix : 17 livres.

Dans cet ouvrage dont le point de départ est une série de leçons faites à l'Université de Cambridge, E. K. a dégagé les tendances dont le jeu complexe a commandé l'évolution stylistique des arts figurés depuis l'apparition d'un art de contenu chrétien au début du IIIe s. jusqu'à la veille de la crise iconoclaste, c'est-à-dire aussi jusqu'à la naissance de l'art islamique et de l'art carolingien. Il y a repéré les interactions de changements «other-directed» (autrement dit provoqués par les aspirations de ceux qui passaient les commandes et fixaient les programmes) et des changements «inner-directed» (résultant de la vie des formes).

Au IIIe s., – époque de crise générale, matérielle et spirituelle –, les formes classiques s'altérèrent et se désintégrèrent progressivement dans un climat d'anxiété, qui favorisa l'expansion du christianisme, mais l'art chrétien se montra lui-même assez traditionaliste et peu novateur au plan formel. Sous Constantin et ses successeurs immédiats, la protection accordée à la nouvelle religion par les empereurs s'accompagna d'un resaisissement du style – E. K. dit «a regeneration» – dont les sarcophages permettent particulièrement de suivre les étapes. Dans la seconde moitié du IVe s. la volonté de Théodose, «nouveau venu», de s'affirmer comme un continuateur et, en Occident, la «réaction païenne» accentuèrent le retour à un style classicisant. Le Ve s. procéda au contraire à un rejet graduel des formes classiques et à une recherche croissante d'abstraction. Une évolution «inner-directed» combina ses effets avec ceux de facteurs spirituels, intellectuels, sociaux et politiques. Le début du règne de Justinien fut marqué par des tentatives de synthèse entre l'abstraction et les formes naturelles. La géométrisation sévère fit place à une vie luxuriante. Les mosaïques du chœur de Saint-Vital, de l'abside des Saints-Côme-et-Damien, la chaire de Maximien et l'ivoire Barberini, qui sortirait du même atelier constantinopolitain, sont des témoins significatifs de cette époque. E. K. a pu alléguer aussi, à l'appui de sa démonstration, l'histoire des pavements de mosaïques. Mais de la fin du règne de Justinien jusqu'au milieu du VIIe s. on assiste à une poussée, plus radicale qu'antérieurement, de l'abstraction : on le dénote dans la Transfiguration de l'abside du Sinaï comme dans la mosaïque de Sainte-Agnès-hors-les-murs à Rome.

Toutefois les plats en argent du règne d'Héraclius, — un usurpateur qui a entendu, lui aussi, fonder sa légitimité sur un retour au passé —, et les plus anciennes fresques de Sainte-Marie-Antique à Rome marquent un retour à la tradition hellénistique, qui s'accusa dans la seconde moitié du VIIe s., conformément à la volonté des milieux de la cour impériale, dont on a également des manifestations dans les monnaies.

Aloïs RIEGL, *Late Roman Art Industry.* Translated from the original Viennese edition with foreword and annotations by Rolf WINKES. Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider, 1985. 1 vol. 18 × 25 cm, XXXI-263 pp., 75 pll. ISBN 88-85007-76-7.

L'expression de la pensée de Riegl dans sa *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (Vienne, 1901) étant parfois assez absconse, on se félicitera que M. R. Winkes ait mis à la disposition des byzantinistes et des historiens de l'art qui ne maîtrisent pas l'allemand cette traduction anglaise animée du souci de rester le plus fidèle possible à l'original. Notre collègue américain a maintenu avec raison dans son texte l'intraduisible *Kunstwollen*, mot forgé par Riegl lui-même, qui avait d'abord employé le plus restrictif et moins profond *Kunstwillen.* M. Winkes a réussi à reproduire toute l'illustration de l'édition de 1901. Comme on sait, sous le titre fallacieux de *Kunstindustrie*, Riegl n'a pas traité seulement des arts dits mineurs, appliqués ou somptuaires, mais de l'architecture, de la sculpture et de la peinture. Sans doute sur plus d'un point l'information est-elle dépassée mais nous restons devant une pensée qui peut être encore stimulante aujourd'hui.

Le manuscrit de cette Chronique *avait été envoyé à l'impression lorsque j'ai eu connaissance des importants rapports de* Ramsay MACMULLEN, The Meaning of A.D. 312 : The Difficulty of Converting the Empire, *et de* Josef ENGEMANN, Christianization of Late Antique Art, *dans* The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers, Dumbarton Oaks ..., August 3-8 1986, New York, Aristide D. Caratzas, pp. 1-16 et 83-105.

Charles DELVOYE.

COMPTES RENDUS

L'administration centrale dans le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin

V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin.* Tome II : *L'administration centrale*, Paris, Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1981 (Publications de l'Institut français d'études byzantines), in-4°, ill., XX-740 p. ISBN 2-222-02505-02.

Une première rédaction de l'ouvrage était presque achevée lorsque mourut le P. V. Laurent, en novembre 1973. Ce manuscrit fut publié après une relecture minutieuse et des corrections dues à MM. N. Oikonomidès et W. Seibt (auquel on confia également la préparation des 48 planches, composées en grande partie d'illustrations inédites). Le P. Gautier s'attacha, pour sa part, à la vérification des commentaires et à la mise à jour de l'impressionnante bibliographie.

Le livre s'articule en 3 grandes parties, fractionnées en de nombreuses subdivisions rendant compte, à elles seules, de l'extrême complexité d'une hiérarchie administrative où il est souvent malaisé de définir le contenu de fonctions qui furent soumises, au cours des siècles, à de profonds changements. L'auteur nous introduit d'abord au sein même du cabinet impérial, travaillant dans le palais sous le contrôle direct du souverain, et dans les services vitaux de l'Empire (finances, drome, armée, intendance des troupeaux, diplomatie, gestion du trésor de la couronne, appareil judiciaire, flotte ...). Il étudie ensuite les postes administratifs de Constantinople puis un certain nombre de fonctions que l'évolution des cadres fit disparaître ou que l'on ne peut rattacher à aucun office déterminé (il y joint l'analyse des sceaux de hauts dignitaires comme le président du Sénat, les titulaires de chaires d'enseignement supérieur, les membres du barreau ...).

Dans le compte rendu de l'ouvrage de W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich.* 1. Teil : *Kaiserhof* (*Byzantion*, 52, 1982, pp. 487-488), nous avons insisté sur le rôle méthodologique capital que jouèrent les travaux du P. Laurent dans le renouveau de l'intérêt pour la sigillographie byzantine. Ce dernier témoignage d'une activité si féconde est exemplaire par

la minutie de l'analyse et l'ampleur de la vision historique largement interdisciplinaire. Chaque sceau est en effet envisagé sous les aspects les plus divers (iconographique, idéologique, paléographique, onomastique, chronologique, prosopographique, institutionnel ...) ; les commentaires font référence à la littérature et à la diplomatique byzantines, ils renvoient à la bibliographie contemporaine la plus spécialisée. Les index constituent de véritables répertoires de patronymes, de prénoms et de motifs iconographiques ; ils se terminent par un glossaire des vocables personnels ainsi que des termes communs ou protocolaires et des expressions notables figurant sur les sceaux étudiés.

Anne DISPA-GRANDFILS.

Articles d'une Encyclopédie concernant le droit romain

Enciclopedia Civilizaţiei Romane. Bucureşti, 1982, 827 pagini.

Pour les savants roumains spécialistes du droit romain, la publication de cette Encyclopédie de la civilisation roumaine est vraiment un événement. La structure du livre rédigé par un collectif, ayant comme coordonnateur scientifique M. le prof. Dumitru Tudor, est synthétique, pour ne citer que : Histoire ancienne, Droit romain, Histoire des religions.

Excellement imprimé, le volume contient l'indication des auteurs et du coordonnateur scientifique, un avant-propos de l'académicien Em. Condurachi, la liste des abréviations, des renseignements concernant les cartes, l'Encyclopédie proprement dite et 32 photos.

La bibliographie est présentée séparément pour chaque article.

Dans l'avant-propos quelques idées fondamentales sont tracées : ainsi la notion de civilisation romaine est limitée à la période située entre «la date de la fondation de Rome (753 avant J.-C.) et la chute de l'empire romain d'Occident par suite de l'attaque des peuples germaniques (476 ap. J.-C.)».

En ce qui concerne ces dates, il nous semble impossible d'admettre qu'une civilisation en tant que phénomène historique s'arrête subitement à une date déterminée comme 476 ap. J.-C. Toute limite est fixée arbitrairement. En ce qui regarde la réception du droit romain en Occident et en Orient, le processus a été très long et le droit romain a réussi à s'adapter à des conditions historiques toutes nouvelles (1).

(1) Val. Al. GEORGESCU, *Bizanţul şi instituţiile româneşti la mijlocul secolului al XVIII*lex Bucureşti, 1980, 296 pagini.

Nous nous occuperons seulement ici des articles de l'Encyclopédie concernant le droit romain ; la plupart d'entre eux ont été écrits par le prof. Vladimir Hanga, éminent spécialiste en la matière. Pour ne pas alourdir exagérément son exposé, l'auteur a résisté à la tentation de présenter toutes les institutions du droit romain.

Mentionnons les notions ou institutions touchant au droit romain qui font l'objet de cette encyclopédie : *accessio, adoptio, adrogatio, ager privatus ex jure Quiritium, ager publicus, Antistius Labeo Marcus, arrha, assertor, casus fortuitus, cessio bonorum, Codex Theodosianus, constitutiones, contio, contubernium, Corpus iuris civilis, de cujus, delicta, exheredatio, Gaius, heredes qui, homo novus, hospitus, hypoteca, Iavolenus, in iure cessio, interpellationes, ius naturale, latifundium, legata, lex duodecim tabularum, lex Acilia repetundarum, lex Aebutia, lex Aequilia de damno, lex Canuleia de coniubio patrum et plebis, lex Cincia de donis et muneribus, lex Falcidia de legatis, lex maiestatis, mancipatio, Papinianus, patria potestas, Paulus, Salvius Iulianus, superficies, Cicero.*

Il y a aussi des institutions qui ne sont pas mentionnées, entre autres *nexum*, une institution très controversée dans le domaine du droit romain. Quelques articles sont de véritables monographies, par exemple «*République romaine*».

Une omission est à signaler : nous trouvons des articles dans les pages 211, 259, 325, 350, signés Vl. I, mais dans la liste des auteurs indiqués, p. 1, Vl. I n'est pas mentionné !

Notons aussi quelques remarques critiques :

1. Le *Corpus iuris civilis* fait l'objet d'un article de l'Encyclopédie ; cependant la limite fixée (476 ap. J.-C.) est dépassée.

Nous considérons comme justifiée la position des auteurs de l'Encyclopédie, car la compilation de Justinien est le résultat d'un long processus de développement du Droit romain ; mais notre objection porte sur le fait que l'empereur Justinien devrait aussi être mentionné dans un article séparé de l'Encyclopédie, même si son règne et son œuvre dépassent la limite fixée par les auteurs (476 ap. J.-C.), limite arbitraire selon nous.

2. Dans l'article consacré aux interpolations, on ne parle que des interpolations justiniennes. Or, nous savons bien que beaucoup des interpolations appartiennent à la période préjustinienne. Dès lors la limitation de la notion d'interpolation à la seule période de Justinien n'est pas justifiée, surtout si on prend en considération que les auteurs eux-mêmes ont fixé comme terminus la date de 476 ap. J.-C. Donc les interpolations antérieures à Justinien datent certainement de la période fixée par les auteurs.

3. Beaucoup des références de l'Encyclopédie appartiennent à une période postérieure au Ve s., par exemple l'article intitulé *Ravenna*, qui contient des informations allant jusqu'au VIIIe s. Ainsi l'historien Iordanes, qui a vécu au VIe s. de notre ère, fait l'objet d'un article à part. Les exemples que nous avons signalés ci-dessus prouvent à suffisance le caractère absolument arbitraire de la limitation de la civilisation romaine à une époque allant jusqu'à 476.

Betinio DIAMANT.

Le terme «personne» en théologie

Andrea MILANO, *Persona in teologia. Alle origini del significato di persona nel cristianesimo antico* (*Univ. degli studi della Basilicata. Potenza. Saggi e Ricerche*, 1), Naples, éditions Dehoniane, s.d. (= 1984). 444 pp., 210 × 140 mm. Prix : 28.000,– lires italiennes.

Le terme qui exprime la «personne» est un terme-clé du langage des philosophes, des théologiens, des juristes et des sociologues, des psychologues comme des anthropologues, constate l'auteur. «Comment» et «pourquoi» la culture occidentale a-t-elle entouré la «personne» d'un tel «prestige si incomparable» ? demande-t-il. C'est à cette question que son livre veut répondre, annonce la notice de lancement de l'ouvrage. Cette réponse est fondée sur l'analyse des anciennes traditions chrétiennes, de la théologie latine et de celle des Pères grecs ; cette analyse appelle à son tour la discussion des thèmes de la philosophie et de la théologie de «l'homme». Tout cela débouche sur une herméneutique générale des sources qui ne relève strictement ni de la philologie ni de l'histoire. Le résultat est un livre de théologie autant que d'édification : ... «una ricerca come questa è solo in apparenza lontana dai problemi e dai drammi ...». Elle est «un richiamo e una protesta, un invito e un sotegno allo sforzo di promovuere, senza parzialità e cedimenti, dovunque, sempre, la *persona* umana». Livre édifiant donc et psychophélime, cet ouvrage doit être lu dans la perspective des préoccupations qui sont d'actualité dans les domaines de l'histoire des dogmes et de l'histoire de la philosophie. À cet égard, le chapitre intitulé *Persona e autocoscienza : la svolta teologica e antropologica di Agostino*, qui concerne spécialement les idées de saint Augustin, est typique. On y renvoie le lecteur non seulement à deux répertoires bibliographiques, mais à quatre ouvrages récents consacrés au mot «personne» ou à la «Person-Begriff», dans s. Augustin (p. 283, n. 1). Passant en revue les auteurs et les œuvres qui font

autorité ou qui constituent des repères traditionnels dans l'histoire des doctrines, cette énorme synthèse prend ainsi l'allure d'une histoire générale de la théologie ou de la patrologie gréco-latine vue sous l'angle d'une définition métaphysique de la personne humaine.

Plusieurs se demanderont sans doute si une synthèse de ce genre peut ignorer, comme c'est ici le cas, le rôle déterminant joué par les sources orientales dans l'histoire de la pensée théologique.

Si l'on analyse les méthodes de composition sur un point précis, on peut apprécier la valeur et la portée critique du travail. Quand il étudie, par exemple, les positions de Grégoire de Nazianze (p. 135-136, n. 10 et 11), l'auteur s'appuie sur une bibliographie ancienne empruntée à d'excellents manuels de patrologie qui étaient à jour pour l'essentiel il y a un quart de siècle, tel le Quasten ; mais il ignore l'article récent du P. A. de Halleux sur le sujet qu'il traite. Il néglige des textes fondamentaux nombreux et essentiels de saint Grégoire, et parmi beaucoup d'autres, notamment celui où on lit: «Les Italiens comprennent aussi les choses comme nous, encore que leur langue dispose de moyens d'expression trop limités et d'un vocabulaire trop pauvre pour leur permettre de distinguer l'hypostase de l'essence. C'est la raison pour laquelle leur langue substitue les «personnes» aux «hypostases» pour éviter d'admettre trois essences. Et qu'arrive-t-il ? Comble du ridicule ou plutôt du lamentable ! On a pris pour une divergence de foi cette insignifiante question de mots. Ensuite ici chez nous, on taxa la doctrine des trois Personnes de sabellianisme» ..., etc. (*Discours*, 21, §35 : *P.G.*, 35, col. 1124 D 1-1125 A 6 = éd. J. Mossay, p. 187). Le danger de passer ainsi à côté de choses intéressantes sans les remarquer est inévitable dans les synthèses de seconde main telles que celle-ci. On n'en fait nul reproche à l'auteur : c'est quasiment une règle du genre. Toutefois à une époque où le traitement électronique des textes, spécialement des textes patristiques et médiévaux, met à la disposition des chercheurs des instruments d'information aussi sûrs et aussi maniables que les concordances informatisées qui se généralisent actuellement, est-il encore raisonnable d'investir tant d'imagination, d'érudition et bonne volonté dans des travaux tels que celui-ci fondés sur des méthodes si peu fiables ?

Justin Mossay.

Les richesses dans Grégoire de Nazianze

Bernard COULIE, *Les richesses dans l'œuvre de saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Étude littéraire et historique*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut orientaliste de l'Université catholique de Louvain, 1985, 1 vol. in-8°, 252 p. (PUBLICATIONS DE L'INSTITUT ORIENTALISTE DE LOUVAIN, 32).

On a coutume de présenter Grégoire de Nazianze comme un intellectuel pur, mal armé pour l'action et fort peu concerné par les biens matériels. La belle thèse de B. Coulie remet en question ce portrait. En fait, Grégoire parle beaucoup des riches et des richesses, et il sait ce dont il parle. Riche lui-même, il n'est pas sans compétence en matière d'argent. Il ne néglige pas les réalités de l'existence. Ses propos sont alimentés entre autres par son expérience et ils savent rencontrer les préoccupations des auditeurs ou des lecteurs. Grégoire ne condamne de façon absolue ni la possession des richesses, ni les revenus professionnels ; mais il s'en prend au mauvais usage des biens, à leur acquisition malhonnête, au profit illicite et à l'attachement à l'argent. Le thème des richesses n'est toutefois pas pour Grégoire «un thème isolé, se suffisant à lui-même ou sans motivations profondes». Il représente «un moyen privilégié de représenter les réalités surnaturelles» et «de tourner les âmes des fidèles vers l'au-delà» (pp. 195 et 201). Le Nazianzène oppose les biens matériels et célestes. Il souligne aussi l'importance pour la vie future de l'attitude à l'égard des richesses et il invite dès lors à s'en détacher. Bref, une pensée et une attitude complexes, dont l'analyse «a pour originalité de rendre la figure de cet auteur plus humaine» (p. 207).

On s'étonne un peu que B. Coulie n'ait fait allusion qu'en note (p. 173, n. 6) à d'importantes conceptions philosophiques et morales de Grégoire en rapport avec les œuvres charitables, notamment le devoir qu'a l'homme de restaurer l'*ἰσότης* divine originelle. Mais cela n'importe guère au regard du travail accompli. B. Coulie a étudié un nombre considérable de textes et il a su se mettre réellement à leur écoute. Ces textes, souvent cités et traduits avec élégance, sont répartis en trois grands dossiers : la possession, l'acquisition et l'usage des richesses. Ils sont soumis à une critique historique et littéraire dont on apprécie la rigueur et la clarté. La place importante faite à l'analyse littéraire s'explique par les difficultés du style de Grégoire et en particulier par l'omniprésence de la rhétorique. Celle-ci apparaît «bien plus qu'un simple ornement de style ; elle est chez Grégoire de Nazianze un moyen d'expression et d'action» (p. 204). Dès lors, la critique littéraire permet de mieux mettre en lumière les réalités historiques et les positions

idéologiques. B. Coulie allie ainsi de façon harmonieuse la philologie et l'histoire, en montrant une égale maîtrise dans les deux disciplines.

Il va sans dire qu'une telle étude touche à un grand nombre de sujets. On peut notamment glaner dans le livre une foule d'observations, de données, de références bibliographiques sur maints aspects de l'économie et de la société de l'Antiquité tardive. Un index analytique regroupant les noms des personnages et tous les thèmes abordés facilite la recherche. Une bonne bibliographie sélective reprend les titres mentionnés plus d'une fois au cours des analyses. Trois autres index (des termes grecs, scripturaires, des passages cités) terminent ce livre intelligent qu'on lit avec profit.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Le Pré spirituel de Jean Moschos

GIOVANNI MOSCO, *Il Prato*, presentazione, traduzione e commento di Riccardo MAISANO, Naples, M. D'Auria, 1982, 1 vol. in-8°, 294 p. (Storie e testi, 1). Prix : 20.000 lires.

Cette bonne traduction italienne — la première en cette langue à être faite sur le texte grec — veut montrer à un public cultivé que «la lettura del libro di Mosco può essere un mezzo efficace per conoscere squarci di vita popolare nelle aree provinciali e tribolate dell'impero bizantino e per accostarsi al mondo del cristianesimo orientale» (p. 9). Comme l'édition critique préparée par Philip Pattenden n'est pas encore parue, M. Maisano s'est vu contraint de baser son travail sur le texte publié dans le volume 87, 3 de la *Patrologia Graeca*. Il a toutefois pris soin de remédier autant que possible aux lacunes et aux altérations de ce texte en le collationnant avec un important manuscrit de Florence, le *Laurentianus* X 3 du XIIe s. — Ce codex correspond sans doute à la plus courte des deux rédactions de l'œuvre mentionnées par Photius ; par l'intermédiaire de la version latine d'Ambrogio Traversari, il a modelé la tradition moderne sans avoir toutefois servi pour les éditions. — On trouvera pp. 240-249 la liste des variantes retenues pour la traduction.

L'introduction et le commentaire marquent un net progrès par rapport aux observations qui accompagnent la traduction française de M.-J. Rouët de Journel (Sources chrétiennes, 12, Paris, 1946). La bibliographie ne se veut nullement exhaustive, mais elle n'omet rien d'essentiel pour le sujet. (On s'étonne seulement de ne pas voir mentionner pour le cadre historique les

vols 2 et 3 de la *Storia della Chiesa* dirigée par Hubert Jedin, Milan, 1977-1978). Dans l'ensemble, M. Maisano est fort bien au courant des derniers développements de la recherche tant sur le Pré lui-même et son auteur que sur le contexte historique et surtout religieux de l'œuvre, et il en fait la synthèse avec compétence et clarté. Toutefois, il n'a malheureusement pas pu prendre connaissance à temps du livre de B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, IV, Berlin, 1981. Cet auteur réfute à juste titre, pp. 289-292, les vues de K. Rozemond (*Vigiliae Christianae*, 31, 1977, pp. 60-67), selon qui Jean Moschos aurait été patriarche de Jérusalem en exil à Constantinople.

Une table chronologique, deux cartes et quatre précieux *indices* (des personnages, des toponymes, des thèmes principaux et des sources citées dans les notes) complètent cet ouvrage qui contribuera assurément à faire mieux connaître l'œuvre de Jean Moschos.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Administration impériale et pouvoir aristocratique en Italie byzantine (554-800)

T. S. BROWN, *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554-800*, Londres, British School at Rome, 1984, 1 vol. in-8°, XVI-288 pp. Prix : £ 20.50.

La guerre gothique et ses destructions, l'abolition par Justinien Ier des offices de la cour d'Occident qui ouvraient l'accès au Sénat, l'invasion lombarde enfin et l'importance prise à nouveau par les militaires en raison des circonstances furent fatales à l'aristocratie sénatoriale d'Italie, déjà affaiblie à l'époque des Goths. Dans les territoires restés aux mains des impériaux, on assista à un bouleversement social dont l'analyse fait l'objet de l'excellent livre de T. S. Brown : «a civilian society epitomized by the Roman senatorial aristocracy collapsed and a leading role was assumed by a new local landed aristocracy of military officers, many of them originally from the East» (p. X). La concentration de l'autorité dans les mains des officiers ne fut pas la conséquence d'une grande réforme administrative ; elle se fit graduellement et à un rythme différent selon les régions en réponse aux nécessités du moment et sous l'action de l'intérêt personnel des membres du groupe le plus apte à tirer avantage de la situation. Les officiers — qui, à l'exception de la plupart des exarques, firent souvent souche dans le pays, se latinisèrent et furent rejoints par des autochtones — monopolisèrent les

fonctions administratives et profitèrent de celles-ci tout comme de leur pouvoir militaire pour renforcer leur position économique et sociale. Leur ascension fut facilitée par la survie de nombreuses villes, qui servirent de base à leurs activités, et la permanence d'aspects importants de l'ancienne organisation agraire. Les dignités dont ils étaient revêtus contribuèrent aussi à asseoir leur autorité et leur prestige, car la société conservait le respect d'une hiérarchie sanctionnée sur le plan officiel et de titres liés au Sénat disparu, comme celui de consul. Les liens étroits noués avec le clergé et le développement de réseaux de patronage au sein des communautés locales accrurent encore leur pouvoir sur celles-ci. Enfin, les officiers surent tirer profit de la faiblesse croissante du gouvernement central et du mécontentement suscité par sa politique religieuse. L'évolution arrive à son terme dans la seconde moitié du VIIIe siècle : les anciens territoires impériaux sont passés aux mains d'une aristocratie «of local warlords of the type which was to dominate Italy until the rise of the communes in the twelfth century» (p. 1).

L'analyse de cette évolution et la remarquable mise en évidence des éléments anciens et nouveaux qui en influencèrent le cours commence par un tableau de la société italienne au VIe siècle (chap. I). L'auteur envisage ensuite la crise de l'aristocratie sénatoriale dans les années qui suivirent la reconquête de Justinien (chap. II) et l'impact sur la société de la guerre contre les Lombards (chap. III). Il en arrive ainsi à la nouvelle élite. Il étudie successivement l'origine et la carrière des officiers (chap. IV), le rôle de l'armée dans la société (chap. V), le comportement des officiers dans leur administration et les bénéfices tirés de celle-ci (chap. VI), leurs dignités (chap. VII), les rapports avec le pouvoir central (chap. VIII), les relations familiales au sein de la nouvelle aristocratie et la notion de «noblesse» (chap. IX), le rôle de l'Église (chap. X), les propriétés foncières (chap. XI), le patronage et le pouvoir sur les communautés locales (chap. XII). Après une note sur la nature des sources et une importante bibliographie, l'ouvrage s'achève par un précieux index prosopographique (auquel on ajoutera l'exarque Photius, cf. *Byzantion*, 55, 1985, pp. 267-268). On regrette un peu que l'auteur n'ait pas rassemblé dans une conclusion générale les lignes de force dégagées tout au long de l'exposé. Il aurait pourtant suffi de développer le bel épilogue (pp. 220-221) ([1]).

(1) On trouvera un bon résumé des grandes lignes de l'ouvrage dans T. S. BROWN, *Transformation and Continuity in Byzantine Italy : Society and Administration ca. 550-ca. 650*, dans *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium. Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference*, Prague, 1985, pp. 55-59.

Le livre se recommande à la fois par la largeur de ses vues, la qualité de sa méthode et l'ampleur de sa documentation. Les sources les plus diverses sont mises en œuvre avec bonheur, l'étendue des lectures de l'auteur est impressionnante et son sens critique toujours en éveil. T. S. Brown fait preuve d'une rigueur et d'une honnêteté scientifique exemplaires. Il ne cache pas que plusieurs de ses conclusions peuvent seulement être considérées comme des tentatives d'explication. Il reconnaît que certains aspects (notamment la nature des relations familiales au sein de l'aristocratie, l'administration de ses biens fonciers et son contrôle des impôts) nécessiteraient des recherches encore plus poussées. Il s'efforce avec succès d'éviter les généralisations hâtives et rend compte autant que possible de tous les aspects d'une réalité mouvante et complexe. J'hésiterais toutefois à appliquer à l'Église romaine du VIIe siècle et même d'une partie du VIIIe siècle le jugement d'ensemble porté p. 189 : «in many respects the church of Byzantine Italy was as much of an *Adelskirche* dominated by aristocratic ideas and ties with the laity as the churches of Northern Europe in much of the early middle ages». Mais bien rares sont les affirmations qu'on eût souhaitées plus nuancées.

T. S. Brown éclaire sous un jour nouveau la société des territoires d'Italie restés aux mains des impériaux. Il invite à ne pas en exagérer le caractère «byzantin» et souligne les traits qui lui sont propres. Aux médiévistes intéressés surtout par l'interaction des traditions romaines et germaniques, il démontre remarquablement «that distinctive and dynamic social forms could evolve within a uniquely Roman society» (p. XII). Son livre fondamental fera date dans les recherches sur le haut moyen âge (2).

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Trois études sur la Palestine romaine tardive et byzantine

Z. BARAS, S. SAFRAI, Y. TSAFRIR, M. STERN, eds., *Fretz Israel : From the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest.* Volume One. (Hebrew). Jerusalem : Yad Ben Zvi, 1982, p. 512.

(2) Signalons encore deux communications récentes de l'auteur : *The Aristocracy of Ravenna from Justinian to Charlemagne*, in *XXXIII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenne, 1986, pp. 135-149, et surtout *The Interplay between Roman and Byzantine traditions and local sentiment in the Exarchate of Ravenna*, in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo. XXXIV Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, Spolète, sous presse.

Y. TSAFRIR, *Eretz Israel : From the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest : Archaeology and Art.* Volume Two. (Hebrew). Jerusalem : Yad Ben Zvi, 1984, p. 462.

Y. DAN, *The City in Eretz Israel During the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods.* (Hebrew). Jerusalem : Yad Ben Zvi, 1984, p. 254.

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in the Byzantine period amongst Israeli scholars. Often a step-child of the Biblical, Hellenistic, and Crusader periods, the Byzantine past has become important to archaeologists, historians, and art critics. The 1983 convention of the Israel Association for Byzantine Studies listed twenty-six lectures by local scholars from Israel's universities. The renewed attention derives partly from the influence of the late Professor Michael Avi-Yonah, an eminent archaeologist and historian, and, ultimately, from the ongoing Jewish-Christian dialogue since the late 1940s. The presence of numerous Christian institutions and the physical remains of churches, monasteries, mosaic floors, cities, synagogues, roads, and artifacts, form part of a living history of the land. Thus, the study of Byzantine Palestine has become integrated into the curricula of high schools and universities as part of the history and archaeology of the Land of Israel (or as it is referred to in Hebrew, «Eretz Israel»). Three recent works written in Hebrew have been published by the Yad Ben Zvi Centre for Study of Eretz Israel in Jerusalem. As modern Hebrew is not readily available to many Western and East European scholars, my resumés follow.

Z. Baras, et al., eds. *Eretz Israel : From the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest.* Volume One, is an anthology of essays by several scholars. The articles vary in length and quality and cover a wide range of topics on the history of Roman and Byzantine Palestine. As its title suggests, the periodization is based on conventional Jewish historical scholarship which views the defeats of the Jews of Judea by the Romans in 70 and 135 A.D. as significant changes in the history of Palestinian Jewry and of the land itself.

About one-third of the volume treats the Roman period prior to Constantine and focusses mainly on Jewish society, leadership and culture from the late first through the early third centuries. From the contents of the essays on the Jewish revival in the Galilee after 135, the age of Rabbi Judah the "Prince" (late second-early third centuries) and the Jewish communities of the Galilee, Golan, and Judea and the Coastal Plain, it is clear that the Jews remained a vital, numerous, and significant group despite the harsh consequences of the rebellions and continuous fiscal hardships. This point,

however, had been proved successfully by M. Avi-Yonah in *The Jews of Palestine : A Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest* (Oxford, 1976). The chapters of *Eretz Israel*, further describe the nature and locations of the Jewish communities.

Two-thirds of the volume are devoted to the Byzantine period. Several essays concentrate on Jewish subjects such as the literature of Palestinian Jewry and their links with Jews in the Diaspora. Other topics include the spread of Christianity (divided into two parts, before and after Julian the Apostate) ; an overview of Byzantine Palestine during the fifth and sixth centuries, and several odd pieces on administration, population, and agriculture. There is no separate chapter on Christian thought and literature in Palestine, although the outstanding figures appear in the two sections on the spread of Christianity. Women, the family, and daily life receive almost no attention.

The division into many subjects rather than a few comprehensive and synthetic articles gives *Eretz Israel* a lack of thematic unity and contributes to needless repetition. For example, the material in the brief chapter entitled "The Samaritans" could have appeared in the essay on Byzantine Palestine which treats their rebellions against the Empire in detail. The same holds true for the unnecessary separate section on agriculture. Furthermore, in a work of this type there is no need for a lengthy and heavy essay of fifty pages on the Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614. Instead of devoting much to individual subjects (and thereby including more authors), the editors should have presented fewer and better-integrated pieces. Perhaps the division and the focus on local issues also constitute the reasons for the lack of a comprehensive perspective. One would like to fit Byzantine Palestine into the Empire as a whole, or, to contrast the patterns of the spread of Christianity with those in other countries. Too much is particular and too little, universal.

Some essays, however, are extremely good and deserve translation into English or French. They are : I. Gafni's piece on the religion and literary creativity of Palestinian Jewry ; L. Levine on Palestine in the third and fourth centuries ; and Y. Dan on the fifth and sixth centuries. These general syntheses are among the finest of Israeli scholarship. A chronological table, a general map of Roman and Byzantine Palestine, and a table of contents in a Western language, would have been a welcome, indeed, necessary addition to the work. The photographs, drawings and maps which appear throughout the volume are instructive and contribute greatly to the text. Should an additional volume of essays be published, its editors must avoid the faults of

the first one. Perhaps a smaller and tighter anthology would better serve its readers.

The companion volume, Y. Tsafrir, *Archaeology and Art*, has fewer pretensions and is better organized. Professor Tsafrir divides his study into Late Roman (70-324) and Byzantine (324-620) periods. He could have explained the reasons for this periodization and its affect on archaeology more thoroughly, although he does so briefly in his introduction. *Archaeology and Art* is a detailed and authoritative study of all aspects of archaeology and art in Roman and Byzantine Palestine. Tsafrir displays encyclopedic knowledge and consummate expertise in his field. He writes lucidly and succinctly and occasionally compares the archaeology of Palestine with that of other Roman provinces. The work goes beyond skilled description and relates archaeology to trends in government and society, such as the reasons for constructing roads of a certain type or the principles of late Roman synagogue architecture. The volume contains many drawings and photographs of excellent quality. At times, the reader may be overwhelmed by the amount and variety of columns, wood-beam engravings, mosaic floors, and lamps. A general map of the area would have been useful. To his credit, Tsafrir includes a table of contents in English and an epilogue. *Archaeology and Art* is a major contribution to the field of Roman and Byzantine studies and deserves a translation into French of English as soon as possible.

The late Y. Dan's *The City in Eretz Israel during the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods* fills a gap in research on the history of the Land of Israel. His book has a fresh approach to the historiography of the country and of this period as it treats the growth of cities and the development of urban life styles in the important transition from paganism to Christianity in Palestine. The author displays a total mastery of the entire range of sources and blends them into a unique and well-written synthesis. He used ecclesiastical correspondence, Biblical commentary, hagiography, and homilies in Latin, Greek, and Syriac ; rabbinic literature and inscriptions in the above languages and in Arabic. Furthermore, Dr. Dan knew the application and limitations of archaeological material for his study. *The City* proves that urbanization played a major role in the spread of Christianity and that the life-style in Palestinian cities during the Byzantine period was varied and pluralistic. Dan presents a comprehensive social history with intelligent discussion and emphasis on the relations of different social classes and ethnic and religious groups ; the role of kinship ; the educational system ; the circus and theatres ; and municipal administration. While leading figures are important in *The City*, the role of "great men" is not overemphasized. For the layman, he

included a glossary of relevant terms. The book is full of photographs of cities, monasteries, inscriptions and mosaics which contribute much to the text. Unfortunately, there is no map – a fault common to all the publications of Yad Ben Zvi reviewed here.

As Dr. Dan read proof on his manuscript, he was suffering from the fatal illness which took his life shortly before publication. Therefore, the work has an unfinished quality. It lacks a comparative perspective on urbanization in general and in the ancient world in particular. *The City* has no conclusion, which may have been written had Yaron Dan been able to do so. In addition, Dr. Dan may not have been aware of the more recent works on Byzantine Palestine, as they reached Israel while his book was in press. Dr. Dan had been planning a companion volume on rural Palestine in the late Roman-Byzantine era. It is unfortunate that his untimely death at the age of forty-four has deprived us of his work. *The City* deserves a translation into English or French.

Rivkah FISHMAN-DUKER.

La conquête de la Crète par les Arabes

Vassilios CHRISTIDES, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824) : A Turning point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athènes, Académie d'Athènes, 1984, 265 p. 28 × 21 cm.

Le titre de ce livre exprime fort bien son double contenu : nouvel examen d'un événement précis, à savoir la conquête de la Crète par les Arabes d'Espagne, et étude des relations byzantino-arabes aux IXe et Xe siècles. L'ensemble est fondé sur l'examen des sources, qui tend à être exhaustif.

Le premier chapitre examine les sources grecques et arabes, classées par genres (textes historiques, ecclésiastiques et hagiographiques, traités militaires, météorologiques et géographiques) et par types (sources écrites, iconographiques et numismatiques). Ce qui rend leur présentation particulièrement intéressante, c'est le commentaire précis consacré à leur utilisation critique ; les qualités de ce chapitre se retrouvent tout au long du livre. La critique des sources conduit à l'étude de la conjoncture politique et permet de situer l'événement dans son contexte historique. Ainsi le second chapitre traite de la situation des Arabes et de celle de Byzance ; il montre que «Crete was not conquered by the Moslems simply to chance as is sometimes wrongly assumed. Similarly, the duration of the Moslem occupation of Crete cannot be attributed merely to the incompetence of the Byzantine leaders or to the

almost impregnable position of the island, but rather to some important changes in the international political relations of the time» (p. 38). On trouvera ici une mine de renseignements au sujet de l'art militaire. Les facteurs économique et social introduisent la recherche sur la technologie de l'époque et font comprendre ce qui est exposé dans le troisième chapitre : la conquête de la Crète. On y discute la chronologie des événements d'après les historiens modernes (E. W. Brooks, M. Canard, N. Panagiotakis), les données des sources, qui ne s'accordent pas toujours sur les dates (823, 825-6, 827-8, 830), la raison du choix de la Crète et l'itinéraire suivi jusque là. Ce dernier point, particulièrement peu exploré jusqu'à ce jour, est d'autant plus intéressant qu'il faut, pour élucider quelques contradictions constatées entre les sources, compléter les sources grecques par les témoins arabes.

Le quatrième chapitre est consacré à la situation de l'île pendant l'occupation arabe. Nous avons en fait peu d'informations directes à ce sujet. L'auteur exploite donc tout ce qui est susceptible de fournir des indices ; il trouve des éléments dans des sources indirectes arabes et grecques, et il examine aussi l'influence arabe sur l'art de l'époque (pp. 119-133 : édifice arabe de Cnossos, boucles d'oreilles conservées au Musée Archéologique National d'Athènes, commentaire de G. S. Miles, *Byzantium and the Arabs*..., dans *D.O.P.*, 18 (1964), pp. 1-32). Le manque de sources sûres rend l'argumentation un peu faible dans la partie traitant de la chrétienté en Crète à cette époque ; ainsi pp. 109-110 : «The traces of fire in ceramics found in the church (cathedral of Sybritos) is not enough evidence for Moslem arson (...) and naturally an accidental fire cannot be excluded», et p. 111 : «we can also add among the possible archeological evidence of religious tolerance of the Moslems of Crete, the construction of a church, possibly at time of the Moslem occupation».

Quant au chapitre final (le cinquième), il explique avec le même soin que le chapitre II, l'expansion des Arabes de Crète et leur défaite finale par Nicéphore Phocas. Les dissensions entre les états arabes ne contribuèrent pas à défendre les Musulmans de Crète contre le génie militaire (et pas seulement militaire) de l'empereur byzantin. Les conséquences de leur défaite furent graves pour le monde arabe, qui perdit ainsi un rempart avancé face au monde byzantin.

M. Christides, éclaire sur bien des points obscurs l'histoire byzantine et arabe de l'époque, et il ouvre des perspectives nouvelles sur les rapports culturels des deux civilisations. L'ouvrage est complété par quatre appendices exposant, traduisant et discutant quelques sources, deux listes bibliographiques, cinq cartes décrivant les opérations navales arabes et byzantines de

l'époque, et un nombre important de photographies des œuvres d'art évoquées dans le texte.

Hélène CONDYLIS.

Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore

François HALKIN, *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore.* Textes grecs publiés et traduits (= *Subsidia hagiographica,* 69), Bruxelles, 1985, 365 p.

Du ménologe impérial dont les premiers textes furent édités en 1912 par Latyšev, on a conservé les mois de janvier à mars, ceux de juin à août, et partiellement ceux d'avril et de mai. Le P. Halkin a le mérite d'avoir retrouvé jadis à Baltimore le volume de janvier, lequel, après avoir été conservé à Alexandrie jusqu'au début de ce siècle, avait été porté disparu. Il fit part de sa découverte dans les *Analecta Bollandiana* de 1939 et, à cette occasion, corrigea les estimations de Latyšev en établissant une fois pour toutes que ce ménologe impérial avait été écrit pour Michel IV le Paphlagonien (1034-1041).

Enluminé, le ménologe impérial est, cela va sans dire, plus célèbre par ses peintures que par ses textes. Ceux-ci en effet, vu leur date relativement tardive, n'ont, lorsqu'ils ne sont que la récriture d'une Vie ancienne, voire de la Vie métaphrastique, que l'intérêt d'un *rifacimento,* lequel, par ses silences, ses transformations, ses additions, parle indirectement de sa propre époque. Mais il arrive que le modèle du ménologe impérial ait disparu : tel est le cas pour la Vie de S. Zôticos. Il arrive aussi, comme pour S. Théodote de Cyrène, que la Vie du ménologe impérial soit la seule à être conservée intégralement. N'oublions pas enfin l'intérêt linguistique de textes si bien datés, qu'on peut presque toujours comparer à leur modèle.

Ce que le P. Halkin édite dans ce livre, c'est l'ensemble des textes du ménologe de janvier qui restaient inédits, soit 18 des 25 textes conservés. Seuls deux de ceux-ci ont paru ne pas mériter les honneurs d'une édition *in extenso,* de sorte que le Bollandiste n'en donne que la fin, contenant la prière acrostiche pour l'empereur : ce sont d'une part l'homélie *BHG* 1938 (*In sancta Lumina*) de Grégoire de Nazianze, que l'auteur du ménologe aurait reprise telle quelle, lui adjoignant seulement la prière en question, et d'autre part la Passion de S. Clément d'Ancyre, passion épique s'il en est, qui, bien que fort mutilée, remplit encore près de 21 feuillets du manuscrit de Baltimore et suit souvent mot à mot son modèle métaphrastique. Les 5 textes restants, ayant fait l'objet de publications récentes, ne sont pas réédités.

Mais il ne suffit plus toujours d'imprimer un texte grec pour le rendre accessible ! Le P. Halkin traduit donc certains des textes du ménologe et, pour les autres, donne les renseignements bibliographiques qui permettent de trouver une traduction française ou latine, soit de la Vie du ménologe impérial, soit de la Vie qui lui servit de modèle. Les textes à la fois édités et traduits dans le volume sont au nombre de onze ; ils concernent le prophète Malachie, Paul l'ermite, le prophète Michée, Jean-Baptiste, Polyeucte, Marcien l'économe, Tatiana, Hermyle et Stratonice, Jean Calybite, les Chaînes de S. Pierre et Cyrille d'Alexandrie. On trouvera également la traduction seule de 3 des Vies du ménologe (Théopemptos et Théonas, Théodote de Cyrène, Néophyte), que le P. Halkin avait déjà éditées ailleurs dans les dernières années.

Mis à part le fait que le texte des pp. 138-149 aurait dû être imprimé avec le reste de la Vie de S. Euthyme (cf. *Anal. Boll.*, t. 104, 1986, pp. 453-455), le livre est bien conforme à ce que produit le P. Halkin depuis de nombreuses années. On ne peut qu'admirer la vigueur de celui qui est aujourd'hui le *Senior* des Bollandistes. Sa longue familiarité avec les diverses écritures des manuscrits byzantins, les dizaines d'années qu'il a passées à lire et à pénétrer les Passions et les *Vitae* grecques, lui permettent, à 85 ans passés, de continuer à servir l'œuvre séculaire en publiant encore quantité d'inédits, qu'il appartiendra à d'autres, plus jeunes, d'étudier et d'exploiter.

J. NORET.

Les lettres de Demetrios Kydones

DEMETRIOS KYDONES, *Briefe*. Übersetzt und erläutert von Franz TINNEFELD. 1, 1. (*Einleitung und 47 Briefe*), 1, 2 (91 Briefe. Register), (*Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur*, 12 und 16), Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1981 et 1982. X + 682 pages.

Depuis l'année 1970, le professeur F. Tinnefeld a marqué son intérêt pour le corpus des lettres de Démétrios Kydones, si riche de ressources prosopographiques et de renseignements variés relatifs à l'histoire du XIVe siècle byzantin : politique générale des Paléologues, relations religieuses ou ecclésiastiques latino-byzantines, fermentation des idées philosophiques. À travers le dossier épistolaire, l'historien de la littérature discerne aussi les traits de l'écrivain ainsi que des tendances de son milieu. Le traducteur utilise l'édition du Père R.-J. LOENERTZ, décédé le 31 août 1976 sans avoir réalisé son projet de commentaire des textes édités. F. Tinnefeld profite des travaux plus

récents particulièrement dans le domaine de la prosopographie de l'époque des Paléologues. Son érudition et sa clarté font de cet ouvrage le complément nécessaire de l'édition du P. Loenertz et un instrument de travail indispensable à tous les historiens du XIVe siècle byzantin.

Justin MOSSAY.

Art et société bulgare pendant la période turque

M. KIEL, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, Maastricht, 1985, XXII + 400 p., 74 pl., 12 c.

Ce livre constitue une agréable surprise par la richesse de sa documentation et l'objectivité de l'auteur. Les six premiers chapitres sont consacrés à divers aspects de l'implantation et de la documentation ottomane en terre bulgare. Deux chapitres concernent l'art byzantin dans la Bulgarie ottomane et le dernier présente les conclusions tirées de l'enquête. L'auteur souligne que la politique de la Sublime Porte a été finalement plus libérale que ne voudrait l'admettre l'historiographie bulgare et qu'on ne peut en particulier parler d'un féodalisme ottoman. Un chapitre qui mérite l'attention est celui qui décrit la composition de la société bulgare à l'époque ottomane. L'auteur énumère un certain nombre de catégories qui jouissaient de faveurs ; il ne juge pas nécessaire cependant de signaler que la majorité de la population était formée par des paysans chrétiens pour la plupart. L'utilisation des règlements relatifs à la Bulgarie, aurait permis à l'auteur de présenter le statut des cultivateurs ([1]). La partie du livre consacrée à la situation de l'Église montre que les autorités n'interdisaient point la réparation des bâtiments ou la construction de nouvelles églises. Bien que le statut sorte du cadre du sujet, les remarques de M. K. s'avèrent utiles. On peut se demander si la Porte ne traitait pas certains évêques et supérieurs des monastères comme des timariotes ([2]). Une thèse de doctorat récente ([3]) laisse entrevoir que la Porte

(1) Ö. L. BARKAN, *XV. ve XVI.-inci asirlarda osmanli imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esaslari ; kanunlar* (Les bases juridiques et financières de l'économie agricole dans l'empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles ; les lois), Istanbul, 1945, pp. 251-254, 265-277.

(2) N. BELDICEANU, *Le monde ottoman des Balkans (1402-1566)*, Londres, 1967, chap. XIV.

(3) P. KONORTAS, *Les rapports juridiques et politiques entre le patriarcat orthodoxe de Constantinople et l'administration ottomane de 1453 à 1600 (d'après les documents grecs et ottomans)*. Université de Paris, I, 1985, 2 vol.

considérait, peut-être, le patriarche comme une sorte de beylerbey du monde orthodoxe.

Avant de conclure quelques remarques de détail s'imposent. En traitant le problème des premiers contacts entre Turcs et Bulgares, il aurait été intéressant de s'arrêter sur un acte ignoré par les ottomanisants. Le 15 juillet 1372 le prince de Valachie (Ţara Românească), Vladislav, concède à des parents des biens fonciers en raison de la bravoure dont ils firent preuve en combattant les Turcs et l'empereur de Tirnova ([4]). Vladislav se réfère-t-il à la campagne entreprise par les Roumains dans les Balkans (1368) contre les Bulgares et leurs alliés turcs, avant qu'Andrinople ne fût occupée par des chefs turcs en 1368/69 ?

Signalons que les *qāḍī* n'étaient pas toujours rétribués en espèces par l'administration centrale, comme le soutient M. K. Un certain nombre d'entre eux jouissait de timars ([5]). En ce qui concerne les *baština*, le système ottoman en connaissait deux sortes : l'une privilégiée, attribuée à des catégories de la population jouissant de franchises et une autre concédée à de simples raïas ([6]). Pour ce qui est de la bibliographie, M. K. n'aurait pas dû renvoyer à une édition de la chronique d'Uruğ (*p. 14, n. 17*) dont la langue est modernisée, mais préférer celle de Babinger qui repose sur les manuscrits de Cambridge et d'Oxford ([7]). À la *p. 77* l'auteur mentionne les règlements édités par Gălăbof. Nous supposons qu'il se réfère aux règlements publiés avant la dernière guerre dans l'*Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia* (1938). Enfin la correction du nom d'un auteur s'impose : il faut en effet lire Giurescu et non pas Giunescu (*p. 129, notes 152, 153 et p. 369*).

Soulignons que M. K. ne s'est pas limité aux publications bulgares, qu'il a fait appel également à une riche documentation ottomane inédite. Face à une bibliographie de caractère souvent polémique, M. K. a su rester toujours

(4) Şt. PASCU, C. CIHODARU, K. GÜNDISCH, D. MIOC, Viorica PERVAIN, *Documenta Romaniae historica : D. Relaţii între Ţările Române, vol. I, 1222-1456* (Relations entre les pays roumains, t. I, 1222-1456), coll. *Academia de Ştiinţe Sociale şi Politice a Rep. Soc. România*, Bucarest, éd. *Academia Rep. Soc. România*, 1977, p. 103 ; N. BELDICEANU, Compte rendu, dans *Turcica*, t. XI, Louvain, Paris, Strasbourg, 1979, pp. 289-290.

(5) IDEM., *Le timar dans l'État ottoman*, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 40-41.

(6) IDEM., *Sur les Valaques des Balkans slaves à l'époque ottomane (1450-1550)*, dans *Revue des études islamiques*, t. XXXIV (1966), Paris, 1967, pp. 102-104.

(7) F. BABINGER, *Die Frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch, nach den Handschriften zu Oxford und Cambridge erstmals herausgegeben und eingeleitet*, Hannover, 1925, pp. X-XII.

lucide et pondéré. Nous espérons que son ouvrage attirera l'attention de nombreux chercheurs.

N. BELDICEANU.

L'écriture grecque du IXe au XIXe siècle

Δέκα αἰῶνες Ἑλληνικῆς γραφῆς (9ος-19ος αι.). Εἰσαγωγὴ-κείμενο : Α. Τσελικας, Ἀθῆνα, Μουσεῖο Μπενάκι. Συλλογὴ χειρογράφων, 1977, 1 vol. in-8°, 88 p. et 32 pl. (fac.-sim.), avec un résumé en anglais.

En prélude à l'inventaire complet et à la description de ses trois fonds, le musée Bénaki a présenté 71 manuscrits byzantins et post-byzantins dans le cadre du dixième Congrès de l'Association internationale de Bibliophilie (Athènes, 1977). La réalisation de l'exposition, qui avait pour but de retracer l'évolution de l'écriture grecque depuis le IXe jusqu'au XIXe siècle, avait été confiée à un paléographe, M. A. Tselikas. Il fut chargé également de la rédaction du présent catalogue.

En quelques pages d'introduction, il retrace la naissance et l'altération de la minuscule en y ajoutant quelques considérations sur la fabrication du livre et de sa reliure, leur décoration, les modes de présentation du texte et, de manière plus générale, la fonction du livre dans la vie sociale.

L'essentiel de l'ouvrage est constitué par les notices descriptives des manuscrits présentés au cours de l'exposition : chaque lemme contient des observations codicologiques, la mise en évidence des caractéristiques principales de l'écriture et des éléments de décoration ainsi que de la bibliographie. L'auteur mentionne les scribes connus et souligne les identités de main en établissant des rapprochements avec d'autres manuscrits ; il s'intéresse également aux relieurs. En parcourant ces notices, l'on peut se rendre compte de l'extrême variété des manuscrits exposés, tant du point de vue du support de l'écriture que de celui du contenu (textes bibliques et liturgiques, extraits des Pères de l'Église, récits hagiographiques, panégyriques, partitions de musique ecclésiastique ...). Parmi les plus intéressants spécimens, on relèvera un évangile bilingue, gréco-turc, datant du XVIIIe siècle et dont le texte turc est rédigé en alphabet grec (n° 64) ainsi que plusieurs palimpsestes présentant jusqu'à trois types d'écriture minuscule.

Un choix de 32 planches de très bonne qualité termine le catalogue, que complètent une bibliographie générale et un index détaillé.

Anne DISPA-GRANDFILS.

CORRESPONDANCE

Monsieur Daniel DONNET *nous a fait parvenir le droit de réponse suivant :*

Le compte rendu que M. J. Noret a consacré à mon ouvrage *Le traité de la construction* ... (*Byzantion*, LV, 1 [1985], pp. 396-401) se distingue par une science sûre jointe à une courtoisie naturelle. Qu'on me permette toutefois de me défendre de certains reproches qui me semblent injustifiés.

J'aurais commis une «grosse erreur» (c.r., p. 399, dern. al.), au §6, en considérant *Περὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κατὰ σύνταξιν λόγου* comme un titre, ce qui entraînerait, pour ce passage, une édition «évidemment erronée» (c.r., p. 400, l. 6).

Voici donc quel fût mon raisonnement à propos de ce passage. Après avoir défini le *λόγος* en tant que phrase, Michel le Syncelle donne d'abord de cette définition une illustration que l'on pourrait qualifier d'*analytique* : des exemples de phrases, comptant de un à huit membres, qui font l'objet du §5, inexistant dans la démonstration de mon censeur ; après cela seulement, le grammairien énonce la première règle de *construction*, à savoir l'exigence d'au moins un nom et un verbe ; cette règle est logiquement annoncée par un titre de rubrique.

Mon interprétation me paraît conforme aux habitudes et à l'enseignement des grammairiens anciens ; j'ajoute qu'en reliant dans une même phrase *περὶ τούτου* ... à *ἔστιν ἡμῖν* ..., on aboutit à un tour aussi singulier que la présence de *τοίνυν* dans un titre. Bien sûr, comme M. Noret, je me suis interrogé à propos de ce terme. Mon apparat informe du reste qu'un manuscrit l'a omis. Je l'ai maintenu au titre de la *lectio difficilior*. Je suis prêt à reconnaître la fragilité de ce principe d'ecdotique, ainsi que la possibilité, pour l'ensemble du passage, d'être soumis à discussion. Mais c'est aller bien vite que d'en qualifier l'édition d'*évidemment erronée*.

Je souhaiterais aussi me défendre de quelques reproches en matière d'accentuation : «on trouve constamment *πῆ* au lieu de *πῇ* (ll. 119 bis, 960, 963, 1068 bis, 1451, 1456, etc.)» lit-on dans le compte-rendu, p. 400, lignes 5 *ab imo* et ss. Mais il s'agit chaque fois de l'indéfini *πῃ* dans l'expression *πῇ μὲν ... πῇ δέ* : je renvoie à Bailly, *Dictionnaire*, *sub πῇ* III.

D'autres reproches injustifiés proviennent d'une méconnaissance des habitudes qui prévalent dans l'édition des textes grammaticaux. Ainsi quand mon censeur déclare «on remarque également les enclitiques *ἐστιν* (l. 590), *σε* (l. 940) ... non accentués bien qu'ils suivent un signe de ponctuation, ce qui est évidemment indéfendable» (c.r., p. 400, dern. ligne – 401), il perd de vue qu'il s'agit d'énumération et de citation de formes grammaticales, et non de mots inclus dans une phrase : ainsi, dans l'énumération «*εἰμί, εἶ, ἐστιν*» la virgule qui précède *ἐστιν* n'a aucune influence sur l'accentuation de ce mot ; un raisonnement analogue est d'application pour *σε*, mentionné en tant que forme grammaticale et ne jouant aucun rôle dans la phrase, et à *βασιλεύς*, l. 117, dont l'oxyton m'est également reproché

à tort (p. 400, ligne 9 ab imo). Il me paraît également difficile de suivre M. Noret quand il veut accentuer *φημι* à la l. 1702 (c.r., p. 401, ligne 1), alors que le mot qui précède porte l'accent d'enclise (*βεβαιῶσαί*) ; mais pour ce dernier exemple, M. Noret, qui pousse la minutie jusqu'à dénoncer l'omission d'une apostrophe et d'un point d'interrogation, aurait pu contester l'opportunité de la virgule.

Cette mise au point étant faite, je tiens à répéter que j'éprouve fierté et satisfaction d'être recensé par un philologue qui fait preuve de tant de science et de conscience.

Suivant l'usage, nous avons communiqué le texte de M. D. Donnet à M. J. NORET dont voici la réponse :

Une brève réponse suffira. En ce qui concerne les mots *Περὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ ...*, tels que les a édités et traduits M. Donnet, je garde toutes mes objections. Des tiers, s'il s'en trouve qui sont piqués par cette discussion, pourront s'amuser à juger. Et de même sur les problèmes mineurs évoqués dans la suite.

Sur une minutie, je peux ajouter quelque clarté : certains dictionnaires et grammaires modernes – je le savais – accentuent *πῇ μὲν ...*, *πῇ δὲ ...*, mais dans tous les manuscrits byzantins soignés qui me sont tombés sous la main ces dernières années, les indéfinis *πῃ* et *πως*, lorsqu'ils ne sont pas enclitiques – et tel est bien le cas dans les expressions *πῇ μὲν ...*, *πῇ δὲ ...* et *πῶς μὲν ...*, *πῶς δὲ ...* –, sont toujours affectés d'un accent circonflexe. Aussi, dans le *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, M. José Declerck et le P. Joseph Munitiz ont-ils fait imprimer *πῇ μὲν ...*, *πῇ δὲ ...* (cf. vol. 10 et 13, *index verborum*). Ajoutons que le *πῇ μὲν ...*, *πῇ δὲ ...* cité par Bailly, lequel renvoie à Plutarque, *Vita Caesaris*, 25, est accentué avec deux accents circonflexes dans les éditions Budé, Loeb et Teubner, ainsi que dans le Liddell-Scott. La graphie *πή* me semble donc devoir être ou abandonnée ou regardée comme puriste. Quel est donc l'usage des manuscrits utilisés par M. Donnet ?

Le Comité de Rédaction considère la discussion comme close.

Monsieur P. SPECK nous a fait parvenir les remarques suivantes sous le titre : «Germanica sunt, non leguntur.»

Im letzten Band dieser Zeitschrift hat John Moorhead einen Aufsatz veröffentlicht : *Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image* (1), den ich mit großer Freude gelesen habe. Daraus konnte ich u.a. folgendes erfahren :

Zur Beseitigung des Christusbildes an der Chalke durch Leon III. gibt es viel Literatur (2).

(1) *Byzantion*, 55, fasc. I (1985), 165-179.

(2) S. 166 mit Anm. 2 ; nicht jedoch Verf., *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft*, München, 1978, S. 606 f. – Von der Existenz dieser Arbeit hat der Autor erfahren (S. 177, Anm. 63), und er hätte sogar aus dem Zitat daraus, das er aus zweiter Hand anbringt, ersehen können, daß darin etwas über sein Thema zu lesen ist. Dieses Buch ist auch in Australien zu beziehen, wie mir der Verleger auf Nachfrage versichert.

Über die Datierung der ikonoklastischen Jamben an der Chalke existiert eine Debatte ; es sieht aber so aus, als gehörten sie in die Zeit Leons III. und Konstantins V. ([3]).

Die Eirenenkirche wurde bei dem Erdbeben von 740 beschädigt ([4]).

Die Akrostichis der besagten Jamben sei ein Zeichen des persönlichen Glaubens der Verfasser ([5]).

Es gibt darunter auch ein Epigramm, in welchem das Kreuz über sich selbst spricht ([6]).

Die ikonoklastischen Jamben sprechen in vielfältiger Weise vom Kreuz ([7]).

In derselben Zeit, wo die Ikonen angegriffen wurden, wurde das Kreuz erhöht ([8]).

Das Kreuz ist auch das Siegeszeichen der Kaiser ([9]).

Die überlieferten ikonoklastischen Dekorationen (Vögel, Blumen u.a.) sind eine Wiederaufnahme älterer Dekorationsformen ([10]).

Das Kreuz ist für Leon III. aber ein Zeichen des intendierten Sieges über die Araber ; das ist sozusagen die Zentralidee des Ikonoklasmus ([11]).

Beruhigend ist zu sehen, daß der Autor auch englische Literatur ignoriert ([12]) oder mißversteht ([13]).

(3) S. 166 mit Anm. 4. Darin nennt er sogar einen Aufsatz des Verf. s zur Datierung dieser Jamben in das Jahr 815, und vielleicht glaubt er sogar, die darin vorgebrachten Argumente mit seinem „seems ... prima facie" widerlegt zu haben.

(4) S. 167 mit Anm. 7. Das Hauptwerk : U. PESCHLOW, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul*, Tübingen, 1977, wo dasselbe gesagt wird, wird indes nicht angeführt.

(5) S. 170. Das ist die Meinung von Gero (s. unten) ; doch gerade zur Akrostichis dieser Jamben steht einiges in VERF., *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel*, München, 1974, S. 74, Anm. 3.

(6) S. 170. Daß das möglicherweise die Inschrift des Kreuzes Leons III. ist, hätte der Autor bei Verf., *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (*Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά*, 2), Bonn, 1982, S. 376 f., lesen können.

(7) Dazu bietet Verf., Konstantin VI. (wie oben Anm. 2), S. 606-618, eine detaillierte Analyse, auch zu dem Verhältnis der orthodoxen zu den ikonoklastischen Jamben.

(8) S. 171. So abstrakt stimmt das nicht unbedingt, wohl aber konkret (Konstantin VI., wie oben Anm. 2, S. 607) : ... es nicht die Intention Leons III. (an der Chalke) war, ein Christusbild zu zerstören, sondern ein Kreuz anzubringen.

(9) S. 171-175. Nun ja ; doch ist das seit Jacob GRETSCHER, *De Sancta Cruce*, auch nicht das Gelbe vom Ei.

(10) S. 176 mit Anm. 57 und 58 : Auch das hätte er schon lesen können : Konstantin VI., wie oben Anm. 2, S. 448, woselbst auch einiges darüber, daß manche Konstantin V. zugeschriebenen Darstellungen auf übler Propaganda gegen diesen Kaiser beruhen.

(11) S. 178. Das ist eine der Thesen, die Verf., *Ikonoklasmus und die Anfänge der Makedonischen Renaissance*, Varia I (*Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά*, 4), Bonn, 1984, S. 175-210, hier S. 182 f., aufstellt.

(12) S. 170, Anm. 22, geht wohl nicht mehr ohne ZACOS-VEGLERY.

(13) Er datiert S. 166 und 170 die ikonoklastischen Jamben mit St. GERO,

Natürlich ist unser Autor nicht der einzige, der sich der Literatur gegenüber so verhält ; er ist da in großer, wenn auch nicht guter Gesellschaft.

Schade.

Suivant l'usage nous avons transmis le texte de M. P. Speck à Monsieur John MOORHEAD *dont voici la réponse :*

Paul Speck has offered a learned critique of my article, and I am grateful to him for the additional references and his pointing out a mistake in the development of the argument (his note 13). The article was written in 1983, at which time I could not take advantage of studies published by him in 1982 and 1984 (his notes 6, 11), although perusal of my footnotes would reveal his name among those of nine scholars writing in German who are cited. But his chief concern is a failure to cite his book on Constantine VI. As should be clear from my note 63, I wrote without access to this work, not available in the British Library when I was working there in 1983. Doubtless, scholars interested in this area will wish to compare our studies and draw such conclusions as they see fit.

Le Comité de rédaction considère la discussion comme close.

Byzantine Iconoclasm during the reign of Leon III, Louvain, 1973, in die Zeit Leons III., hält es aber, S. 170 mit Anm. 26, ohne weitere Argumente für möglich, daß Johannes Grammatikos einer der Dichter ist ! Gero war so klug, diesen Widerspruch zu sehen und eine mögliche Verfasserschaft abzulehnen.

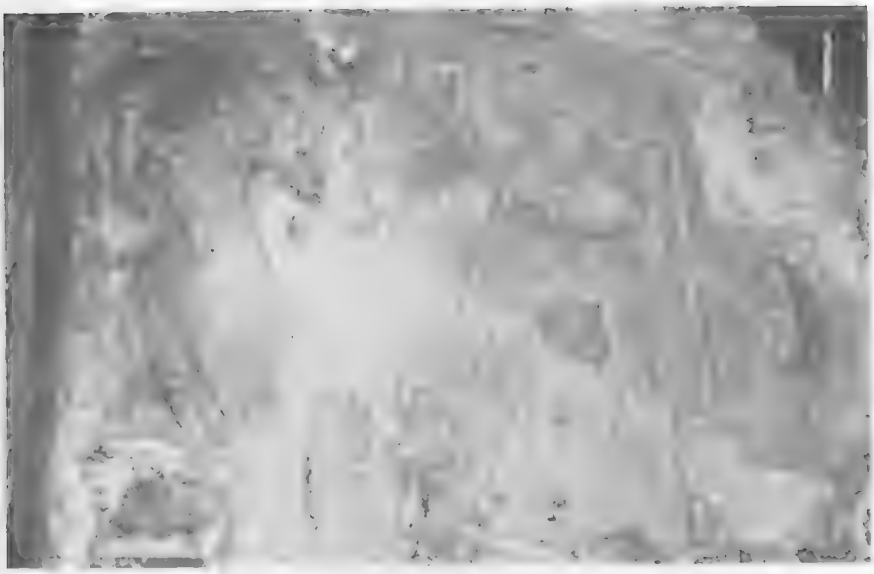


FIG. 1 – L'Annonciation :
l'Ange et le prophète David.

FIG. 2. – L'Annonciation :
Marie et le prophète Salomon.
(Photographies : P. Lecaque).

FIG. 3. – La Nativité (détails) :
St. Theodor de Boboševo.

FIG. 4. – L'Ascension :
St. Theodor de Boboševo.
(Photographies : P. Lecaque).

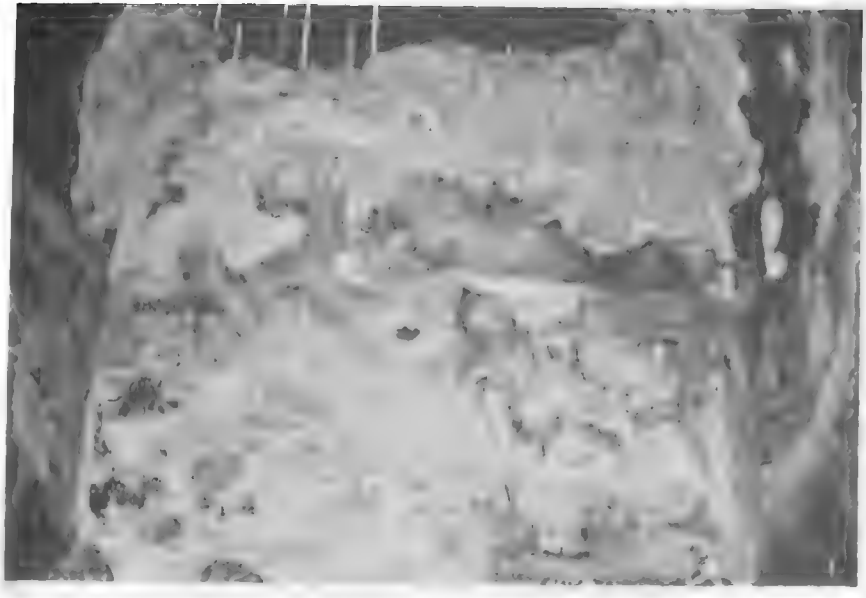


FIG. 5. — Le lavement des pieds :
La prière à Gethsémané ;
La trahison de Judas.

FIG. 6. — Le jugement de Pilate.
(Photographies : P. Lecaque).

FIG. 7. — La Nativité (détails) :
St. Theodor de Boboševo.

FIG. 8. — Prophète Salomon :
St. Theodor de Boboševo.
(Photographies : P. Lecaque).

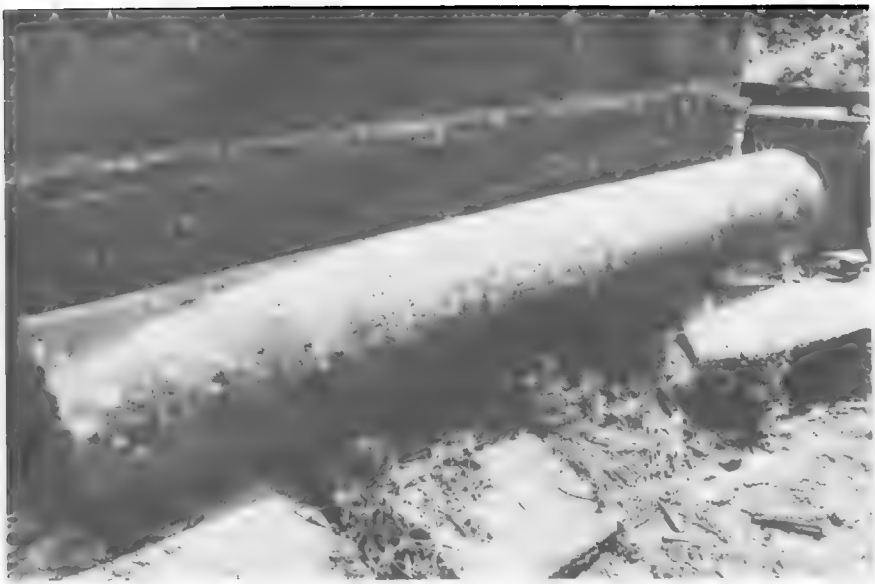


FIG. 1. – Mileto, Episcopio. Colonna bizantina (Foto dell'autore).

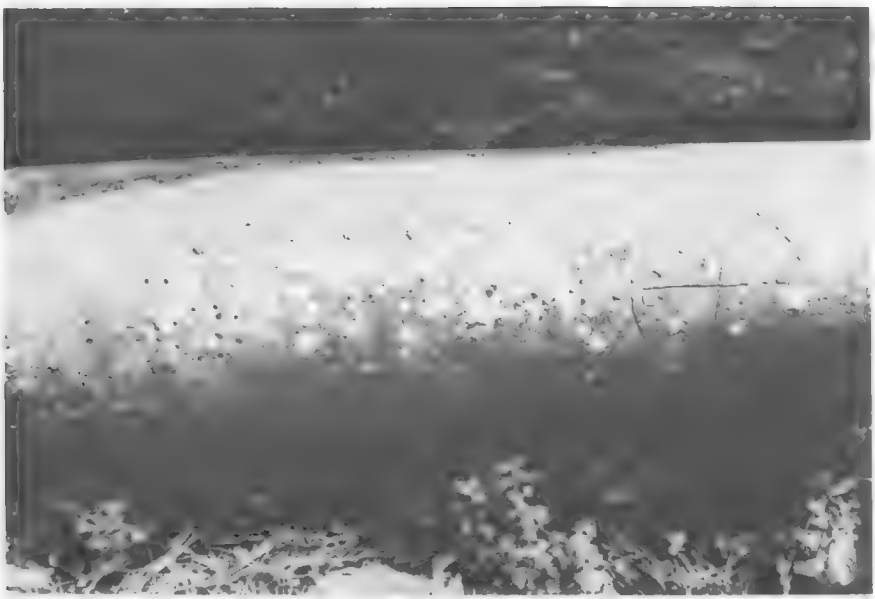


FIG. 2. – Mileto, Episcopio. Un particolare riproducente la parte centrale della colonna bizantina (Foto dell'autore).

TAVOLA II

FIG. 3. – Mileto, Episcopio. Colonna bizantina.
Particolare dell'incisione raffigurante la croce con l'iscrizione (Foto dell'autore).

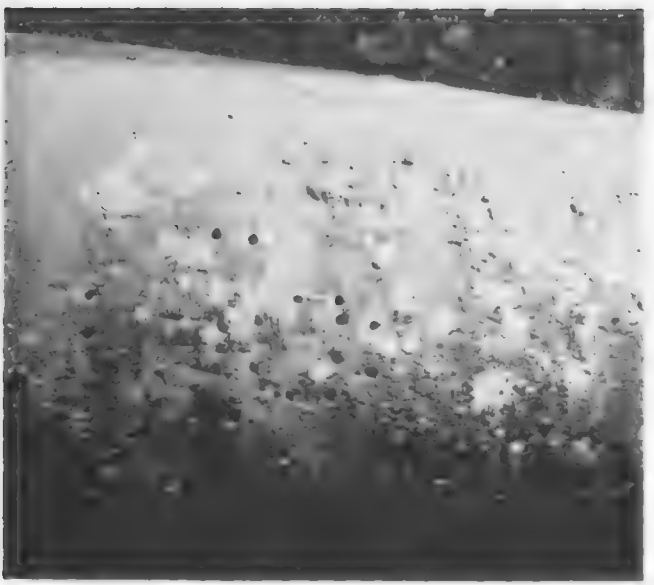


FIG 4. – Mileto, Episcopio. Colonna bizantina.
Particolare dei fori di alloggiamento (Foto dell'autore).

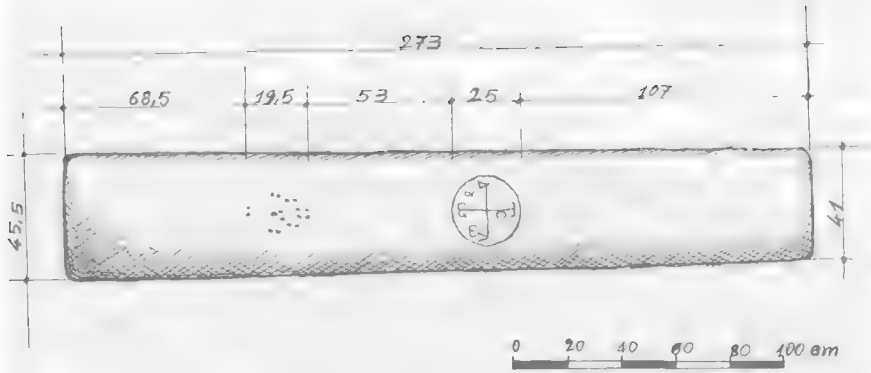


FIG. 5. – Mileto, Episcopio. Schizzo della colonna con le misure (Disegno dell'autore).

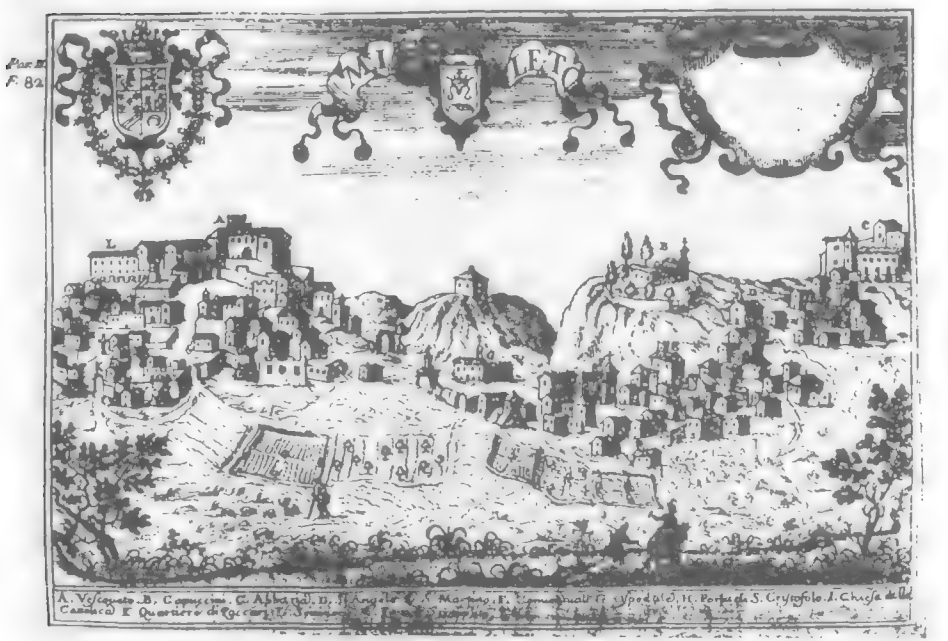


FIG. 6. – La scomparsa città di Mileto in una incisione settecentesca (da G. B. PACICHELLI, *Del Regno di Napoli in Prospettiva*, Napoli, 1703). Nomenclatura: *A. Vescovado. B. Cappuccini. C. Abbazia. D. S. Angelo. E. S. Martino. F. Conventuali. G. Ospedale. H. Porta di S. Cristofolo. I. Chiesa della Cattolica. K. Quartiere di Zaccari. L. Seminario. M. Fiume Scotoplito.*

FIG 1. – Cone seal from Barrow no. 61/1, Shestovitsy (near Chernigov, U.S.S.R.).

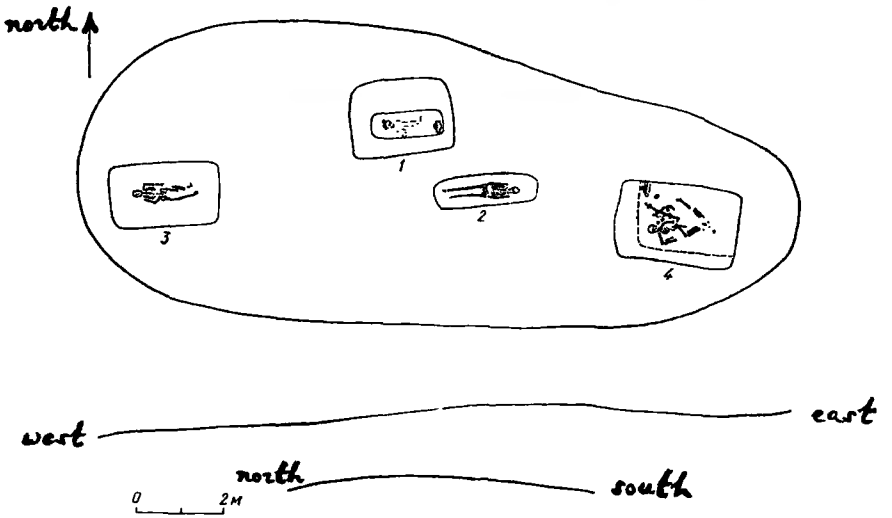
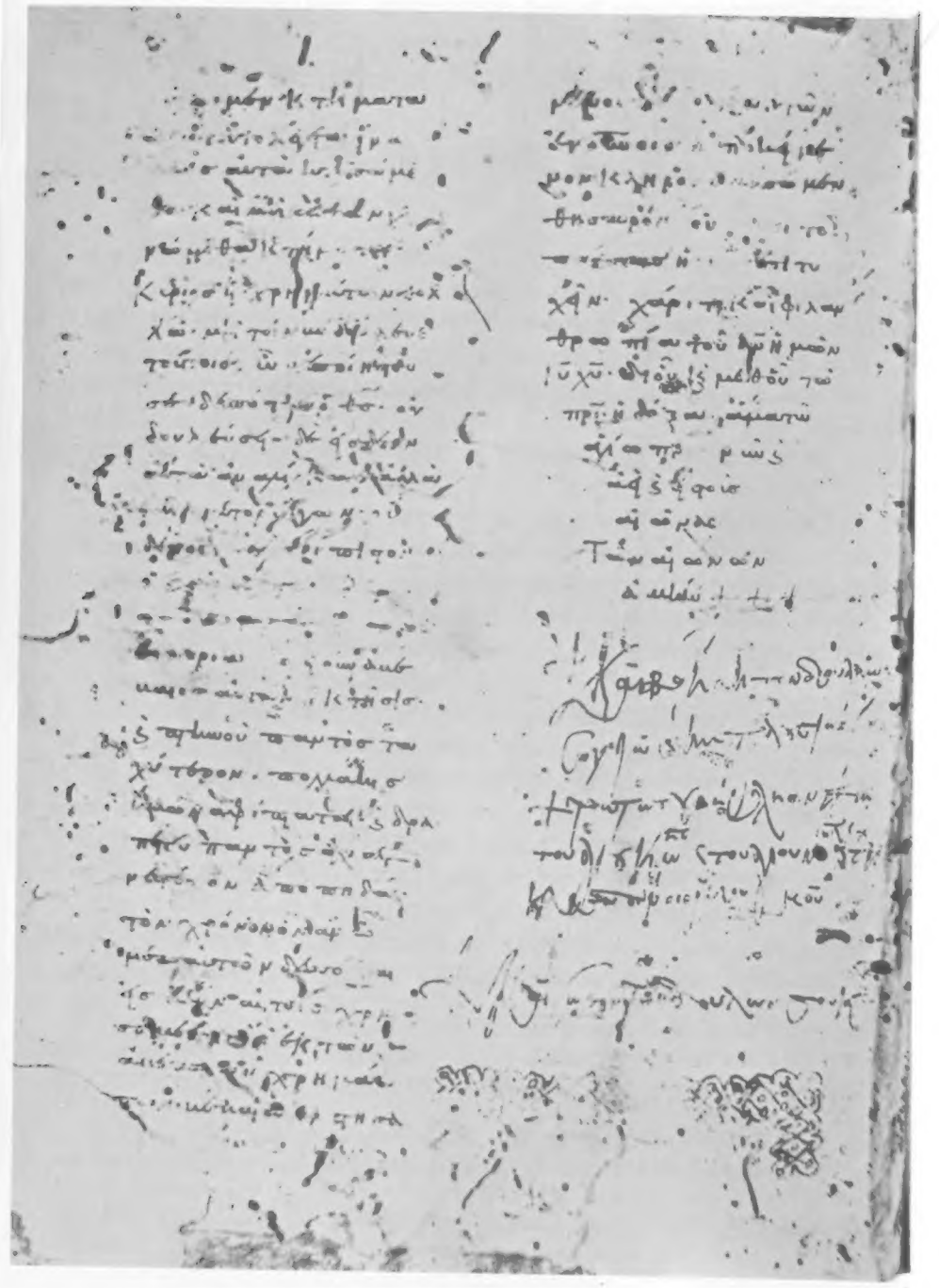


FIG. 2. – Shestovitsy. Lay-out of the four graves in Barrow no. 61 and profiles of the barrow as seen from the south and the west.



Codex Patmiacus 165, f° 369ᵛ.

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